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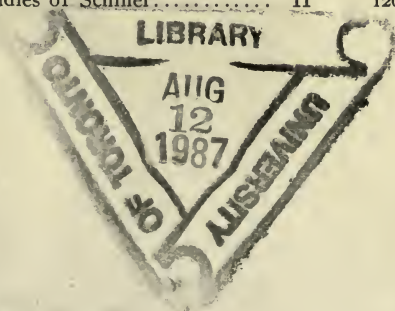
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## SCHOTTEL.

DIE Verdienste des Justus Georg Schottelius um die deutsche Sprache zu einer Zeit, wo die Fremdländersucht sie in die allerschlimmste Gefahr brachte, daran fast zu Grunde zu gehen und zum Gespötte des Auslandes zu werden, können gar nicht hoch genug angeschlagen werden, und nicht mit Unrecht hat man ihn den grössten Germanisten der Deutschen vor dem Erscheinen des Altmeisters Jacob Grimm genannt.<sup>1</sup> Seine Verdienste um die deutsche Grammatik haben ihre Würdigung gefunden in einer Monographie von F. L. Koldewey unter dem Titel: Justus Georg Schottelius. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Germanistik. Wolfenbüttel 1899. Seine Totenklage, die hier aufs neue zum Abdruck kommt, ist einer der vielen Stosseufzer, durch die er als wahrer Patriot seinem bedrängten Herzen Luft zu machen suchte. Seine Verse mögen uns abgeschmackt vorkommen und hie und da ein Lächeln abgewinnen, aber wie man sich auch zu dem Ganzen stellen mag, der heilige Ernst, der aus jeder Zeile spricht, ist unverkennbar. Schottels Name verdient mit Recht in einem Zuge mit Wimpfeling und Lauremberg genannt zu werden, deren Namen aus jenen traurigen Tagen glänzend hervorleuchten und deren Begeisterung für alles Vaterländische nicht umhin konnte Anhänger zu werben und Nachfolge zu wecken.<sup>2</sup>

Das Original der Lamentatio befindet sich auf der Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel.

ERNST VOSS.

MADISON, WIS.

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. Koldewey, *Friedens-Sieg*. Ein Freudenspiel von Justus Georg Schottelius. Neudruck. Halle 1900.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. auch: von Jagemann, Notes on the language of J. G. Schottel. *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, Vol. VIII, 1893.

LAMENTATIO  
GERMANIÆ EXSPIRANTIS

DER  
NUNMEHR  
HINSTERBENDEN NYMPHEN  
GERMANIÆ  
ELENDESTEN TODESKLAGE.

Gedruckt zu Braunschweig, bey Balthasar Grubern,

Jm Jahr 1640.



DEM  
DURCHLEUCHTIGEN, HOCHGEBORNEN FU<sup>R</sup>STEN UND  
HERRN, HERRN  
AUGUSTO,  
HERZOGEN ZU BRAUNSCHWEIG VND LU<sup>N</sup>EB. Æ.  
MEINEM GNA<sup>D</sup>IGEN FU<sup>R</sup>STEN VND HERRN.

**D**URCHLEUCHTIGER, Hochgeborner Hertzog, gna<sup>d</sup>iger Fu<sup>r</sup>st vnd Herr, E. F. Gn. vbergebe ich mit vntertha<sup>n</sup>igem Gehorsam eine, numehr vnglu<sup>e</sup>ckseligste Nimpfe, welche fu<sup>r</sup> hertzbrennenden seufferen fast Sprachlosz vnd ersticket, in jhrem eigenen Blute aber truncken worden vnd ersoffen ist: Sie heisset GERMANIA, die sich allhie mit halbgebrochenen Augen durchschauen, aus jhrem todtbleichen Munde nichts, als Jammer vnd Weh vber sich ausblasen, vnd also in jhrem elendesten Elende jhr selbst ein Grabelied singen wird. SIE wird vber das grausames verhengnisse der Jhrigen bitterlich weinen, vnd selbst mit schrecken bekennen mu<sup>s</sup>ssen, das nunmehr die zeiten sind eingedrungen, darinnen das armes Teutschland vber sich einen rauhen vnd vnbarhertzigen Himmel, vnter sich ein Aschenfa<sup>r</sup>biges vnd Blutbesprengtes Erdreich, rings vmb sich her eine wu<sup>t</sup>ende Feindseligkeit, vnd in allen Aderen und Gliederen selbst ein to<sup>d</sup>liches Gifft vberkommen habe. Wenn man den Verlauff aller Geschichten vnd den eusserlichen Zustand des Weltwesens fleissig durchdencket, wird man warlich keinmahl die *Germaniam* in so abschewlicher gestalt vnd gantz zerru<sup>t</sup>teter Beschaffenheit ersehen mu<sup>e</sup>gen, als in welche SIE nunmehr gerathen: Was von deroselben, zwar vormals vnvorgleichlichen Pracht vnd Herrligkeit annoch u<sup>e</sup>brig geblieben, sind meistentheils Steintru<sup>m</sup>mere vnd gresliche Kummerberge: Der lieblicher Geruch des Wolstandes ist von dem durch-vnd-durch auffquellendem

Aij

Vnglu<sup>e</sup>cksdampffe ersticket, vnd kan der einziger Ausspruch Teutsches Elendes in sich begreifen, alles das, was man in der irdischen Natur Angst, Elend, Wunder, Laster vnd Boszheit

nennen mag. Der Blutweinender Augenschein ist ein gar zu gewisses Zeugnisse, das die *Germania* in allem, fast weniger als die Warheit wil, sich allhie beklage, dieweil zu austru<sup>e</sup>ckunge des vnbegreiffflichen Elendes keine genugsame Worte, noch arten zu reden vorhanden sind. Derowegen, im fall Sie etwa wo Ihre Stimme gescha<sup>e</sup>rrfet vnd recht auff die Wunde mu<sup>e</sup>chte gegriffen haben, nicht hoch zu befu<sup>e</sup>rchten ist, das jhre Jammerklage gro<sup>e</sup>sser als der Jammer sein ko<sup>e</sup>nne. Sie wird dennoch, wiewol aus antrieb der Todesangst, jhre Klagrede also einrichten, damit wider niemand insonderheit etwas nachtheiliges sol geklaget werden. Wie ich denn auch hoffen wil, es werde niemand, der es mo<sup>e</sup>chte lesen, eines so feindseligen Gemu<sup>e</sup>thes wider die ho<sup>e</sup>chstbeku<sup>e</sup>mmerte *Germaniam* seyn, das er derselben diese Linderung vnd den Trost, welchen SIE in freyer Auszschu<sup>e</sup>ttunge jhres Elendes, vnd in rechter Anwendung jhrer angebornen Sprache entpfinden mo<sup>e</sup>chte, miszgo<sup>e</sup>nnen werde. Nichts vnbillichers ist, als wenn man das klu<sup>e</sup>gelfertiges Urtheil stets in Bereitschaft hat, vnd es ho<sup>e</sup>her ziehet, als der (offtmals gar mangelnder) Verstand zulasset. Sie, die *Germania*, wird als ein heulendes Weib in jhrem Jammergeschrey nur auff eine unordentliche Ordnunge, vnd zwar vnbedachtsamer weise bedacht seyn, vnd wolle darumb niemand zu schleunig mit den Elen feiner Redekunst die Thra<sup>e</sup>nen dieses Weibes auszmessen: noch der fast-bekanten Vndanckbarkeit nach vnsere Muttersprache also fu<sup>e</sup>r den Kopff stossen, vnd sie nur nach eines jeden sparsamen miszlichen vnd miszbra<sup>e</sup>uchlichen Gewonheit rechtfertigen, dafu<sup>e</sup>r haltend, das, was einer vnd ander nicht geho<sup>e</sup>rt, auch stracks nicht recht sey: vnd worin dieses oder jenes (der Sprache vnerfahrenes) Gehirn nicht schnurgleich seine masse findet, mu<sup>e</sup>sse vorwerfflich vnd scheltwu<sup>e</sup>rdig seyn. Wiewol das Honig nicht darumb versawret, obs schon einer, dem die Zunge schmacklos geblieben, fu<sup>e</sup>r bitter helt, noch ein wolgetroffenes Gema<sup>e</sup>lde seine Zierde verleurt, wenn ein blo<sup>e</sup>d vnd seit sichtiges Auge ein Fehlvrtheil thut.

Das aber, Gna<sup>e</sup>diger Fu<sup>e</sup>rst und Herr, E. F. G. dieses achten vnd weinen der *Germaniæ* zuvberreichen, vnd dero-

selben hochstberühmten Fürstlichen Nahmen für so geringe Arbeit zusetzen, ich mich erkuhnen dürfen, ist daher geschehen, weil E. F. G. friedgeneigtes und Tugendliebendes Gemüthe dem gantzen Teutschlande ja so wol bekand, als dero Handelungen sich des betrubten Vnwesens (darin das Gewissen und das Christenthumb offtmals anstosz gelitten, und leiden musz) so gar niemals theilhaftig gemacht, das Sie nicht dero hohen Fürstlichen Verstand weit bessern Sachen eröffnet, durch deren fruchtbarliche Ausarbeitunge und Anleitunge, E. F. G. dasselbe erlanget und noch erlangen wird, was die Welt der recht-höchsten Tugend versprechen, und womit der Himmel auffs reichste begnaden wil. Und darumb hat E. F. G. Weltkundige und höchstersprieszliche Befoderunge und Liebe zu vnserer aller-herrlichsten Teutschen Sprache, und derselben vollkommene Kundigkeit mir eine zuverleszliche Hoffnunge gemacht, es werde dasselbe, was zu besserer Ausübung und Anleitunge vnserer süssesten Poesi allhie fürgebracht, deroselben gnädigen Augen gewürdigt sein. Und eben wie von E. F. G. als von dem Lobwürdigen Ausbreiter und mechtigsten Beforderer die Muttersprache selbst ihre vollkommende Zier und reineste Bestendigkeit erwartet, also wird und sol deroselben vnsterblicher Ruhm, und an einer so hochfürstlichen Personen verwunderliche Tugendliebe, mit fernerm Zuwachs und Ausbreitung vnserer Sprache durch die zeiten gehen, und von erregten Gemüthern auffs schöneste abgebildet, und (so zu reden) in die greise Ewigkeit eingeschrieben sein. E. F. G. thue ich demütigst hiemit bitten, mit jhrer gewöhnlichen gnädigen Leutseligkeit, das wenige anzunehmen, und mit fernern Gnaden mir zugethan verbleiben. Dieselbe sampt dem gantzen Fürstlichen Hause dem Göttlichen gnadenreichen Segen zu aller gewünschterersprieszlichkeit vnterthenigst befehlend.

E. F. G.

gehorsambster Diener

JUSTUS-GEORGIUS SCHOTTELIIUS.

Aijj



DER HO<sup>CH</sup>STBETRÜ<sup>B</sup>TEN GERMANIÆ

## JAMMER KLAGE.

**A**CH weh! Ach mehr als weh! wer ist doch, der mich  
 kennen,  
 Vnd recht durchschawen kan? Ach leider! wiltu nennen  
 Der Vnglu<sup>CK</sup>seligkeit ein' vnergru<sup>ND</sup>te See,  
 Kom, nenne Mich, Jch bins, Ach weh, ach mehr als weh!  
 Ich, die Ich in der Welt kunt' unvergleichlich prangen  
 Mit ho<sup>CH</sup>ster Majesta<sup>T</sup>, Ich die Ich bin gegangen  
 Mit Pracht der Herrlichkeit, da, wo die Wolcken gehn,  
 Vnd liesz<sup>1</sup> weit hinter mich, die andern Sceptre stehn.  
 Ich, die man vormals mich die allerscho<sup>N</sup>ste nante,  
 Die Ich die Ko<sup>N</sup>nige zu Dienst vnd Liebe wandte  
 Durch meiner Hochheit Zier: Ich bin es, Ich ach ja,  
 Todta<sup>NG</sup>stlich, mehr als Todt, Ich die *Germania*,  
 Mein gantzes Angesicht ist voller Rauch vnd Aschen,  
 Das habe ich, ach Gott! viel tausendmahl gewaschen  
 Mit lauter Menschenblut: Ich habe eingeschluckt  
 Viel warmes Menschenfleisch zermalmet vnd zerstu<sup>CK</sup>t.  
 Wie sein Mir doch beklebt, die Thra<sup>N</sup>en-volle Wangen  
 Mit dickem Eyterblut! die Augen sein vergangen  
 Zernetzt im Thra<sup>N</sup>en-Saltz: Ach wie ist doch so gar  
 Versenget vnd verbrenndt mein Goldgemengtes Haar!  
 Schaw meinen gantzen Leib, vol Striemen und voll Beulen,  
 Das mattes Hertze wil fu<sup>R</sup> meiner Seelen heulen  
 Sich dringen ausser mir: Jch fu<sup>HL</sup> ein Todesgift,  
 Das kra<sup>FT</sup>tiglich in mir noch alle Adren trifft.  
 Mein Ko<sup>N</sup>iglicher Schmuck, mein Purper, Gold vnd Seiden  
 Ist nunmehr weg, darin sich meine Feinde kleyden:  
 Ich eine Ko<sup>N</sup>igin, bin nun ein Bettelweib  
 Kan kaum vmbhu<sup>EL</sup>len mit dem Sacke meinen Leib.  
 O Grawsamkeit! weil ich hie wolte gern erzehlen,  
 Mein Ho<sup>EL</sup>lengleiche Angst, mein Achtzen vnd mein quelen,

<sup>1</sup> liesz.

Nun bleibet meine Seel, in mir verstaunet stehn,  
 Vnd wil nicht, vnd wil doch, mit Schlucken von mir gehn.  
 Doch wil ich gleichwol noch ein Bu<sup>n</sup>dlein meiner Schmertzten  
 Mit Thra<sup>n</sup>en fassen ein, vnd schu<sup>t</sup>tens von dem Hertzen,  
 (Dem Hertzen das hinstirbt mit tausendfachem Todt  
 Vnd vnendpfundlich ist der allergro<sup>e</sup>sten Noth)  
 Ach gib das Auge her, Ach gib doch deine Ohren,  
 Wirst an mir schawen das, vnd wirst dasselbe ho<sup>r</sup>en  
 Das nirgend nimmermehr mag sein an einem Ort  
 In solcher Grawsamkeit gesehen vnd geho<sup>r</sup>t.  
 Ein Deamanten Hertz, ein Hertz von Stall vnd Steinen,  
 Ein Hertz, das keine Angst, noch Elend wil beweynen,  
 Sol werden weich vnd matt in meiner Thra<sup>n</sup>enfluht,  
 Sol werden kranck vnd schwach durch meiner Seufftzer  
 gluth.

Magst, lieber Leser, nur die Elementen fragen,  
 Der Himmel, Wasser, Lufft, vnd Erde wird dir sagen  
 Mit wundervollem Maul, wie vngestu<sup>m</sup>iglich  
 Des Vnglu<sup>e</sup>cks-Ho<sup>e</sup>llenheer geschworen wider mich.  
 Der Himmel vber mich hat sich zu tausentmahlen  
 Verendert in ein Stahl: mit Flammen vnd mit Stralen  
 Hat er mich angesteckt: der Schwartzten Wolckentrifft  
 Hat dicken Hagel gleich, gestrewet Blut vnd Gifft.

Aiiij

Das liebes Sonnenliecht hat sein Gesichte lassen  
 Fu<sup>r</sup> Schrecken vnd fu<sup>r</sup> Angst oft grawsamlich erblassen,  
 Hat sich aus Trawrigkeit verhu<sup>e</sup>llet offtmals gantz  
 Vnd durch schwartz-braunes Blut gezeiget seinen Glantz  
 Der Silberheller Mond, hat auch die bleichen Wangen  
 Vnd den erblasten Mund zum offteren behangen  
 Mit einem Trawerkleyd: das blinckenes Gestirn  
 Hat sich von seinem Ort oft mu<sup>s</sup>sen gar verirrn.  
 Der starcken Winden macht mit stu<sup>r</sup>men vnd mit Braussen  
 Hat mu<sup>s</sup>sen, vnerho<sup>r</sup>t, mich durch vnd durch vmbsausen:  
 Die Thu<sup>r</sup>me vnd Gema<sup>w</sup>r, der hohen Felsen Last  
 Erschu<sup>t</sup>tert sein dadurch mit erschro<sup>e</sup>cklichen Prast.

Wer weis nicht wie das Brod, die bawm' vnd Wassergraben  
 Oftt Striem- vnd tropffenweisz recht Blut gegeben haben ;  
     Hat sich das Erdreich nicht mit zitteren geru<sup>h</sup>rt  
     Die Menschen sehr erschro<sup>e</sup>ckt von mancher Miszgeburt ?  
 Geh vnd lisz durch vnd durch den weisen *Pataviner*  
 Such alle Wundre auff der Griechen vnd Lateiner,  
     Die Unglu<sup>e</sup>cksboten seyn : in tausend Jahrenfrist  
     Ist das nicht, was in mir biszher geschehen ist.  
 Geh hin vnd samle ein die Lastere vnd Su<sup>n</sup>den  
 Die aller Boszheit Witz, hat jemals ko<sup>n</sup>nen finden,  
     In Osten vnd in West, in Suden und in Nord  
     Das alles ist in mir gesehen vnd geho<sup>r</sup>t.  
 Nun, zwanzig Jahre seins, dasz man mich hat genetzt  
 Mit meiner Kinderblut, vnd meiner Seel versetzt  
     So manchen Todes-Stich : vnd brennet noch die Gluth  
     Dazu doch meine Hand das Fewr vnd Schwefel thut.  
 Ach wer' ich nimmermehr Stuckweis vereinigt worden,  
 Vnd ha<sup>t</sup>te nicht gestift des Bundes festen orden,  
     Schaw, wie vmb Einigkeit Ich so vneinig sey,  
     Wie mich der fester band, zerbunden gantz entzwey.  
 Sol ich der Einigkeit etwa ein Vrtheil geben,  
 Sol ich die Heiligkeit des Bundes auch erheben,  
     Itzt wil ich beydes nicht : Ihr beide, sag ich wahr,  
     Seyd worden erst in mir, ein grosses Vnglu<sup>e</sup>ckspaar.  
 Zechillis, Nachbarin, du hast nicht wol gebuhlet  
 Nach fro<sup>e</sup>mbder Herren Gunst, du hast zu erst gefu<sup>e</sup>hlet,  
     Hernach geworffen aus, des Kriegesgottes macht,  
     Der nunmehr mich mit dir in Staub' vnd Aschen bracht.  
 Gleich wie ein grosser Wald, der angesteckt, die Flammen  
 Vnd fladerschnelles Fewr, wirfft weit vnd breit von sammen.  
     Vnd wenn in solche Brunst die schnellen Winde gehn :  
     Mus Erde, Lufft, vnd Holtz im Rauch' vnd Flammen stehn :  
 Nicht anders als du erst die Fahnen auszgestecket  
 Weil vber dein Gebu<sup>r</sup>g, da hastu hergetrecket  
     Was Zundera<sup>h</sup>nlich war : es schlug das Ho<sup>e</sup>llenfewr  
     Mit dicken Flammen nach, noch brennend vngehewr.

Es lieffen von dir aus die Vnglu<sup>e</sup>cks-reichen Fluten  
 In mich, vnd durch mich hin : drumb nam ein stetes Wu<sup>e</sup>ten  
 Der Widerspenstigkeit, wie auch der Tyranny  
 Fort vnd fort vberhand, sich nennend Lasterfrey.  
 Bald bru<sup>e</sup>stete sich ausz die Gierde hoher Ehren :  
 Bald kam ein ander Sinn, der sich nicht wolte kehren  
 An her gebrachte Maas : man brauchte recht vnd Tu<sup>e</sup>ck,  
 Nach dem nur schenckte ein das vnrecht volles Glu<sup>e</sup>ck.

## B

Viel Indianisches Gold in krumb-dick-vollen Ha<sup>e</sup>nden  
 Fing an zu lehren mich, mich selbst zu verblenden  
 Mich machend Silberstumm : Mich machend sinnelosz :  
 Vmblenkend meine Hand zu meinem eignem Stos  
 Ausz frembden Orteren, hat man die millionen  
 Mir zugeschiekt, das man mich wider mich helohnen  
 Vnd durch verwirren mo<sup>e</sup>cht' : Es ist fu<sup>e</sup>r frembdes Gut  
 Mir armen von mir selbst verkauffet Gut vnd Blut.  
 Kriegfertig, Hertzlosz sein ! Neidsu<sup>e</sup>chtig, feindlich hassen  
 Sich bewmen wider recht ! vnd bo<sup>e</sup>sen Argwohn fassen :  
 Der Ehr- vnd Silbergeitz ! Ku<sup>e</sup>hn- vnd Vermessenheit !  
 Gewalt der Tyranny ; die Widersetzlichkeit :  
 Sein diese Tugenden ? Sein so die schone Gaben ?  
 Womit der Meinen viel, mich ausz gezieret haben ?  
 Doch darff vnd wil ich itz der keinen nennen nicht,  
 Das sag' ich, das von euch Mir vnrecht noch geschieht.  
 Ach ist doch keiner fast der Meinen mehr zu finden  
 Der mich trewhertzig wil mit Lebens Hu<sup>e</sup>lf' vmbwinden  
 In meiner Sterbensnoth : Ey dencke Teutsches Blut  
 Die Hoffnung' vnd der Zorn, die raten selten gut.  
 Ach Star-Stock-blindes Volck, sol dir das Glu<sup>e</sup>cke messen  
 Die Warheit vnd das Recht ? Zwangstu dich zuvergessen  
 Des Glu<sup>e</sup>ckes falschen Schein ? Das Glu<sup>e</sup>ck ist Kugel-  
 rund,  
 Es laufft itz wieder hin, da, wo es gestren stund.  
 Gleich wie die Wassersucht pflegt immer auszzuquellen  
 Ein schwartzlich bleiches nas, der Leib mus dick auffschwellen



Bis dasz die Seel auszgeht, weil solcher krancker Mann  
 Die Sauff- vnd Schwelgelust nicht lassen wil noch kan.  
 Das Vbel eben so, eilt noch mit stillen Gaengen  
 Dick zu den Adren ein, es laest sich sehr verdrenge  
 Von gier, der Friedenswunsch: man lest mich sterben hin,  
 Fewr, Pulver, Eysen, Bley, ist meine Medicin  
 So heist das Huelff' vnd Trost, das morden, schaenden, brennen?  
 In aller Suendenlust mit Grimmigkeit fortrennen?  
 Man gibt mir, wie man meynt, erbarme dich O Gott!  
 Durch Blindheit das Gesicht, das Leben durch den Todt.  
 Falsch vnd zweizungig seyn, mit Friedensworten zieren  
 Den durst nach Menschenblut, Gott vnd sein Recht verliehren  
 Ausz Liebe zur Gewalt; sich schmuucken nur mit schein  
 Das heist ohne Christen hertz ein Christen mensche seyn.  
 Man lehrt die Friedenskunst, damit man moege fuehren  
 Vnendlich-Krieges Recht: wie solte einer hoeren  
 Das durch den Vntergang, durch Mord, vnd Triegerey  
 Des Wesens einigkeit jemals gemeynet sey?  
 O kalter Christen Mensch! wie ist es doch beschaffen,  
 Man wil mit Strick vnd Schwerdt, den Mord vnd Diebstal  
 straffen:  
 Doch so ein gantzes Land ermord wird vnd beraubt,  
 Das ist, ach trewer Gott! durch Kriegesrecht erlaubt.  
 Christloses Kriegesrecht! der Krieg der lehret kriegem,  
 Nennt stehlen eine Kunst, nennt Tugend das betriegen  
 Mord thun ist Tapffrigkeit: sein so ein Krieges Knecht  
 Vnd solches Kriegesrecht ist recht, vnd doch nicht recht.  
 Nicht der Natur befehl, noch recht der guten Sache  
 Fuerr Geldt vnd Ehren geitz, fuerr Zorn vnd grimmer Rache  
 Musz, leider gelten mehr! wo freye Beute felt  
 Verkauft man Leib vnd Seel vmb ein geringes Geld.  
 Bij  
 Disz gehet in den Wind: was hilffts, erbaermlich klagen?  
 Was hilffet tausend mal von tausend aengsten sagen?  
 Das ist mein' Huelff' vnd Trost, ohn Trost vnd Huelffe  
 seyn,  
 Gantz rett- vnd Hoffnunglosz nichts fuehlen in der Pein.



Mars hat von Kintbein auff nur Menschenblut gesogen  
Vnd ist mit Menschenfleisch vnd marckte aufgezogen,  
Mit Menschenfett' vnd Schweisz wascht sich das vngehewr  
Vnd wenn er Odem la<sup>s</sup>t, so bla<sup>s</sup>t er dampff vnd Fewr  
Das Gottesla<sup>s</sup>tern : Ein Thier vnd vnmensch werden  
Ringschetzen Gott vnd recht : Sich Teuffelgleich geba<sup>r</sup>den :  
In Su<sup>n</sup>den schand' vnd schmach zu suchen seine Lust ;  
Das ist vnd musz auch sein den Marti itz bewust :  
Es pflegt der Kriegesgott solch ein Gethon zu machen  
Wann er den Degen wetzt vnd la<sup>s</sup>t Carthaunen krachen  
Das niemand ho<sup>r</sup>en kan wie die Gerechtigkeit  
Vnschuld vnd Fro<sup>m</sup>migkeit so gar erba<sup>r</sup>mlich schreyt :  
Wer nach dem Himmel strebt, vnd wil ein Christe heissen  
Der musz die Kriegessucht jhm aus dem Hertzen reissen :  
Ach Christi su<sup>s</sup>ses Joch ist weit hievon entfernt,  
Der zihl den Christen aus der Kriegesgier erlernt.  
Zula<sup>s</sup>ssig ist der Krieg, wann man das Bo<sup>s</sup>z, abstraffet,  
Vnd was entzogen ist mit rechte widerschaffet,  
Vnd wenn man schu<sup>t</sup>zen musz nothwendig Leib vnd Gut  
Doch alles ma<sup>s</sup>ziglich, thewr thewr ist Christenblut.  
Wenn man raubt, mordet, brenndt aus einer grimmen Rache  
Aus blinden ketzerneyd, vnd sonst vmb einer Sache  
Die man vom Zaune bricht : Ist dieses recht ? ach Gott  
Wie treibet man mit dir vnd deinem Worte Spott.  
Man hat Blutgieriglich nun lang in mir gekrieget,  
Man hat- vnd ist -gejagt ; Verlohren vnd gesieget,  
Doch wilstu wissen recht was mag erhalten seyn ?  
Entgliedung, Miszverstand, Vnglu<sup>c</sup>ck vnd Ho<sup>l</sup>llenpein.  
Man tru<sup>c</sup>ckt die Augen zu, vnd wil den Todt nicht sehen,  
Man stu<sup>r</sup>mt vnd wu<sup>t</sup>et fort bisz man mus vntergehen  
Gewisz mit Leib vnd Seel, offt wird der brav genent  
Der sauffet, schweret, flucht, stihlt, mordet, scha<sup>n</sup>det,  
brennt.  
Erbarmung wo ist die ? wo ist Gedult vnd Leiden ?  
Wo ist die Gottesfurcht ? Das-nimmer-abescheiden  
Von seinem su<sup>s</sup>sen Gott ? ein Christus gleicher Sinn ?  
Ja Ja wer das itzt sucht, der lauff' aus Teutschland hin.

Ach ach was hilffet es, mich mittellos beklagen ?

Was hilffet tausendmahl von tausend Lastren sagen ?

Man tru<sup>e</sup>ckt die Augen zu vnd stu<sup>r</sup>met eins so sehr,

Nur der Gewonheit stanck erstickt der Tugend lehr.

Mein dunckles Angesicht, Ach! wann ich das nur wenden

Vnd mich durchschawen wil ! O weh ! an allen Enden

Ist vbergrosse Noth : Ich sehe, das ich sey

Ein vmbgekehrtes Land vnd wu<sup>e</sup>ste Wu<sup>e</sup>steney.

Ich sehe fallen hin, so viele tausend Seelen

Durch Hunger, Fewr vnd Schwerdt, vnd vnableslichs quelen

Ich seh mich durch vnd durch schwartz seyn fu<sup>r</sup> Gottes  
Zorn

Mit einem Wagenseil zu su<sup>e</sup>ndigen verworn.

Es ist mein hartes Land vom Blut' vnd vielen weynen

Genetzt vnd durch befeucht : Es seyn von Menschenbeinen

Die Felder zugedeckt : Es hat das wu<sup>e</sup>stes Wild

Offt mit dem Menschenfleisch des Hungers Grimm gestilt.

Bij

Wo vormalz wuchsen her die schattenreichen Reben

Wo das dicka<sup>e</sup>hrigs Korn pflag Lantzen-hoch zu heben

Die Spitzen in die Ho<sup>e</sup>h : da wechst in voller Maas

Ein faules Heidenriet, Vnkraut vnd wildes Gras.

Wo sonst ein reiches Dorff, wo veste Sta<sup>e</sup>dte lagen

Da ligt ein Aschenberg, die kummerhauffen ragen

Wie Zinnen hoch empor, die Kirchen vnd Alta<sup>e</sup>r

Mit dicken Mosz vmbzeunt stehn Leut- vnd Priester leer.

Ach edler, scho<sup>e</sup>ner Rhein, von dar, da du kombst schiessen

Ausz stickel-hohen Felsz, bisz wo man dich siht fliesen

Mit breiten Ga<sup>e</sup>ngen aus, vnd deines bauches Last

Auszschu<sup>t</sup>tten in die See, daraus du selben hast.

Von jenem dar bisz hie, mustu (wil ich wol sagen)

Dein Wasser hundertmal zum Feind' vnd Freunde tragen,

Vnd findest durch verknu<sup>e</sup>pfft jetz beyderseits mein Land

Nur mit Feindseligkeit, mit Haas, mit Miszverstand.

Den lieblich-scho<sup>e</sup>nen Wein, vnd die safft-schweren Trauben

Hat eine frembde Hand dir schendlich mu<sup>s</sup>ssen rauben :

Nun bistu angesteckt mit einem hellen Fewr,  
 Ein Eisenfester Band zu allem vngehewr.  
 Man hat dich ja gesehn von Menschen auffgeschwollen,  
 Vnd wie die Leiber sich oft mu<sup>e</sup>sten vberrollen.  
 Tru<sup>e</sup>b-trawrig flossestu, todfa<sup>e</sup>rbig (Ach der Noht)  
 Vnd blaw vom Menschenfett, vom Blute striemenroht  
 Du scho<sup>n</sup>er Elbflusz kom, kom, endre deine Wellen  
 In einen Thra<sup>n</sup>enflus: Ach mu<sup>e</sup>chstu dich auffschwellen  
 Vnd giessen vber mich, das ich abwaschen mo<sup>e</sup>cht  
 Den Blut-beklebten Mund, der duncklen Augen Liecht.  
 Du rauschest zu mir her aus schrunden vnd Gebu<sup>r</sup>gen  
 Da anfang vnd noch wehrt solch grimmes Kriegeswu<sup>r</sup>gen,  
 Vnd fu<sup>h</sup>rst nur Vngelu<sup>e</sup>ck: Man hat von todten Leichn  
 Dein blutgeferbtes Maul oft ko<sup>n</sup>nen vberteichn.  
 Betrachte deinen Lauff, ausz den rund hohen Bergen  
 Bisz hin ins Cimperland; schaw, wie man noch zu wu<sup>r</sup>gen  
 Von beyden Vfren drewt: wie man tobt vnd verheret  
 Wetzt vnd mit Gifft bestreicht, das Blutbegierichs Schwerdt  
 Man sahe vor mit Lust an dir zu beyden Seiten  
 Die scho<sup>n</sup>en Sta<sup>d</sup>te sich gantz pra<sup>e</sup>chtiglich ausbreiten  
 Mit grossem wolergehn: Nun hat sichs vmbgewand  
 Die Zierd vnd Pracht ist hin, die scho<sup>n</sup>e abgebrandt.  
 Mein gantzes Land vmb dich bis an die Baltschen Pforten  
 Ist einer Wahlsta<sup>t</sup> gleich: es ist mit vnerho<sup>r</sup>ten  
 Verwu<sup>s</sup>tungen verwu<sup>s</sup>t, ist ein Land ohne Land  
 Ist Vieh- vnd Menschenilos, durch Hunger, mord vnd  
 brand.  
 Du ho<sup>c</sup>chstberu<sup>e</sup>hmter Flusz, du Donaw die du springest  
 Aus meinen Adren erst, dein klares-nasz weg bringest  
 Zu vielen Sta<sup>d</sup>ten hin, vnd manches Land durch leuffst  
 Mit Wasservollem Maul Schiffreiche Flu<sup>s</sup>se seuffst:  
 Du Namen reichster Flusz der vielen Helden Thaten  
 Du Ziel der Ro<sup>m</sup>er macht, wo ist es hin gerathen  
 Mit der Glu<sup>e</sup>ckseligkeit, mit des Wolstandes Pracht,  
 Die vormals von der Welt ward Himmelhoch geacht?  
 Wiewol du jmmer must durch wilde La<sup>n</sup>der streichen,  
 Eh siebenstro<sup>m</sup>ig du kanst den Euxin erreychen,

Doch hoerstu nur in mir solch' vnauffhoerlichkeit  
 Zur Kriegas Lust, vnd den boszhafften Friedensneid.  
 Solt ich vom Weserstrom, vnd dessen Laendren sagen? <sup>1</sup>  
 Vom Lech, vom Oderstrom ein' Vngluacksreihe sagen?  
 Vom Neckar, von der Embs, vom kruemme-vollem Mein  
 Ein langer gantzer Tag sol mir zu kurtze seyn.  
 Lauff weit-weit vberhin die kalten Pyrencken <sup>2</sup>  
 Da gueldnes Wasser fleust: magst jimmer vbersehen  
 Den Wolckengrawen Alp: dort, da *Garumna* geht  
 Vnd da der *Apennin* gantz hoekerlenglich steht.  
 Du findest nirgend nicht so viele Wasserflusse,  
 So grosse Himmelsgunst der Silberklaren Guesse,  
 Als eben hie in Mir, die meinen Kindren Ich  
 Herquellen lasz' aus mir so Mutter-haueffiglich.  
 Doch was? Ich gebe zwar Crystallen schoene quellen,  
 Vnd wolte hertzlich gern mit diesen Baenden stellen  
 Die Meinen in den Bund, in die Vertrawlikeit,  
 In die vhralte Trew, in die Gewogenheit:  
 Vergebens, vnd vmbsonst. Wann in des Meers abgruenden  
 Mein Wasser widerumb, durch die verborgne schrunden  
 Mit brausen in mich felt, dann schmeck ist das es sey  
 Voll Blut, voll Menschenfett, voll Thraenen, voll Geschrey.  
 Mein Aderreichs Gebuerg ach were es geblieben,  
 Wie vormal, vn bekant, man wuere nicht so lieben  
 Den Gold- vnd Silberdurst: Geld lieben, ey das kan  
 Vns ziehn die Tugend aus, die Lastre wieder an.  
 Ach Stein-Stal-Eisren Volck, jhr Weltgeerbne <sup>3</sup> Seelen,  
 Die jhr so lustren seyden den Himmel selbst zu quelen,  
 Kriegduerstiglich hinlebt, verliebt in Tyranny,  
 Voll boeser Vnvernunft; voll Menschenfresserey.  
 Es scheint, ob die Natur, der Enderungen Kraefften  
 In mir entbloet sey, vnd Nagelfest sich hefften  
 Gelassen an den Fels der Vngluocksewigkeit,  
 Weil sich die gantze Welt oft endert, ohn mein Leid.

<sup>1</sup>klagen.<sup>2</sup>Pyrenaeen.<sup>3</sup>ergebne.



Der Sonnen gu<sup>l</sup>ldnes-Ratt verendert Jahr vnd Zeiten,  
 Der Mond nimbt ab vnd zu : bald sa<sup>e</sup>uselt von der seyten  
     Der ku<sup>h</sup>ler Abendwind, bald brauset Boreas  
     Der Felsenstu<sup>r</sup>mer her, bald ho<sup>r</sup>t man disz, bald das.  
 Wie, wann mit vngestu<sup>m</sup> die tru<sup>b</sup>e Luft durchsauset  
 Ein Wolckenschwartzes Meer, wanns stu<sup>r</sup>mt vnd schrecklich  
     brauset,

    Wenn aus dem Himmel fa<sup>l</sup>t mit schwefel, Fewr vnd Knall,  
     Der Donner vnd der Blitz vnd schreckt vns allzumahl :  
 Wenn Gott den Himmel pflegt wie Eysen zuverschliessen,  
 Vnd la<sup>s</sup>t die Flu<sup>s</sup>se mit schier-leeren ba<sup>u</sup>chen fliessen,  
     Die Erde berstet auff fu<sup>r</sup> Hitz vnd Mattigkeit,  
     Der dickgewo<sup>l</sup>bter-Wald tregt ein verwelcktes Kleyd.  
 Wann Gott blest in das Land die giftigen Pestwinde  
 Vnd schickt den Wu<sup>r</sup>ger her : la<sup>s</sup>t zornig vnd geschwinde  
     Der Menschen schwaches-Volck ohn der Person ansehen  
     Mit vielen tausenden abfallen vnd hingehn :  
 Wie, wenn sonst Vngelu<sup>e</sup>ck auch tausendfach herwu<sup>t</sup>et  
 Ein listig-falscher Sinn sonst disz vnd das auszbru<sup>t</sup>et :  
     Disz alles insgesambt hat endlich seine Zeit,  
     Dem a<sup>r</sup>gsten Vbel ist seyn End vnd Ziel bereit.  
 Mich trifft das Widerspiel : man krieget nur nach kriegem  
 Nach Friede kriegt man nicht : wann Gott gibt das obsiegen  
     Das dient zu kriegem nur : man zwinget also Gott  
     Zur straffe, vnd man treibt mit Gottes Gu<sup>t</sup>e spott.

## C

Drumb musz Gott grawsam seyn, Gott kan sich nicht erbarmen,  
 Er fasset seinen Pfeil mit eyfer-starcken Armen,  
     Vnd zihlet zorniglich : Er trifft vnd schlegt mich fest  
     Mit Krieg, mit Hungersnoth, mit Fewr vnd mit der Pest.  
 Ich schicke leyder ! weg, die fewrigen Gedancken  
 Wol hundert tausendmahl bis durch des Himmels schrancken,  
     Doch wechst die Kriegeslast, vnd die Halstarrigkeit  
     Des steten Vngelu<sup>e</sup>cks verleuret End' vnd Zeit.  
 Der heissen Seufftzer dampff musz meine Worte stu<sup>m</sup>len  
 Ich kan fu<sup>r</sup> Hertenprast kaum aus dem Staube mumlen,

Doch wechst die Vnglückslast, vnd die Halstarrigkeit  
 Des bösen Krieges musz verlieren End' vnd Zeit.  
 Wie weynet, winselt, fleht, der Hauffe der Gejagten!  
 Wie jammern doch die Gepresten vnd Geplagten!  
 Doch wechst die Vnglückslast, vnd die Halstarrigkeit  
 Des bösen Krieges wird ergroßert allezeit.  
 Der Eltern Rede ist von morden vnd von kriegem,  
 Es klebt den Kindern an auch von der ersten Wiegen,  
 Man reitzt zur Waffengier, zur Krieges Sünden-wust  
 Leid, Mord vnd Diebstal thun ist vieler Leute Lust.  
 Wann die dicktrübe Luft mit Wolcken steht vmbzogen  
 Der starcken Winden sturm wirfft Sternenhoch die Wogen.  
 Vnd Wellen in der See, vnd machet tausendmahl  
 Bald einen Wasserberg, bald Höllentieffes Thal:  
 Vnd dann ein Schiff vmbblauft in solchem Wasserwüthen  
 Das Schiffvolck musz es wohl regieren vnd behuthen  
 Durch fleisz vnd einig seyn: Es wer' Unsinnigkeit  
 Wenn sie mit Vngestüm erregten einen streit;  
 Wer vnter jhnen sol am Ruder oben stehen  
 Vnd liessen vnter des das Schiff zu grunde gehen,  
 So geht es mit mir her: man zweyet, zerret sich  
 Mit meinem Blut' vmb mich vnd tödtet also mich.  
 Man wil, was für ein recht?<sup>1</sup> behalten vnd erwerben,  
 Vnd la'sset Leut' vnd Land von grund aus hinverderben:  
 Von dem was Geistlich ist wird weltliches verzehrt  
 Weil es nicht, wie Got wil, zu Gotten<sup>2</sup> dienst gekehrt.  
 Vnd es ist künnfftig noch (Ach das ich möchte liegen.)  
 Verhanden Streit vnd Krieg, einander recht zu kriegem,  
 Wo Gott nicht scheiden wird, so wird mein Gottes Hausz  
 Die Frembden lassen ein, mich stossend selbst hinaus.  
 Kan man den Vnglücksgrund denn nimmermehr vmbreissen,  
 Wil sich der stahlern Sinn nicht etwas denn verschleissen  
 In Thrañen, Fewr vnd Blut? man Creisset vnd man Tagt  
 Ach lieber Gott was ist, was kan wol seyn erjagt

<sup>1</sup> Verdruckt: (rech? t behalten.)<sup>2</sup> tes.

Ich wolte ja allhie wol hundert Zeugen bringen  
 Vnd hundert noch dazu : Ich wolt ein Ma<sup>h</sup>rlein singen  
 Wie man wol vormals pflag, das aller Krieg vnd Streit  
 Vnd vntergang entsteht aus der Vneinigkeit.  
 Doch ging es in den Wind. So lang die Erdenkugel  
 Gehangen in der Lufft, so lang gesetz' vnd Zu<sup>e</sup>gel  
 Den La<sup>n</sup>dre<sup>n</sup> eingelegt, war, wird, vnd ist allzeit  
 Des Wolstands Na<sup>h</sup>rerin die liebe Einigkeit  
 Vneinig, streitig seyn ; Zanck suchen sich zu zweyen,  
 Das pflegt ja gar gewisz zum vntergang gedeyen :  
 Bey der Vneinigkeit sich stets verderben find,  
*Der Vntergang ist der Vneinigkeit jhr Kind.*

## Cij

Die Laute ist ohn Laut wenn eine Seite springet ;  
 Wenn an den Wagen man vorn, neben, hinten bringet  
 Der Pferde tolle macht, vnd la<sup>s</sup>t zugleich zihn,  
 Ey dencke, wo wird doch der Wage kommen hin ?  
 Man ha<sup>l</sup>t auff solches recht vnendlich seyn absehen,  
 Wordurch zu Grunde musz das *Allgemeines* gehen :  
 Drumb geht es, wie es geht. Die Kette bricht entzwey,  
 Weil dieses Glied wird du<sup>n</sup>n das jenes dicker sey.  
 Lauff, hol ein Messer her, vnd schneid' in deinen Finger  
 Was der fu<sup>h</sup>lt das fu<sup>h</sup>lt auch der gantzer Leib nicht ringer,  
 Die Augen sehen sawr, es kru<sup>m</sup>met sich der Mund,  
 Wo nicht die Glieder seyn, ist ja kein Leib, gesund.  
 Ach ich elendes Weib, bin Gliederlos, verla<sup>h</sup>met,  
 Verfault durch Marek vnd Bein, entgro<sup>s</sup>sert, gar beschemet  
 Mein eisren Hertz fu<sup>h</sup>lt nicht wie Fleisch vnd Blut weg-  
 geht  
 Bisz dasz es, gar zu spa<sup>t</sup>, in gleicher Kranckheit steht.  
 Man mag zweyhertzig seyn, man man politisiren  
 Vnd mit vnteutschem Witz die teutsche Trew auszzieren,  
 Nichts hilffet es. Nur nur die *Einigkeit* allein  
 Die kan mir sterbenden ein Leben wieder seyn.  
*Die Einigkeit die ist ein Gottesband vnd Liebe*  
*Der durch vermischten Welt : schaw, wenn die Sonne bliebe*

Fest vnd hallstarrig stehen ; wie, wenn des Mondes schein  
 Nicht wolte ho°ckerig noch Ho°rnerspitzig seyn :  
 Wenn sich des Fewers macht mit Wasser wolte mengen,  
 Die See mit dickem Sturm ausz jhren Grentzen drenge,  
 Wie ku°ndte die Natur in jhrer Krafft bestehn,  
 In den dick-wuesten Klump wu°rd' alles wider gehn.  
 GOTT hat dis grosses-all auf einikeit gegru°ndet  
 Durch solchen Himmelschlus, ja durch sich selbst verku°ndet,  
 Das, was nicht enig sey, in sich zerfallen sol,  
 Vnd endlich nichts mehr seyn. Die Menschen sein so toll  
 Wenn sie nur (Christi Lehr gantz ringgeachtet) ko°nnen  
 Anspinnen Zanck vnd Neyd, die neben Christen trennen,  
 So meinen sie es sey der Klugheit Meisterstu°ck  
 Vnd weyden jhren Neyd ans Nechsten Vngelu°ck.  
 Ach ruffet doch herbey die Sinnen vnd Gedancken,  
 Was ist doch wol erholt durch langes Krieges Zancken ?  
 Der Vntergang schleicht her, Bo°szheit wird wu°tend-reg,  
 Wo solch Gesindlein kompt, laufft alle Tugend weg.  
 Ach dasz du Teutsches Hertz den strengen Degen zu°cken  
 Mu°chst wider Thracien ! Ach das du vberbru°cken  
 Erst solst den Hellespont, vnd dasz ich solte sehn  
 Auff den halb-Tu°rcken Mond die weisen Creutze gehn !  
 Es ku°nne Mir gewis der trotziger Marane  
 Der Harffen gantzer Schall ; die Lylien-scho°ne Fahne  
 Der kalter Nordenstrich, nicht nehmen vberall  
 Wenn Meine enig seyn sie schlagen sie zumahl.  
 Ihr Teutschen, in der Welt jhr ho°chstberu°mbten Helde,  
 Eur Felsenstarckes Heer, wenn es hielt in dem Felde,  
 Vmbgossen vom Metall, vmbscheineth von dem Blitz  
 Der Lantzen, von dem Zorn vnd Lo°wenmuth erhitzt :  
 Da floh der Gallier, der Spanier nach der Iber,  
 Der kurtzer Romerman lieff ru°ckwerts nach der Tiber,  
 Der Tu°rcke voller Trotz, der starcker Saracen  
 Lieff hundert meilen weg so bald er euch gesehn.

Cijj

Ihr tapffren Leute seydt biszhero noch gewesen  
 Der Grundfest meines Reichs : Ihr seydt von Gott erlesen



Zur Zier der Christenheit : das Haupt der gantzen Welt  
 Wird von vnd vnter euch erkohren vnd bestellt.  
 Streitbahr vnd Tugendfest seydt jhr vnd von den Alten  
 Fu'r die besta'ndigsten vnd Trewesten gehalten,  
 Ihr seydt Europens Krafft, der Tu'rcken gegentrutz,  
 Die Seele alles Heers, der Potentaten Schutz.  
 Wenn von der Erden man den Glauben wu'rd' auszutreiben,  
 So sol er doch bey euch, jhr Teutschen ; fest verbleiben.  
 Doch, ach ! was sage ich ? Ihr mu'sset schier mit mir  
 Im zweiffel stehn an dem was ietz gesaget hier.  
 Wenn Gott liesz' eins auffstehn die alten-Teutschen Helden,  
 (Die Cæsar, Tacitus, vnd viele newre melden)  
 Sie wu'rden all' in mir in grosser Irre gehn,  
 Ja im Teutschlande oft nach Teutschen sich vmbsehn.  
 Die Sternen in der Lufft, den grossen Himmels Wagen  
 Der Berg' vnd Wa'lder strich, woraus die klippen ragen  
 Bey vielen Hunderten, vnd in die Wolcken gehn,  
 Die wu'rden Sie, als stets erka'ndtlich, wieder sehn.  
 Sol dieses Teutschland seyn (So wu'rden sie wol sagen)  
 Das altes Vaterland, worinnen mir geschlagen  
 Vnd donnergleich erlegt wer nur kam vber Rhein ?  
 Hie ist das Land ja nicht, es kan gewis nicht seyn.  
 Es mus seyn Scyterland, der Tartaren Gebiete,  
 Ein Land voll Grimmigkeit, erfu'lt mit Ho'llenwu'te :  
 Es ist die Barbarey, da wilde Drachen seyn,  
 So speyen Fewr, auff dasz sie selbst sich a'schren eyen.  
 Nein, es musz Teutschland seyn, die Sternen vns nicht triegen  
 Der Rhein vnd Elb' ist hie ; die Lufft selbst kan nicht liegen ;  
 Der blaw-schwartz-dicker Hartz : schawt hie ist noch der Ort  
 Da Varus bisz ins Gras, die Donau laufft noch dort  
 Hie wurden von der See die Leiber angetrieben  
 Nach dem der Ro'mer Volck sampt tausend Schiffen blieben,  
 Hie hielt *Germanicus* : dort floh hin der *Cæcin*,  
 Der Menschenwu'rger auch der *Cæsar* zog hie hin.  
 Es ist das Land, da wir geboren vnd erzogen  
 Vnd mit der ersten Milch die Tugend lust gesogen.

Es wird ohn Zweifel seyn von grund auff vmbgekehrt,  
 Wir sehen vberall verödet und verheert.  
 Der Gallier Gesind das sehen wir bey Hauffen,  
 Dort tritt ein Welscher her; schaw, wie so Herrisch lauffen,  
 Die Spanjer recht aus Trotz: hie zieht ein Schotte an;  
 Ein Schwede vnd ein Finn steht dort beym Engelsman.  
 Die Plaetze durch vnd durch sein feindlich starck besetzt  
 Die Fürsten vnter sich verwirret vnd verhetzet:  
 Das Vnglück herrschet hie: die Falschheit-volle Trew,  
 Die Hertenlose Gunst wechst hie in Teutschland new,  
 Ein unstern böser art musz haben dir geleuchtet:  
 Ein giftigreicher Thaw hat durch vnd durch befeuchtet  
 Dich, liebstes Vaterland, bistu nun so veracht  
 Erbettelst recht vnd Schutz vom Gluck' vnd frembder  
 macht.  
 So wurden itz von mir die alten Teutschen sagen,  
 Was meynt jhr aber wol, wie wurden sie beklagen,  
 Ein bruderloses Hertz, weil jhr es selber seydt,  
 Die Mir den Vntergang anthun mit Hertzleyd.  
 Doch ach! was hilffet es, was hilfft erbarlich klagen,  
 Was hilffet Tausendmahl, von tausend aengsten sagen,  
 Es ist mein bester Trost, ohn Trost vnd Huelfe seyn,  
 Gantz rett- vnd Hoffnungslos nichts fuhlen in der Pein.  
 Des Krieges Höllenthor hat Cerberus zerbissen,  
 Die Teuffelinnen seyn vnd Furien gerissen  
 Mit einem schwarm heraus: des Vnglücks Höllenfewr  
 Schlecht flammenweis hernach vnd brennet vngehewr  
 Sie herrschen noch in mir mit grimmer Sündenwuete,  
 Vnd stecken an das Hertz, sie wohnen im Geblute  
 Des bösen Menschenthiers; erwecken Haas vnd Neid,  
 Den Teuffelgleichen Geitz, schmach vnd Rachgierigkeit.  
 Sie reitzen zu der Lust des höchstverdambten Krieges,  
 Zum Blutbesprengten Ruhm des vngerechten Sieges:  
 Das ist der Boszheit Wunsch, der Höllen argster Tuock,  
 Sein fuhl- vnd Schmerzenlosz in eignem Vnglück.  
 Ich sterbe täglich hin mit durch verwirter Seelen,  
 Mit quellender Begier, mit Hertenprast, mit quelen,

Ich nehme meine Hand vnd stosse mir ins Hertz,  
 Die Glieder fu<sup>h</sup>len nichts vnd seyn doch voller Schmerz.  
 Ich bin elendiglich verstummelt vnd entgliedet,  
 Es ist mein eignes Volek, dasz bo<sup>e</sup>se Waffen schmiedet,  
 Zu to<sup>d</sup>ten Mich durch sich : man nimbt mir Marek vnd  
 Blut,  
 Vnd meinet gleichwol es sey zur Gesundheit gut.  
 Von Rom, von Lysabon, von Paris, vnd von Londen,  
 Von Crackaw, von Stockholm, wil man zu meinen Wunden  
 Mir holen Artzeney : Man sendet aber Gifft,  
 Mit Lieb' vnd Haas bescho<sup>e</sup>nt das mich noch to<sup>d</sup>tlich trifft.  
 Wer, vmb versichert seyn, braucht Hu<sup>e</sup>lfte fro<sup>e</sup>mbder Leute,  
 Der gibt sich andren selbst zum Raube vnd zur Beute :  
 Elendes teutsches Hertz, ey dencke nimmermehr,  
 Das was ein fro<sup>e</sup>mbder nimbt, dir wieder gebe her  
 Wie ist doch ehemals Rom zu seiner Hochheit kommen ?  
 Die Tu<sup>r</sup>ckische Gewalt wie hat die zugenommen ?  
 Woher kompt Engelland ? wie war der Celten Joch ?  
 Wordurch fiel Griechenland ? Metz, Toul, Verdun itzt noch ?  
 Ach lernet die Gefahr an fro<sup>e</sup>mbden Vnglu<sup>e</sup>ck schawen !  
 Wolt jhr der Schaafe recht den Wolffen anvertrawen :  
 Vmb vngerechtes recht, der Hoheit falschen schein,  
 Ach ho<sup>e</sup>ret doch eins auff mordgierige zu seyn.  
 Wie lange wolt jhr doch misztra<sup>e</sup>wlich vberdencken  
 Den Bund, das Bruderrecht ? den trewen Sinn versencken  
 In Argwohn, Miszverstand ? annehmen solche Gier  
 Die Euch nur Vnglu<sup>e</sup>ck gibt vnd Schmach vnd schande mir.  
 Die Fro<sup>e</sup>mbden, die man fleht, sind oft des Lebens Feinde ;  
 Ein selbst-gesuchter Todt, vnd vnsers Vnglu cks Freunde :  
 Oft falschen Leuten gleich ; Oft trewer Sinnen losz,  
 Vnd werden geben mir den allerha<sup>r</sup>tsten Stos.  
 Doch fast zu spa<sup>t</sup>e ist das Weynen, warnen, klagen,  
 Nichts hilffet tausendmahl von tausend a<sup>n</sup>gsten sagen :  
 Mein' Hu<sup>e</sup>lfte ist fast disz, ohne alle Hu<sup>e</sup>lfte seyn.  
 Die Linderunge ist nichts fu<sup>h</sup>len in der Pein.  
 Das schreckliches Geschu<sup>t</sup>tz, so donnerkeile speyet,  
 Der Bu<sup>e</sup>chsen starcker Knall, so dicken Hagel strewet

Von Eysen vnd von Bley, lest Blitz vnd dampff hergehn.  
Dadurch man weder Sonn, noch Himmelliecht kan sehn:

## D

Die Nordenvolle Kunst, des Pulvers Hoëllenschwaertze,  
(Zu des verfluchten fund der Teuffel mit der Kertze  
Vnd lehrkunst vorgeleucht) ist in mir auffgebracht,  
Drumb vbets wider mich, stets seine hoehste macht.  
Der Welt hab' ich gelehrt, wie Blitz, ein Fewr, zushiessen,  
Vnd wie man kuenstlich kan das Christenblut vergiessen,  
So kompt aus Danckbarkeit die Welt nun zu mir her,  
Erscheust vnd todtet mich durch meine eigne Lehr.  
Allein' Ich in der Welt war die auffbringerinne  
So vieler Voelcker Schaar: In Mir von anbeginne  
War Trew vnd Tapffrigkeit; Es ging dasz schoenes Vieh  
In seiner vollen trifft in Mir bald dort bald hie.  
Ich kunt' in alle Welt die Meinen vormals senden  
Bey hundert tausenden: Das Spiel musz sich itz wenden  
Es ist mein fettes Vieh verschmachtet, weg gesand,  
Die Voegel in der Lufft zihn in ein ander Land.  
Ach dasz jhr, Kinder, wolt so Lastergierig bleiben,  
Ewr werthes Vaterland aus ewrem Lande treiben.  
Ich bin es ja, da jhr geboren vnd geseugt  
Die Ehre, Lust vnd Lob euch vberfluessig zeigt.  
Doch muest nach Welschland jhr, nach Spanjen Franckreich  
lauffen  
Vnd fuer ewr liebes Geld nur grobe Lastre kauffen:  
Fuer den gesunden Leib, vnd Hertzens Redligkeit  
Bringt jhr ein faules Fleisch vnd leichtes Narrenkleyd.  
(Er *allomodisirt*, kan *complementen* machen,  
Vnd *courtisiret* wol, *parlert brav* von den Sachen)  
Es scheint euch das Wort', vnd sagt es teutsch recht her,  
|| Er schneidet auff, ist falsch, ein Geek, vnd noch wol mehr.  
Seht, ewre schoenste Sprach, ein Zeichen der Freyheiten,  
Voll Pracht, voll Suessigkeit, voll der Gluekseligkeiten  
Die jemals eine Sprach gehabt hat in der Welt,  
Wird so geschaendet, vnd von euch hindan gestellt.



Die teutsche Sprache ists, daher gelernet reden  
 Der Nord- vnd Engelsmann, der Da<sup>e</sup>ne vnd die Schweden,  
 Sie war vollsta<sup>e</sup>ndig-gantz lang fu<sup>r</sup> drey tausend Jahr.  
 Der Himmelschlus macht itzt den Reichthumb offenbahr.  
 So musz die gantze Welt sich fort- vnd fort- vmbwenden  
 Durch grimmer Jahren fluth : Der Himmel pflegt zu senden  
 Der Erden neuen witz ; So bleibet allezeit  
 Bey vns bestendiglich die Vnbestendigkeit.  
 In den Gestirnen wohnt ein kra<sup>e</sup>fftiges bewegen  
 Drumb musz zu seiner Zeit sich enderen vnd regen  
 Der Menschen schwaches thun : was ku<sup>e</sup>nstlich hoch vnd  
 werth  
 Fu<sup>r</sup> tausend Jahren war, das ist itzund verkehrt.  
 Der Ku<sup>e</sup>nsten hohes Lob, vnd die Geschicklichkeiten  
 Empfinden jhren Todt : Es hat auch seine Zeiten  
 Der Sprachen grosser Ruhm : Die vor war hoch geacht  
 Wird durch Gewonheit itzt fast vberall veracht.  
 Man sitzet itz nicht mehr auff des Parnassus Spitzen  
 Der Musen su<sup>e</sup>sses Chor in scho<sup>e</sup>ner Reige sitzen,  
 Der Griechen Zier ist aus : das pra<sup>e</sup>chtiges Latein  
 Ku<sup>e</sup>nn' ein' Auffwa<sup>e</sup>rterin, vnd nicht mehr Herrin seyn.  
 Was redet der Frantzoz mit fliessendem Gemeuge,  
 Was pralt der Spanier mit trotzigem Gepra<sup>e</sup>nge ;  
 Was bellt der Engelsman : was sagt der Welscher her,  
 Das ist vermengtes Werck, sind Hurenkinder nur.

Dij

Doch wer was frembdes kan mit halber Zungen lallen,  
 Der musz sein hochgeehrt : Es ku<sup>e</sup>tzelt euch fu<sup>r</sup> allen,  
 Wann jhr aus Vnverstand, die teutsche Zier beschmirt  
 Aufsuchend frembdes Koht, vnd euch bey euch verliht.  
 Wann jhr die Zungen nicht ku<sup>e</sup>ndt schlanck vnd kru<sup>e</sup>mmig  
 machen,  
 Wie sehr jhr euch bemu<sup>e</sup>ht ; seht, wie euch auszzulachen  
 Der leichter Frantzman pflegt : So sol den, dencket doch,  
 Ewr teutscher trewer Mund seyn ein Frantzo<sup>e</sup>sich Loch.  
 Die teutsche Sprache zeigt jhr' vnerscho<sup>e</sup>ppfte Gu ter,  
 Der zeiten-starcker Geist der reitzet die Gemu<sup>e</sup>ter

Zu dero Liebe an : Doch bleibt blind das Land  
 Vnd mit Vrtheilen stu<sup>r</sup>mt oft grober Vnverstand.  
 Die scho<sup>n</sup>ste Reinligkeit der Sprache wird beflecket  
 Mit fro<sup>m</sup>bdn Bettelwerck : ja, schendlich wird zertreckt  
     Die eingepflanzte Art, der redet Teutsch nicht recht,  
     Der den Allmodo-Mann nicht in dem Busem tra<sup>e</sup>gt  
 Die Sprache, die da kan die Kron' Europens nehmen  
 Die wil man Henckergleich zerstu<sup>e</sup>cklen vnd verla<sup>e</sup>hmen:  
     Wer sie nicht ausgeu<sup>b</sup>t, vnd nur nach Fransch verdreht,  
     Der gla<sup>u</sup>be nur, das er davon noch nichts versteht.  
 Vnd wer so jhre Zier mit flickerey durchlappet  
 Mit eckelvollem Maul nach fro<sup>m</sup>bdn Worten schnappet,  
     Ist seines Namens feind, ein schlu<sup>n</sup>gel vnd ein Geck,  
     Nimbt, Mir zu schande, an fu<sup>r</sup> Gold nur lauter Dreck.  
 Er wil den Dornebusch in grosse Wa<sup>l</sup>der tragen,  
 Er brennt ein stickend Oel bey So<sup>n</sup>nenliechten Tagen :  
     Er meynt es mache erst ein scho<sup>e</sup>ns Crystallenquell  
     Sein Speichel vnd sein Koth, durchsichtig, scho<sup>n</sup> vnd hell.  
 So pflegt der Odem euch nach frembder Art zustincken,  
 Der gantzer Leib musz sich fein lencken, schmiegen, hincken,  
     Der wolgesa<sup>t</sup>zter Fusz mus schleiffen seinen schrit  
     Wie der Ausla<sup>n</sup>der euch mit Gauckeley fu<sup>r</sup> tritt  
 So ofte der Frantzos aus flu<sup>e</sup>chtig-leichten Sinnen  
 Vera<sup>n</sup>dert seine Tracht, setzt aussen was war binnen,  
     Ein enges macht er weit, ein grosses wieder klein,  
     So wolt jhr Teutschen stracks ein Affe mit jhm seyn.  
 Auff Spanisch wird ewr Fleisch gewu<sup>r</sup>tzt vnd vberstrewet,  
 Geschnitten auff Frantzo<sup>e</sup>sch, auff welsche art gekewet,  
     Ein teutscher Magen den nimbt die Verdewung hin,  
     Draus wird gebru<sup>e</sup>tet ein Spansch-Welsch-Fransch-Teut-  
         scher Sinn.  
 Ach schemet jhr euch nicht, jhr Kindergleiche Affen,  
 Die jhr wolt gieriglich nach fro<sup>m</sup>bdn Su<sup>n</sup>den gaffen  
     Vnd gerne vnteutsch seyn, Ewr Vaterland veracht  
     Vnd habt in Teutschland ein vnteutsches Teutschland  
         bracht.

Die Kleyder, Speis' vnd Tranck, die Sprache vnd die Sitten,  
Trew vnd Besta<sup>n</sup>digkeit, wofu<sup>r</sup> wie Lo<sup>e</sup>wen stritten

Die Alten, sind meist weg : das Alte hasset jhr

Vnd sucht im fro<sup>m</sup>mbden new, newgierig ewre Zier.

Drumb werdet jhr von new erfu<sup>l</sup>let mit Boszheiten,

Von new mit Su<sup>n</sup>denlast, von new mit scha<sup>n</sup>dligkeiten,

So wechset bey euch auff von newem vnd von new

Ein Hertenloses Hertz vnd Falschheit-volle Trew.

Die alten Teutschen sind geblieben in dem Lande,

Befunden sich dabey im Ruh' vnd im Wolstande,

Sie haben jhren Gott vnd Ober Haupt geehrt,

Drumb ward die Himmelsgunst vnd Tugendruhm vermehrt.

Dijj

Nun wil man schlecht dahin gesetz' vnd masse zwingen,

Wohin das Glu<sup>e</sup>cke wil mit leichten schritten springen :

Wohin das Glu<sup>e</sup>cke nur mit blinder weise schlecht,

Da folge, meinet man, *Gott, Obrigkeit vnd Recht.*

Das loses Kriegesglu<sup>e</sup>ck erstu<sup>r</sup>mt Vernunft vnd Sinnen,

Vnd reizt der Menschen wunsch zu ho<sup>e</sup>heren beginnen,

Davon sie mu<sup>s</sup>ssen thun den fall vnd ja<sup>e</sup>hen Schritt,

Des Glu<sup>e</sup>ckes Lachen bringt die Vnglu<sup>e</sup>cksthra<sup>n</sup>en mit

Der grosser Donnermann, der in dem Himmél wohnet

Vnd vnser dencken ho<sup>e</sup>rt, vnd vnser thun belohnet

Nach dessen Wu<sup>e</sup>rdigkeit; der wird ja sta<sup>r</sup>cker seyn

Als Geitz vnd bo<sup>e</sup>ser Rath, als Glu<sup>e</sup>ck vnd falscher Schein.

Doch ach ! was hilffet es ? was nu<sup>t</sup>zt mein langes sagen ?

Wer ho<sup>e</sup>ret meine Noth, mein' Angst vnd Jammerklagen ?

Mein' Hofnung, Leben, Trost wird doch vnd musz doch

seyn,

Trost- Leben- Hoffnungslos nichts fu<sup>h</sup>len in der Pein.

Ich bitte nochmals euch vmb lauter Gotteswillen

Sol man den Gottesdienst fortplantzen vnd auszufu<sup>l</sup>len

Mit lauter Christenblut ? vnd sol der bo<sup>e</sup>ser Krieg

Gott selbst zwingen ab den eingebildten Sieg ?

Gott sagt ja selber nein ; vnd wann jhr werdet fragen

Die alte Kirche, sie wird nein imgleichen sagen :

Itzt der Gewohnheit Grund ist fern, wie Nacht von Tag  
 Von dem was Christus vnd sein Vo<sup>l</sup>cklein vormals pflag.  
 O dicker schwindel Geist, o jhr verstockten Leute !  
 Des Fu<sup>r</sup>sten dieser Welt gewisser Raub vnd Beute,  
 Die jhr den Himmel stu<sup>r</sup>mt, Gott zwinget, rasend toll,  
 Wann, wie vnd weme er das Hertze endren sol.  
 Ach ho<sup>c</sup>hster lieber Gott, soltu nicht retten ku<sup>n</sup>nen,  
 Dein' Ehre vnd dich selbst ? der bo<sup>e</sup>sen Menschen Sinnen  
 Vmb<sup>s</sup>chmeltzen dein Gebot, vnd bilden jhnen eyn  
 Gott mu<sup>s</sup>se so wie sie vnd jhr begierde seyn.  
 Wo bleibt der Demuth Krafft ? wo bleibt das-Gott-heimstellen  
 Das tragen su<sup>s</sup>ses Jochs ? zur leichten Last gesellen ?  
 Wo bleibt die Bruderschaft ? die Liebe ? die Gedult ?  
 Wo bleibt der Friedenswunsch ? die Vngleichheit der  
 Welt ?  
 Itzt hat sichs vmbgekehrt, es heist mit Pracht stoltziren  
 Faustrichten Gottes Wort : zur Pein vnd Marter fu<sup>h</sup>hren  
 Wegnehmen Hausz vnd Hoff : verdammen ; feindlich seyn ;  
 Vmbkleyden einen Wolff in frommen Schaafes schein.  
 Bedenckt das Christenblut, bedenckt der Christen heulen  
 Vnd den verfaulten Grund der schon gelenckten Seulen  
 Die fallenwillig seyn ; bedenckt mich rings vmbher  
 Wie die krafftglieder Mir verla<sup>h</sup>met sein so sehr.  
 Das dencken ist vmbsonst, vmbsonst ist alles klagen  
 Das Rahten ist zu spa<sup>t</sup>, zu spa<sup>t</sup> ist alles sagen  
 O Gott, o Gott ! es wird mein Hu<sup>l</sup>ff vnd Tro<sup>e</sup>stung seyn  
 Mich duldig stellen hin zum Dienst vnd Sterbenspein.  
 Ich bin mit Schande, Ach ! entblo<sup>e</sup>t vnd auffgedeckt,  
 Mit Blute vnd Gestanck beklebet vnd beflecket  
 Vnd wie ein rothes Fleisch ist meiner Augenschein,  
 Es fewret mein Gesicht fu<sup>r</sup> Scham vnd Schandenpein.  
 Was vor Jerusalem, was Israel getroffen,  
 Was die Weissagere fu<sup>r</sup> ach vnd Weh auszruffen  
 Das trifft vnd tru<sup>e</sup>cket mich, nicht einzelen nicht nur,  
 Besondren hauffenweisz, vnendlich, fu<sup>r</sup> vnd fu<sup>r</sup>.  
 Mit vn<sup>g</sup>estu<sup>m</sup>, mit Ach, mit bitterlichen weynen  
 Vnd schluckweis heule ich : Es wollen doch die Meinen



Mich noch nicht meinen recht: Ich strecke trostlos hin  
Die Hand, vnd musz sie doch trostloser zu mir zihn.  
Ach das ich denen musz vom Himmel sein vertrauet,  
Fu'r derer grimmig seyn mich schaudert vnd sehr grawet:  
Es bleibt ein Eysenberg der Wahn vnd Eygensinn,  
Vnd soll mit Leib vnd Seel ich immer fahren hin,  
Sein eigenes wil man mit solcher Liebe lieben  
Dardurch man pflegt vnd musz Gewissenlosz veru<sup>e</sup>ben  
Das, was man vnrecht nennt: drumb geht es wie es pflegt  
Der vngerechter felt vnd das bescho<sup>e</sup>ntes recht.  
Nun endlich dan, nun dan, es ist vmb mich geschehen,  
Wenn ich lies von mir weg die Vnglu<sup>e</sup>cksklagen gehen  
Wie einen strengen Bach: ich bliebe dann als itz  
Des Jammers vnd der Angst ein Ho<sup>e</sup>lleno<sup>e</sup>der Sitz.  
Verblendet sein so sehr, die meine Kinder heissen,  
Sie heissens wohl gethan, wenn sie nur mehr zerreißen,  
Den mehr als schwachen Band: Es gibt nur falschen Blick  
Der fro<sup>e</sup>mbder, der schon tra<sup>e</sup>gt ein zugeschlingtes Strick.  
Brich, ho<sup>e</sup>chster Gott entzwey den Stecken der mich treibet  
Das Eysenschweres Joch das auff dem Nacken bleibt,  
Die scharff<sup>e</sup> Ruthe, die mich hawt blutstriemig-roth,  
Ach nim sie von mir weg, du allerho<sup>e</sup>chster Gott  
Du Friedenfu<sup>e</sup>rste bist nicht mu<sup>e</sup>de zuerbarmen,  
Ach ach vmbschleus mich doch mit deinen Gnaden Armen,  
Du trewer liebster Gott; Ach nein, ach sau<sup>e</sup>me nicht  
Mit deiner Gu<sup>t</sup>e Krafft! Ach lasz dein Angesicht  
Dein Gnaden Angesicht doch eins mit Hu<sup>e</sup>lffe blicken!  
Ich Odemloses Weib musz mich mit winseln bu<sup>e</sup>cken  
Vnd tragen schwere Last: Gott, wilstu ferne stehn  
So mus ich schleunig vnd mit Schanden vntergehn.  
Wie lange wiltu mich von deinen Augen treiben?  
Ach sol das Thra<sup>e</sup>nenbrod denn ewiglich verbleiben  
Mein Gallenbitter Trost? Sol ho<sup>e</sup>chster lieber Gott,  
Sein die Verzweiffelung ein mittel meiner Noth?  
Dein su<sup>s</sup>ser Name ist von Alters her gewesen  
Erretter, Schutz vnd Schild: Ach nun, lasz doch genesen

Die mehr als todte Seel: Ach nun ergreifff mein Land  
 Du Seelentroester doch mit deiner Gnadenhand  
 Ich habe meinen Geist mit Seufftzen vnd mit Thraenen  
 Nun schier geblasen aus: du sihest Mich ja sehnen  
 Hertzgründlich, Gott, nach dir: du frewdenreichster Gott  
 Erfrewe Mich einmal in meiner Sterbensnoth.  
 Zwar, Ich bin sehr verstoert, geangstet auff das Sterben  
 Doch, du bist mittelreich: du bist es der erwerben  
 Vnd widerbringen kan das weg ist vnd verheert,  
 Wann nur dein Segen komt wird alles Mir beschert.  
 Ein Krancker dem die Seel schon sitzt auff der Zungen  
 Das Hertze quellet auff, die Luftrohr zu der Lungen  
 Ist ohne Lufft vnd Geist, wenn der aus Sterbenspein  
 Zu der Gesundheit stracks sol wieder kommen seyn:  
 Wie wu'de dieser doch von Hertzengrunde dancken  
 Dem, der jhm recht gesund aus einem todtlich-Krancken  
 Gemacht: so wil ich auch dir dancken, O mein Gott,  
 Mehr als aus Hertzengrund' Ach wende nur die Noth,

## E

Du sihst die deinen noch, die dich so krafftig bitten,  
 Vnd das ein rechtes Hertz, die Tugend, gute Sitten,  
 Die Lieb' vnd Gottesfurcht, Gerechtigkeit vnd Trew  
 Noch hie ein Wohnhaus find vnd fest gegrundet sey.  
 Hie, da Arminius, das gueldnes Haupt der Printzen  
 Fu'r sechszehnhundert Jahrn vmbgeschlossen hielt die Graentzen  
 Mit mehr als tapffrem Muth, vnd fuhrte das Volek mit  
 Das noch die Weser vnd den Ockerstrom vmbtrit.  
 Hie, woher Auceps kam, der Mann, der Wiederbringer  
 Der teutschen Herrligkit, der tapferster Bezwinger  
 Des, was nur feindlich war, der grosser Kayser-Mann  
 Den auch die Tugend selbst nicht gnugsam loben kan.  
 Hie, wo so hertzlich gern auch die Ottones waren:  
 Hie, wo *Lotharius* (dem mu'sse wiederfahren  
 Der hochsten Tugend Lob) geboren vnd geseugt,  
 Wo das dreyspitzige Hausz sein grosses Grab anzeigt.  
 Hie, wo so manchen Heldt die freye Lufft gegruesset,  
 Wo die Gerechtigkeit vnd Liebe sich gekueset

(Das zuerzehlen itz nicht in die Klage hoert  
 Besondern haben kan viel einen beszren Ort.)  
 Hie, da noch etwas ist von der Gestalt verhanden  
 Die sonst ist vngestalt; Hie, wo du bist gestanden  
 Mit der Fuszstapffen Fett, noch jaehrlich vnd das Land  
 Du lieber Gott erfrewt mit reicher Gnadenhand.  
 Da auch des Bruno Wick, die groeste Stadt in Sachsen,  
 Den Kornbawm laest fuer sich vnd die verjagten wachsen,  
 Der Laender Auffenthalt, die itz verwahret haelt  
 Ein solches, so nicht hat ein gleiches in der Welt.  
 Nicht grosse Klumpen Goldts, das gelbes Koht zergethet,  
 Nicht die Kunstkammer, die in Eitelkeit bestehet,  
 Nicht Buechsen, Pulver, Bley, das Mord vnd Krieg  
 erweckt;  
 Nicht der Lustgarten Zier, die auch ein Schnee bedeckt.  
 Ein anders meine Ich, drumb Braunschweig kan erheben  
 Das Haupt in Mir empor, vnd lassen dabeneben  
 Ein stoltzes Auge aus, vorn, bisz hin nach Tarent,  
 Vnd ruckwerts weiter weg wo sich die Wallis endt:  
 Vnd fragen, nur ohn Schew, ob *Oxford* was kan haben,  
 Dar viele Laender zu gereicht die besten Gaben:  
 Deszgleichen *Leiden* auch, die allerschoenste Stadt,  
 Darin der Musen Volek itz jhr *Athen* noch hat:  
 Das praechtiges *Florentz*, obs wird ein bessres haben,  
 Ob schon das Grichenland gebracht dahin die Gaben:  
 Ob auch wohl zu *Parisz*, ob auch zu *Rom* jtzund  
 Ein mehrers stehe (das zu *Heidelberg* vor stund)  
 Den schoensten *Bucher-Schatz*, den *Schatz voll Ewigkeiten*,  
 Der ists, den meine ich: Was je, von allen Zeiten  
 Gott von vns hat gewolt, der Menschen Geist erdacht,  
 Ist aus der gantzen Welt in *Braunschweig* hergebracht.  
 Schawt, wie der zeiten Zwang mit ab- vnd zuwachs spiele  
 Vnd mit gewissem Schritt die Himmelsgunst zum Ziele  
 Doch endlich kommen musz. Fast sinds achthundert Jahr  
 Als von den *Tarquard* erst das Schlosz erbawet war.

So hat der Zeiten Rost die *Tarquerode* fressen,  
 Gema<sup>e</sup>wr war ohne Mawr, der Nahme war vergessen,  
     Lag wie ein fauler Klump, vnd Namenloser Ort,  
 Darinnen vnd davon nichts sonderlichs geho<sup>e</sup>rt.

Eij

Bisz endlich diese Burg durchs milden Himmels wollen  
 Zu deme, das man heist vnsterblich kommen sollen,  
     Nicht durch die scho<sup>e</sup>ne Kunst womit sie new geziert,  
     Denn das verga<sup>n</sup>glich ist jhm selbst den Todt gebiert.  
 Besondern durch ein Werck der scho<sup>e</sup>nsten Bu<sup>e</sup>cher Schaaren,<sup>1</sup>  
 Die nach der Reize stehn bey so viel tausendt Paaren,  
     Durchbla<sup>e</sup>tert allesampt, von der beru<sup>e</sup>hmten Hand  
     Die jhr fu<sup>e</sup>rla ngst gesetzt ein Todt-befreytes Pfand  
 Die hochgelahrte Hand des ho<sup>e</sup>chstberu<sup>e</sup>hmten Helden,  
 Des Fu<sup>e</sup>rsten, dessen ich zu meiner tro<sup>s</sup>tung melden,  
     Vnd mich erfrewen musz: des Fu<sup>e</sup>rsten der in Mir  
     In dem, was Tugend heist, ist meine ho<sup>e</sup>chste Zier.  
 Der endlich selber wird Mir noch zu gro<sup>e</sup>sten ehren  
 Die Muttersprache erst auff einen Schawplatz fuhren,  
     Wovon sie trotzig wird Europen vbersehn  
     Mit dem Erheber selbst hin durch die Wolcken gehn.  
 Des Fu<sup>e</sup>rsten, vmb den stets verbru<sup>e</sup>dert mu<sup>s</sup>ssen leben  
 Fried' vnd Gerechtigkeit, vmb den stets mu<sup>s</sup>sse schweben  
     Die Fama, Zungenreich, die jhm ein sterckers bringt,  
     Das endlich selbst den Todt vnd Neideskrafft bezwingt.  
 Des Fu<sup>e</sup>rsten der in mir die scho<sup>e</sup>nsten Pfla<sup>e</sup>ntzlein bawet  
 An derer Hofnung Glantz die ho<sup>e</sup>chste Lust man schawet:  
     Der von Gott vnd von mir vo<sup>e</sup>llko<sup>m</sup>lich haben wird  
     Doch endlich, dz von Gott vnd von mir jhm gebu<sup>e</sup>rt.  
 Nun, was ich vorgesagt, du sihest noch die Deinen,  
 Die in den Meinen noch Mich vnd Dich hertzlich meynen  
     Du ho<sup>e</sup>chster lieber Gott, erhalte sie ja doch,  
     Vnd brich, vnd wirff doch weg des Krieges Su<sup>n</sup>den joch

<sup>1</sup> Grössere Lettern von hier ab.



Ich wil die Opffre dir mit meinen Lippen bringen,  
 Ich wil so hertzlich dir in meinem Hertzen singen,  
     Erhoere mich mein Herr, ach wende meine Noth,  
     Damit ich sagen mag von mir zu dir mein Gott:  
*Nun wol mir, mehr als wol! dasz ich mich wieder kennen*  
*Vnd recht durchschawen kan: Nun wol mir, ich kan nennen*  
     *Mich selbst die ich selbst bin. Nun seh' ich dasz es soll*  
     *Mir vnd den Meynen sein Nun wieder mehr als woll.*

## ERRATA PRAELI.

*per numerum indicantur Strophae.*

2. Vnd lies. ib. hinter.    5. Eiterblut.    7. Purpur.    10.  
 Grawsamkeit. ib. gehoert.    13. dickem.    16. Brausen.    43.  
 Kind bein.    70. Laendren klagen.    71. Pyrenaeen.    76.  
 Weltergebne.    92. Recht? ib. Gottesdienst.    104. Morden-  
 volle Kunst.    152. Man siehet.

UN-HOMERIC ELEMENTS IN THE MEDIEVAL  
STORY OF TROY.

THE purpose of the present paper is to discuss the origin and leading manifestations of a spirit of antagonism to Homer that plays a conspicuous part in medieval representations of the Trojan War. While this theme permits, for the most part, only of a descriptive and empirical treatment, an attempt will nevertheless be made, wherever possible, to indicate the conditions under which this anti-Homeric spirit originated and the causes that may have given it birth.

To those who read the *Troilus and Cressida* of Chaucer and Shakespeare for the first time it is a matter of no little surprise to discover that the story of Troy as there presented differs in many essential respects from that with which they are familiar in Homer. It is not alone that the Greeks are pictured by the English poets in a distinctly ridiculous light, that the most conspicuous Trojans are those with whom they are least acquainted in Homer, but the entire setting and atmosphere of the English poems differs so radically from that of the *Iliad* that, were it not for the occasional correspondence of a name or situation, they would with difficulty recognize the themes of the two as identical. In Chaucer and still more in Shakespeare the Greeks and Trojans no longer wear the dignified garb of antiquity but are outlandishly tricked out in the parti-colored patch work of clown, jester, and buffoon. Riot, ribaldry, and vituperation replace the stately repose of the *Iliad*. Classical propriety and decorum have given place to a setting primarily romantic and phantasmagoric, to manners essentially Gothic and grotesque.

The question accordingly arises, how is this complete trans-



formation of the antique in Chaucer and Shakespeare to be accounted for? Is the altered English representation due to a deliberate desire on the part of the English poets to accommodate the Homeric representation to some aesthetic or moral purpose of their own, such as the wish to oppose the essentially sensuous and immoral standards of antiquity to the more exalted ethics of Christian Europe,<sup>1</sup> or is it to be ascribed to a preëxisting, traditional conception of the Trojan War, which Chaucer and Shakespeare felt bound to respect and obey?

In answer to this question it can easily be shown that the latter alternative is the correct one, and that the English poets, so far from having any ulterior moral or artistic purpose to serve, based their poems throughout upon the traditional conception of the Trojan War as found in the works of their medieval predecessors and as still current in their own day. Proof that such was the case is to be found in the fact that all the structural elements appearing in Chaucer and all but a very few in Shakespeare<sup>2</sup> were already present in the Trojan histories of their medieval predecessors. Thus, to cite but one or two examples, Shakespeare's "dreadful sagittary" (V, 5, 14) first appears as the giant archer who in Benoît (*Roman de Troie*, ed. Joly, Paris, 1870, v. 12207) accompanies king Epistrophus to the Trojan War and in the same author (vv. 13235 ff.) occurs the earliest known representation of the relationship that exists between the Troilus and Cressida of Chaucer and of Shakespeare. Nor did Benoît, in his turn, invent the materials that enter into the substance of his *Roman de Troie* but derived the entire substance of that poem from earlier histories. Thus his men-

<sup>1</sup>The interpretation applied to Shakespeare by Ulrici, *Shakespeare's dramatische Kunst*, translated by Schmitz, London, 1890, II, 144-5.

<sup>2</sup>These few—of which the chief is the figure of Thersites—were in every case drawn from Chapman's *Iliad* (cf. R. A. Small, *The Stage-Quarrel between Ben Jonson and the so-called Poetasters*, Breslau, 1899, pp. 165 ff.).

tion of "India" (v. 3843) as the place where the judgment of Paris occurred is due to a mistranslation of the "in Ida silvia" of Dares Phrygius (*De Excidio Trojæ Historia*, ed. Meister, cap. VII) and his account (vv. 26485 ff.) of the dispute between Ajax and Ulysses for the possession of the Trojan Palladium is already present in Dictys Cretensis (*Ephe-meris Belli Trojani*, ed. Meister, lib. V, cap. 14). In other words, the contents of the English poems may be traced, directly or indirectly, to the works of the following predecessors. Shakespeare had recourse for the materials of his *Troilus and Cressida* in part to Chaucer and in part to the third book of Caxton's *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye*; <sup>1</sup> Caxton and Chaucer go back, the one to *Le Recueil des Histoi- res de Troye* of Raoul le Fevre, <sup>2</sup> and the other to the *Filoso- trato* of Boccaccio; <sup>3</sup> Boccaccio and Raoul revert, the latter to the *Historia Trojana* of Guido delle Colonne <sup>4</sup> and the former to *Le Roman de Troie* of Benoît de Ste.-More; <sup>5</sup> Guido to Benoît, <sup>6</sup> and Benoît, in his turn, derived the earlier portion of his *Roman* from Dares Phrygius and the latter portion from Dictys Cretensis. <sup>7</sup> It is accordingly to Dares and Dictys, as thus constituting the ultimate source of the mediæ- val story of Troy, that recourse must be had for the earliest detailed exemplification of a representation so strangely sub-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Small, op. cit., pp. 154 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. H. Oskar Sommer, Caxton's *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye*, London, 1894, Introd. p. lxxxv.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Wm. Michael Rossetti, *Chaucer's Troilus and Cryseyde com- pared with Boccaccio's Filostrato*, Chaucer Society Publications, XLIV and LXV, 1873.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Sommer, op. cit., Introd. pp. cxxxi ff.

<sup>5</sup> Also, in a subsidiary degree, to Guido, as well. Cf. Karl Young, *The Relation of the Filostrato to the Roman de Troie and to the Historia Trojana*, a Harvard dissertation soon to appear in the Chaucer Society Publications.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Dunger, *Die Sage vom trojanischen Kriege*, Leipzig, 1869, p. 61.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Joly, *Benoît de Ste.-More et Le Roman de Troie*, Paris, 1870, Première Partie, pp. 146 ff.

versive of all those notions with which the name of Homer is customarily associated. But before proceeding to an examination of the specifically un-Homeric elements in Dares and Dictys, it will be well to recall very briefly the general characteristics of these two works.

The Trojan histories ascribed to Dictys Cretensis and Dares Phrygius are both forgeries. Though perpetrated presumably in the Greek language and in the second century of our era, these forgeries survive only in Latin versions of the fourth and sixth centuries respectively.<sup>1</sup> Dictys, who claims to be a Cretan soldier who fought on the side of the Greeks, writes his *Ephemeris* in the interests of the Greeks; Dares, who purports to be a Phrygian soldier who fought on the side of the Trojans, has composed his "acta diurna"<sup>2</sup> in the interests of the Trojans. Each history is provided with a preface in which an attempt is made to account for the survival of such valuable relics of antiquity. Dictys' preface consists of two parts, a prologue and an epistle. The prologue was, in all probability, written by the author, the epistle added by the translator.<sup>3</sup> According to the prologue, the annals of the Cretan soldier Dictys, written in ten books,<sup>4</sup> in Phœnician characters upon linden

<sup>1</sup> For a detailed recapitulation of the arguments in favor of a Greek Dictys see my dissertation, *Dares and Dictys*, Baltimore, 1907, pp. 17 ff. Since the appearance of this dissertation and the completion of the present article, the discovery of a fragment of the Greek Dictys (published in *The Tebtunis Papyri*, ed. Grenfell, Hunt, and Goodspeed, Pt. II, pp. 9 ff., London, 1907) has confirmed my conclusion.

<sup>2</sup> The term which the author himself applies to his work: "ruerunt ex Argivis, sicut acta diurna indicant quae Dares descripsit" (XLIV).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Koerting, *Dares and Dictys*, Halle, 1874, pp. 48 ff.; Griffin, *Dares and Dictys*, pp. 118 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Although the prologue gives "six" as the number of books in which Dictys wrote his memoirs, there can be no doubt that ten was the correct number. For in the epistle the translator states that he has retained the last "five" books of his original intact, but has condensed the last "five" into one. The reading "six" in the prologue must therefore have been a late substitution, due, no doubt, to a confusion with the number of books in the Latin translation.



bark, were exposed by a Cretan earthquake in the thirteenth year of the reign of the Emperor Nero and transliterated into Greek script at the emperor's request. According to the epistle, which purports to be written by Lucius Septimius, a Roman, to his friend Quintus Aradius Rufinus, Septimius states that he has translated the *Ephemeris* into Latin, retaining the first five books of his original intact, but condensing the last five, which treat of the return of the Greeks, into one. Similarly Dares' preface, which likewise consists of a letter claiming to be written by Cornelius Nepos to Salustius Crispus, informs the reader that while at Athens Nepos discovered records of the Trojan War written by Dares the Phrygian, who fought on the side of the Trojans. These he has "translated into Latin in order that the reader might judge whether Dares, who actually took part in the Trojan War, or Homer, who was not born until long afterwards, possesses the better title to veracity." "For Homer," he adds, "was afterwards tried at Athens for representing the gods as fighting with men."

The ingenious pretensions thus set forth in the two histories meet no contradiction in the narratives that ensue. Both historians account in every case for their sources of information, eliminate all miraculous and supernatural agencies, and present such scrupulous attention to detail as would seem to befit the testimony of eye-witnesses.

By this resort to a species of literary imposture much in vogue at the time in which they wrote,<sup>1</sup> the authors of the memoirs of the pseudo-Dares and Dictys found no difficulty in convincing a credulous public that their spurious productions were genuine relics of antiquity. Both documents,

<sup>1</sup> The fiction of pre-Homeric authorship was employed not only by the pseudo-Dares and Dictys but also by the presumably contemporary authors of the memoirs of the equally fabulous Sysiphus of Cos, Corinnus the Ilian, Phidalius of Corinth, etc. (cf. p. 50).



though clearly derived from late and impure sources,<sup>1</sup> were accepted at their face value by subsequent generations, who readily acquiesced in a deception which they lacked the critical acumen to detect. Throughout the Middle Ages Homer became virtually set aside and the specious memoirs of Dares and Dictys substituted as more trustworthy records of the Trojan War. Both authors appear in innumerable translations and adaptations in the more common languages of Europe, Dares also in an Irish<sup>2</sup> version, and in an Icelandic.<sup>3</sup> Repeated allusions to Hector, Troilus, and Achilles in English lists of the popular romances of the day, such as those in the *Cursor Mundi* (*Early English Text Society*, LVII, vv. 1-6) and in David Lindsay's *Epistle to his Dreme* (*ibid.* XIX, vv. 34-41) indicate that the tale of Troy enjoyed no less favor than the three great rival tales of Arthur, Charlemagne, and Alexander. Nor did the Revival of Learning at once terminate the vogue of these popular idols. Notwithstanding the appearance of Chapman's *Iliad* in 1598 it was, as has been shown, the old tradition to which in 1603 Shakespeare gave final literary expression in his *Troilus and Cressida*, and to which in 1679 Dryden reverted in his *Troilus and Cressida: or, Truth found too Late*. Even professed students of antiquity were not wanting, such as Leo Allatius,<sup>4</sup> who in the same century still upheld the genuineness of these records. Thus for many centuries Europe lay at the mercy of a lie and it was not until the opening of the eighteenth century that pretensions so long maintained at last met thoroughgoing repudiation at the hands of Perizo-

<sup>1</sup> Cf., on the sources of Dares, Wagner, *Beiträge zu Dares Phrygius*, *Philologus* XXXVIII, 91 ff.; on the sources of Dictys, Dunger, *Dictys-Septimius*, Dresden, 1878, pp. 38 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *The Togail Troi*, ed. Stokes and Windisch, *Irish Texts*, II, Leipzig, 1884.

<sup>3</sup> *The Trójumanna Saga*, ed. J. Sigurðsson, *Annaler for nordisk Oldkyndighed*, Copenhagen, 1848.

<sup>4</sup> *De Patria Homeri* in Gronovius, *Thesaurus*, p. 1745.

ninus, who, in a dissertation prefixed to the 1702 edition of the Delphin Classics, by proofs too definitive to permit further hesitation, removed for all time the last vestiges of this peculiar veneration.

It is not, however, with these more general features of the Dares and Dictys forgeries, nor yet with the story, remarkable and fascinating as that is, of their long-continued popularity in subsequent generations, that this present paper is primarily concerned, but rather with the evidence that these forgeries afford with regard to the origin and nature of those essentially romantic and un-Homeric elements which afterwards appear in Chaucer and Shakespeare. In order to effect this purpose it will be necessary to point out the more specific and noteworthy variations from Homer in these histories and to show in what way the variations in question reappear in the literature of subsequent generations.

The fundamental spirit of antagonism to Homer present in Dares and Dictys reveals itself in a number of different ways, now in the fiction of pre-Homeric composition, now in an attempt to rationalize Homeric myth and to substitute in its place piquant bits of realistic observation, again in the more or less complete transformation of Homeric legend, and still again in the presence of a strong partisan bias, in favor of the Greeks in Dictys and of the Trojans in Dares.

As regards, in the first place, the fiction of pre-Homeric authorship. Dares and Dictys claim that they were actual participants in the Trojan War and eye-witnesses of the events they relate, whereas Homer was not born until long afterwards. Thus Dares declares (XII, XLIV) that he fought on the side of the Trojans until the city was captured, that he mingled freely with the Greeks and Trojans both in times of war and truce, and that after the war he remained at Troy with the party of Antenor. In like manner Dictys asserts (Prol.; I, 13; VI, 2) that he went to the Trojan War in the company of the Cretan generals Idomeneus and Meriones, that after the fall of Troy he returned with these

generals to Crete, and that he there wrote, at their suggestion, a record of his personal experiences. In order to make his claims appear well grounded each author later takes pains to specify, with the utmost precision, the exact means by which he became informed of the events he relates. Dictys states (I, 13; VI, 3, 5, 10) that he learned the events prior to the war from the lips of Ulysses, the events of the war itself from personal experience, the events subsequent to the war in part from Menelaus, who, being on his return to Greece driven from home, sought refuge in Crete, in part from Ulysses, who was rescued from shipwreck and brought to Crete by sailors of Idomeneus, and in part from Neoptolemus, whose nuptials in Sparta the author attended in person. Similarly Dares (XII) became acquainted<sup>1</sup> with the personal appearance of the Trojans and of the Greeks who were present at Troy either on the field of battle or during times of truce, of the Greeks who were absent, from the reports of those present. All particulars which, in the nature of the case, could have fallen under the observation neither of Dares and Dictys nor of their informants are, for the most part, consistently excluded. Thus Dares, who remained in Troy after the fall of the city, omits, as beyond his means of knowledge, the story, which Dictys (VI) gives, of the return of the Greeks. Conversely, Dictys, who first went to Troy at the outbreak of hostilities, passes over in silence Dares' account (I-III) of the Argonautic Expedition and First Destruction of Troy by Hercules as events of which he, in his turn, possessed no direct means of information.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In marked contrast to Dictys, Dares always refers to himself in the third person. Cf. "Dares Phrygius, qui hanc historiam scripsit, ait . . . hos se vidisse, etc." (XII) with "eorum [sc. Idomenei et Merionis] ego secutus, etc." (*Eph.* I, 13).

<sup>2</sup> Neither Dares nor Dictys is strictly consistent in the suppression of particulars that could have fallen neither under his own observation nor that of his informants. Thus Dictys introduces the Rape of Helen



By thus representing themselves as prior to Homer in point of time Dares and Dictys succeeded in impressing upon the minds of their successors the belief that they were superior to Homer in point of veracity. Thus the twelfth-century Benoît de Ste.-More (op. cit. vv. 55 ff.) complains that Homer, though a "marvelous clerk" did not "live until one hundred years after the Trojan War" and commends the absolute truthfulness of Dares and Dictys, whose words he proposes to "follow to the letter;" a marginal note in a ms. of the *Σύνοψις ἱστοριῶν* of the eleventh-century Georgius Cedrenus states (according to Allatius in Gronovius' *Thesaurus*, X, 1774) that Homer "wrote his *Iliad*" exactly "ninety-nine years after the Trojan War;" the twelfth-century historian Constantine Manasses (*Σύνοψις χρονική*, ed. Bekker, Niebuhr's *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, p. 23), while acknowledging that Homer made use of good documents, claims that he misrepresented facts; the sixth-century historian Joannes Malalas (*Χρονογραφία* ed. Dindorf, Niebuhr, op. cit., p. 132, ll. 20 ff.) and his excerptor, the twelfth-century historian Joannes Tzetzes (*Historiarum Variarum Chiliades*, ed. Kiessling, V, 29, 30), concur in the statement that it was Dictys to whom Homer and Virgil afterwards had recourse for the substance of their poems; the twelfth-century poet Joseph of Exeter (*Historia de Bello Trojano*, ed. in Valpy, *Scriptores Latini*, lib. I, vv. 24 ff.) and the thirteenth-century poet Albert of Stade (*Troilus*, ed. Merzdorf, lib. VI, vv. 697 ff.) rejoice that Dares the Phrygian soldier rejects all poetic fables and holds himself strictly

(I, 3), an event witnessed neither by himself nor his informants and yet of such immediate note to a patriotic Greek as to require no special authentication. Dares goes even farther and introduces such remote events as the landing of the Argonauts on the coast of Phrygia (II), the First Destruction of Troy by Hercules (III), and the Embassy of Antenor to regain Hesiona (V), which, though directly known neither to himself nor his informants, must, in like manner, have become matters of concern to every public-spirited Trojan.



within the bounds of truth; the twelfth-century historian Guido delle Colonne (*Historia Trojana*, Strasburg, 1486, sig. a 1 rect., col. 1, ll. 34 ff.) accuses Homer of having deliberately tampered with the plain unvarnished truth of Dares, and of having invented many incidents that never occurred and misrepresented others that did; Chaucer accords to Dares and Dictys a position in front of Homer on the iron pillar of his *Hous of Fame* (v.1467); and, finally, Sir Philip Sidney in a memorable passage in his *Apologie for Poetrie* (ed. Arber, p. 36) contrasts the "right Aeneas" of Dares Phrygius with the "fayned Aeneas" of Virgil.

In the second place, Dares and Dictys display their opposition to Homer by offering a rationalistic explanation of supernatural occurrences. In Dictys (VI, 7) the guests at the nuptials of Peleus and Thetis are no longer divinities but mortals, who from their skill in song are fancifully termed divine; Thetis herself is not a goddess but a mortal, the daughter of Chiron, who is no longer a centaur but a man; Hecuba (III, 26), when about to give birth to Paris, dreams not, as in ancient tradition,<sup>1</sup> of a fire-brand but of the burning of Mount Ida; the Golden Apple of Discord<sup>2</sup> (Dictys as here represented by his redactor Malalas, p. 92, l. 19)<sup>3</sup> has faded into a mere type or symbol of Victory; the Judgment of Paris (Dictys as again represented by Malalas,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Euripides, *Troad.* 922.

<sup>2</sup> Represented more especially in early Greek vase-painting.

<sup>3</sup> Malalas derived his Troica (which form the principal substance of the fifth book of his *Χρονογραφία*) from Dictys, as is evident both from his repeated citations of that author and from the general agreement that exists between his version of the Trojan War and that found in the Latin Dictys. That it was, however, from the Greek Dictys (cf. p. 35, note 1), and not from the Latin Dictys translated by Septimius, that he drew his materials is rendered probable by his presumable inability to read Latin and certain by his presentation of certain particulars not found in the Latin text (cf. Noack, *Der griechische Dictys*, *Philologus*, Supplementband VI, 403 ff.; Griffin, op. cit., pp. 104 ff.).

92, 15-16) no longer takes the form of an actual experience<sup>1</sup> but is represented as forming the contents of a poem in which Paris upholds Venus as superior to the other goddesses. In Dares (VII) Paris does not decide between the three goddesses in reality, but only in a vision; the Wooden Horse of antiquity<sup>2</sup> has become degraded to the likeness of a horse's head painted on the Scaean gate. At other times Dictys, who departs less radically from Homer than Dares, produces perhaps an even more decidedly rationalistic impression by so far compromising with ancient tradition as to leave it uncertain (I, 19) whether the pestilence that invaded the Greek fleet at Aulis was due to the wrath of Diana or to the infection of the air by dead bodies and by giving the reader a choice (VI, 10) between three possible explanations of the sudden disappearance of Himera, first, that she was translated to heaven by her celestial mother, second, that she committed suicide, and, third, that she was slain by thieves.

This habit of rationalizing ancient myth recurs repeatedly in later medieval literature. Thus Malalas, in two passages that are not Dictaeon,<sup>3</sup> attributes to an otherwise unknown Phidalius of Corinth<sup>4</sup> the statements, first (117, 8 ff.), that Ulysses did not in reality put out the eye of Polyphemus, as Euripides had stated, but merely robbed him of his daughter Elpe, symbolically represented as the "light of his eye," and, secondly (120, 6 ff), that Circe did not as a matter of fact turn men into swine, as Homer had related, but merely

<sup>1</sup> As in the *Κύπρια* (ed. G. Kinkel, *Epicorum Graecorum fragmenta*, Lipsiae, 1877, p. 17).

<sup>2</sup> Mentioned in the *Ἰλιάς μικρά* (ed. Kinkel, op. cit., p. 37).

<sup>3</sup> Because attributed, not to Dictys, but to Phidalius of Corinth, By thus introducing rationalistic particulars from this second Trojan annalist Malalas exemplifies the continued fondness of later writers for representations of this sort.

<sup>4</sup> Nothing further than these two allusions to Phidalius of Corinth is known of an author whose name was, like that of Dictys, a pseudonym, but whose memoirs were, in all probability, still known to Malalas.

inspired them with bestial appetites. Albert of Stade (*Troilus*, lib. III, vv. 217 ff.) censures the extravagances of that most magnificent Homeric fiction of the cloud-born steeds of Dolon and Rhesus and commends the absolute truthfulness of Dares "qui praeter verum scriptitat nil;" and Guido delle Colonne, in a passage (op. cit., sig. a 1 rect. 1, 39 ff.) to which Chaucer alludes in his *House of Fame* (vv. 1744 ff.), denounces Homer for having represented "the gods as fighting with men."

In the third place, Dares and Dictys, as though in compensation for the loss of the supernatural machinery of the ancient epos, offer, in striking contrast to Homer, such crass bits of realism as might serve to pique the curiosity of the reader without impugning the credit of the historian. Such, for example, are the bizarre touches with which Dares and Dictys enliven their "portraits" or personal descriptions of the principal Greek and Trojan heroes and heroines. Thus, Helen, according to Dares (XII), has a shapely leg and beauty-spot; Aeneas possesses sparkling black eyes; Polyxena is afflicted with the feminine curse of large hands; and Briseis (XIII) glories in knit eyebrows (a conception of feminine loveliness for which Fürst in *Philologus* LXI, 74 ff. claims an Egyptian genesis). In like manner Dictys (as again represented by his redactor Malalas, 105, 4 ff.) pictures Diomedes as twenty-two years of age, Briseis as twenty-one, and Chryseis as nineteen; Paris as thirty-three when he stole Helen, Helen herself as twenty-six. In other portions of his history Dictys presents details of an even more grotesque character. Thus Chryses (II, 47) restores his daughter to Agamemnon because the Greeks have treated her so well; Menelaus (I, 4), when informed of the rape of Helen, is far less disturbed by the loss of his wife than by the perfidy of his kinswomen Aethra and Clymena, who had assisted in her escape; Achilles (II, 19), in order to retain Diomedea as well as Briseis, pleads that the two girls being of the same age and nature cannot well be separated; the lamentations of



the Trojans at the death of Hector (III, 16) create such a commotion that the very birds of the air fall to earth in multitudes.

The subsequent perpetuation, though in constantly varying form, of this fantastic element in Dares and Dictys is perhaps most aptly illustrated in the gradual deterioration which the character of the famous medieval heroine Cressida undergoes in passing from Benoît, who represents her as "faible," to Chaucer, who describes her as fickle, and, finally, to Shakespeare, who pictures her as wanton. Thus Benoît's Briseida (*Roman de Troie*, vv. 13416 ff.) "smiles out of one eye and weeps out of the other;" at her departure from Troilus tears separate the lips of the lovers and Briseida weeps so copiously that "you could wring water from her garments." Chaucer's Creseyde emerges as the full-fledged coquette who when first seen in the temple by Troilus

"leet falle

Hir look a lite aside, in swich manere,  
Ascaunces, 'What! may I not stonden here?'

And after that hir loking gan she lighte,  
'That nevere thoughte him seen so good a sighte' (I, 290 ff.).

And, finally, in Shakespeare (IV, 5, 55 ff.) it is the expressive countenance of the courtesan that evokes from Ulysses the exclamation:

"Fie, fie upon her!

There's language in her eye, her cheek, her lip,  
Nay, her foot speaks; her wanton spirit looks out  
At every joint and motive of her body."<sup>1</sup>

In the fourth place, Dares and Dictys turn the tables upon Homer by exalting the subordinate and degrading the principal Homeric passages. Thus the Cretan general Idomeneus, who plays a comparatively minor rôle in Homer, and the

<sup>1</sup>Quite in the spirit of the old traditions are, likewise, the words which Shakespeare's Pandarus applies to Troilus: "I think his smiling becomes him better than any man in all Phrygia" (I, 2, 135-6).



Greek leader Palamedes, nowhere mentioned by the Greek poet, receive in Dictys parts of no inconsiderable importance. Idomeneus (I, 19) is one of the heroes chosen to replace Agamemnon in command and is afterwards (V, 10) sent as ambassador to Troy to conduct secret negotiations with regard to the surrender of the city, while Palamedes not only figures as one of the ambassadors sent to Troy to recover Helen (I, 4) and (I, 9) as one of the leaders chosen to replace Agamemnon, but is also represented in the Latin Dictys (I, 6; II, 15; V, 15) as endowed with all sorts of virtues and in the Greek Dictys (Malalas, 103, 10 ff.; Cedrenus, *Σύνοψις ἱστοριῶν*, ed. Bekker in Niebuhr, op. cit., Cedrenus, vol. I, p. 220, ll. 8 ff.) as the father of many useful inventions. In Dares Troilus, mentioned by Homer (*Il.*, ω, 257) merely as the young prince whose untimely death forms the subject of a lament by the aged Priam, becomes a leading champion of the Trojans and is expressly described (VII) as "no less valiant than his brother Hector." Conversely, Dares and Dictys take pains to slight heroes magnified by Homer. In Dictys (I, 19) Agamemnon, uniformly designated by Homer as "prince of men," is deprived of command for refusing to allow the sacrifice of his daughter Iphigenia at Aulis; Achilles, the much-wronged hero of the *Iliad*, is represented as treacherous and deceitful; he stabs Hector in the back by night (III, 15); cruelly strangles Troilus, the bright hope of the Trojans (IV, 9); and basely offers to betray the Greeks to Priam in return for the hand of Polyxena (III, 25); Ulysses, everywhere upheld by Homer as a model of wisdom and justice, insidiously compasses the death of Palamedes by luring him into a pit, to seek hidden treasure, where he is stoned to death from above (II, 15). Both Dares (XLI) and Dictys (V, 1, 8) represent Antenor and Aeneas, who in Homer play honorable and patriotic rôles, as secretly delivering the city into the hands of the Greeks; while according to Dares it is they—and not, as in ancient tradition,<sup>1</sup> the Greek

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the *Ἰλιάς μικρά*, ed. Kinkel, op. cit., p. 43.

Sinon—who present by night the signal for the Greeks to enter Troy.

This practice of reversing the fortunes of Homeric characters finds fullest expression in the later story of Troilus and Cressida. Thus Benoît, the presumable author of this fable, has exalted the Homeric Troilus to the commanding position of hero and the Homeric slave Briseis to the even more commanding position of heroine.<sup>1</sup> To provide a contrast to the high-minded devotion of the former and a motive for the inconstancy of the latter, he has transformed the honest Homeric Diomedes into an arch-practitioner of seductive wiles. For father to Briseis he selects the Trojan soothsayer Calchas, mentioned by Dares (XV),<sup>2</sup> and so far contravenes Homeric practice as to lay the opening scene of his fable in the city of Troy. To the group thus envisaged Boccaccio has added the go-between Pandarus, who sustains no affiliation with the Homeric archer of that name (*Il.*, *β*, 824), and finally, Shakespeare has raised Thersites from his Homeric rôle of braggart (*Il.*, *β*, 212 ff.) to discharge the all important function of chorus.

Finally, Dares and Dictys display, in contrast to Homer, a decided partisan bias, the one in favor of the Trojans, the other in favor of the Greeks. Each historian, true to the party of his choice, spares no pains to defame his opponents and to present his own countrymen in the most favorable light. Ajax Telamon, who nowhere distinguishes himself in Dares, figures in Dictys (*passim*) as the bravest and most illustrious of the Greeks, and Palamedes, who in Dares

<sup>1</sup> It is not improbable that Benoît derived certain aspects of his character Briseida from the Homeric Chryseis as well. Thus he represents Briseida as the daughter of the Trojan soothsayer Calchas, just as Homer had represented Chryseis as the daughter of the Greek priest Chryses.

<sup>2</sup> Who had already transformed the Homeric soothsayer of that name into a Trojan.

(XXV) attempts to undermine the authority of Agamemnon, is by Dictys endowed with all sorts of virtues (I, 6; II, 15; V, 15); in particular, Idomeneus and Meriones—mentioned (XIV) only to be killed (XIX, XXXIII) by Dares—play in the history of their follower Dictys peculiarly honorable and conspicuous rôles (II, 19; III, 1, 18, 19; IV, 2; V, 10). The Trojans, on the other hand, are constantly vilified and maligned by Dictys. They are stigmatized with the standing epithet “barbarians” and represented as coming forth to battle “sine modo atque ordine” and “clamore ingenti ac dissono;” Priam’s sons are turbulent and treacherous (I, 7, 11; II, 8, 22, 35, 41 ff.); they provoke the Trojan allies to revolt (III, 1) and to offer the Greeks a proposal of friendship which is disdainfully rejected (III, 3). In Dares, on the contrary, the situation is exactly reversed. According to the latter it is the Greeks, not the Trojans, who are, in the first instance, responsible for the outbreak of the war; Paris carries off Helen because the Greeks had first carried off his aunt Hesiona (III, VII) and not, as in Dictys (III, 26), at the sole instigation of Venus; moreover Paris does not (X), as in Dictys (I, 3), abduct Helen from the house of Menelaus but only from the temple of Diana at Cythera and not without her full consent; in the war itself Paris is not, as in Dictys (II, 39) a coward; he kills Antilochus (XXIV) and wounds Menelaus (XXI), Palamedes (XXVIII), Achilles (XXXIV), and Ajax (XXXV); Troilus, introduced by Dictys only to be strangled by order of Achilles (IV, 9), distinguishes himself by slaying many Greeks (XXIX) and wounding Diomedes, Agamemnon (XXXI), and Achilles (XXXIII). The Greeks, on the other hand, though ultimately victorious, suffer (XLIV) heavier losses than the Trojans (886,000 vs. 676,000 men) and are compelled to sue for peace seven times, the Trojans but three times.

This marked devotion of Dares and Dictys to the interests of a special party accounts in no small measure for the relative sphere of influence which each author came to exert in



the Middle Ages. Dictys with his pronounced Greek sympathies became the natural spokesman of the East, where Greek influence prevailed. Here Dares remained unknown and the Byzantine chroniclers Malalas, John of Antioch, Isaac Porphyrogenitus, and Tzetzes derived their versions of the Trojan War from Dictys. Dares with his emphatic Trojan sympathies became the natural spokesman of the West, where, in emulation of the example of Rome, every nation claimed descent from the house of Priam. There, though Dictys was known, Dares was invariably accorded the preference. Thus Western writers either follow Dares to the practical exclusion of Dictys (as, for example, Joseph of Exeter, Albert of Stade, and the anonymous author of the *Trojumanna Saga*) or, as in the majority of cases, follow Dares as far as his narrative extends<sup>1</sup> and employ Dictys by way of supplement or continuation (as in the case of Benoît de Ste.-More,<sup>2</sup> his translators,<sup>3</sup> and the anonymous author of the conclusion of Konrad von Würzburg's *Trojanerkrieg*).<sup>4</sup>

A final word remains to be said with regard to the ultimate origin of the various manifestations of antipathy to Homer which have thus far been passed in review. Are Dares and

<sup>1</sup> Dares opens his history with a record of events prior to the Trojan War and ends with an account of the destruction of the city, whereas Dictys first begins with an account of Menelaus' absence in Crete and the rape of Helen and ends with the return of the Greeks. The two historians thus stand in a complementary relation to one another, their histories taken together covering the three-fold series of events which in later, Byzantine, times came to be comprehended within the Trojan cycle (cf. Tzetzes' *Antihomerica*, *Homerica*, and *Posthomerica*).

<sup>2</sup> Benoît abandons his earlier source Dares at v. 24329 and follows Dictys from that point to the end of his *Roman*.

<sup>3</sup> Heribort von Fritzlar, Konrad von Würzburg, and Guido delle Colonne, who, as translators of Benoît, naturally exhibit in their histories the same relation to Dares and Dictys as he.

<sup>4</sup> Who, instead of following the concluding or Dictæan portion of Benoît, has made direct use of Dictys (cf. Keitscher, *Die Fortsetzung zu Konrad von Würzburg's Trojanerkriege und ihr Verhältniss zum Original*, Breslau, 1871).



Dictys to be regarded as the actual authors of these anti-Homeric representations, or are they, no less than their medieval successors, to be looked upon as the mere perpetuators of a practice that had gained general currency before their day? That Dares and Dictys were not the originators of the practice in question but represent simply the culmination of a series of earlier representations of a similar character is made evident both by the survival of other Greek works that contain specifications precisely analogous to their own and by frequent reference in Greek literature to still further compositions, now lost, which either took, like them, the form of forgeries of alleged pre-Homeric authorship or else were written as direct personal attacks upon Homer by authors whose names alone have come down to us. Of extant works containing specifications analogous to those of Dares and Dictys the most noteworthy is the *Ἡρωϊκός* composed by Philostratus, a Greek writer of the third century A. D. In this work Protesilaus, who, though mentioned but twice by Homer (*Il.*, β, 698; ν, 681), figures as hero, is represented as returning to earth in the form of a shade to impart confidential communications to a certain vine-dresser of Elaus in order to vindicate himself and his fellows from the intentional neglect of Homer. In the course of his disclosures Protesilaus states that the wanderings of Ulysses were due—not, as Homer had represented, to his ill-treatment of Polyphemus—but to the hand he had taken in the death of Palamedes (*Her.*, ed. Olearius, p. 695), casts reflection upon the Homeric Paris as a warrior committed to the fastidious practice of paring his nails before battle (p. 725), and, in particular, prefers repeated charges against Homer for obliterating the distinction between divinities and mortals and representing the gods as fighting with men (pp. 692, 693, etc.).<sup>1</sup> To lost Antihomerica taking, like Dares and Dictys,

<sup>1</sup> The same rationalizing tendency appears also in the *Ὅμηρικὰ ζητήματα* of the Neoplatonist Porphyry (third century A. D.), which gives an

the form of forgeries purporting to be written by contemporaries of the Trojan War repeated reference is made by Byzantine authors of the Middle Ages. Thus, just as Dictys had represented himself as the follower and scribe of Idomeneus, so Malalas (132, 19 ff.) and Tzetzes (op. cit., v. 829 ff.) state that a certain Sisyphus accompanied the Salaminian Teucer to the Trojan War and served that prince in the capacity of amanuensis. Again, just as Dictys had composed his annals in Phœnician characters and at the instigation of his lord Idomeneus, so the eleventh century Suidas reports in his *Lexicon* (sub Κόρινθος) that a certain Corinnus the Ilian wrote, at the instigation of his master Palamedes, annals of the Trojan War in the Doric letters invented by that worthy. Still again, just as Dares and Dictys offer a rationalistic explanation of supernatural phenomena, so Malalas relates (cf. p. 42) that Phidalius of Corinth, who, to judge from the analogy of Dictys and Sisyphus, must likewise be regarded as a pre-Homeric annalist, inveighs against the ancient myths of Polyphemus and Circe; just as Dares and Dictys espouse the cause of heroes unduly neglected by Homer, so Suidas states in his *Lexicon* (sub Παλαμήδης) that Palamedes wrote a poem on the Trojan War that was afterwards rejected from spite by Homer and Agamemnon's descendants; and just as Dictys had been represented by Malalas (cf. p. 40) as one of the chief sources of Homer and Virgil, so Ptolemaeus Chennus (*Καινὴ ἱστορία*, ed. from Photius, cod. 190, by Westermann, *Mythographi Graeci*, p. 194, ll. 10 ff.) relates that a certain Phantasia, daughter of Nicargus, king of Memphis, wrote an Iliad which was afterwards used by Homer. Finally Aelian (*Varia Historia*, XIV, 21) relates that a certain Syagrius was, after Or-

allegorical interpretation to Homeric myth, and in the *Ἱερὰ ἀναγραφὴ* of the romance writer Evemerus (fourth century B. C.), which reduces the gods and heroes of the ancient mythology to magnified images of men.

pheus and Musaeus, the first poet to sing of the Trojan War and Ptolemaeus Chennus in his *Καὴν ἱστορία* draws up a long list of Trojan annalists (quoted from Photius cod. 178 by Hercher, *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, ed. Fleckeisen, Supplementband 1, 269), whose records had, doubtless, in most cases, no existence outside the brains of that author.<sup>1</sup> By reason of the frequency of these allusions to pre-Homeric forgeries, evidently of much the same stripe as Dares and Dictys, and of the fact that one of them, the Sisyphus forgery, still survives in part in the Dictys annals of Malalas,<sup>2</sup> there can be no doubt that Dares and Dictys are to be regarded as by no means the only members of their class but that there must have broken out, contemporaneously with them and perhaps as a result of the rhetorical activity of the Alexandrine sophists, a veritable epidemic of such productions, of which Dares and Dictys, as the most notable examples, have alone chanced to survive in independent form. Finally, that a third class of Antihomerica must have existed, which, like the second class, have, for the most part, not come down to us and which, to judge from the titles, must have taken, unlike the first and second classes, the form of direct personal attacks upon Homer, is rendered probable by the ascription of an *Ἀντιόμηρος* in twenty-four books,<sup>3</sup> to Ptolemaeus Chennus, of the first century A. D., of diatribes against Homer to Zenophones of Colophon and to Zoilus (surnamed on that account *Ὁμηρομάστιξ*),<sup>4</sup> and of a hymn in honor of Palamedes to the sophist

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hercher, op. cit., 269 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Haupt, *Philologus* XL, 107 ff.; Patzig, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* I, 131 ff.; Greif, *Neue Untersuchungen zur Dictys und Daresfrage*, pp. 9 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Christ, *Griechische Litteraturgeschichte*, Müller's *Handbuch*, VII, 762.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Christ, op. cit., 64.

Gorgias,<sup>1</sup> the last three writers of the fifth century B. C. Whatever, therefore, may have been the ultimate origin of these various anti-Homeric representations of the Trojan War, whether their growth may have been furthered more particularly by sophists who set their pupils the task of composing histories of the Trojan War from new points of view—a theory that would seem to receive countenance from the words of Dion Chrysostomus, who in his eleventh oration speculates how the Trojan War would have turned out had there been any, and of Strabo, who (XII, p. 600) reproaches Hellanicus for having followed a tradition according to which Troy had never been destroyed,<sup>2</sup>—or by the increasingly sceptical tendencies of Greek philosophy—a theory that would seem to be borne out by the rationalistic treatment of Homeric myth in Evemerus and Porphyry—there can, at any rate, be no doubt that Dares and Dictys were not the originators, but merely the most successful practitioners of a fashion that existed long before their day.

NATHANIEL E. GRIFFIN.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Christ, *op. cit.*, 367.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., also, Stesichorus, who in his famous *Palinode* or recantation, relates that Helen had never been carried to Troy (cf. Smyth, *Greek Melic Poets*, p. 265).



TIMON OF ATHENS AND THE IRREGULARITIES  
IN THE FIRST FOLIO.

**T**IMON OF ATHENS presents an unsolved problem in authorship. The play, it is generally agreed, was not written by Shakespeare alone; fully half seems to be the work of an inferior hand. In attempting to solve the problem scholars have made much of two extraneous facts: (1) that although the play (Shakespeare's part, at least) was written as early as 1606-7, it was nowhere mentioned until the publishers of the First Folio entered it upon the Stationers' Registers, November 8, 1623, as one of the plays "not formerly entred to other men;" (2) that when the play did appear in the Folio, it was accompanied by curious, and apparently significant, irregularities in the printing. The latter fact, in particular, has given rise to much speculation.

If the typographical irregularities of the Folio *Timon* have any bearing on the question of authorship, they are important. If they do not, they are—like all things connected with Shakespeare—interesting. In any case it is well for us to know exactly what these irregularities are, and how they came about. Mr. Fleay's generally accepted interpretation of the case<sup>1</sup> is materially incorrect. Mr. Lee's interpretation,<sup>2</sup> although it avoids some of the grosser blunders of Mr. Fleay, is still unsatisfactory. I shall try to present the case as clearly as possible, and draw from the facts the simplest explanation. In order to follow the reasoning, the reader should have at hand a facsimile of the First Folio.

At the outset we must understand the mechanical make-up of the book. Three folios were combined by the printers into a quire of six leaves. The first leaf of each folio bore on its

<sup>1</sup> *New Shak. Soc. Trans.*, 1874, pp. 136-7.

<sup>2</sup> Facsimile of the First Folio, 1902.

recto, or front, a signature, the sequence being a, a<sub>2</sub>, a<sub>3</sub>. Folio a<sub>2</sub> was placed within folio a, and folio a<sub>3</sub> within folio a<sub>2</sub>. Thus a normal quire consisted of six sheets, each of the first three having a signature on the front.

Each folio-sheet contained a single water-mark. When the sheet was folded, this water-mark came in the center of one of the pages. Evidently, if the water-mark came on the page bearing the signature, it could not appear on the other page of that folio, and *vice versa*.<sup>1</sup> Thus, by consulting enough copies of the First Folio we may determine whether a certain page is a single sheet, or a half of a folio.

Beginning now with that division of the book entitled Tragedies, we find that the pagination, the signatures, and the quires run smoothly through *Coriolanus*, *Titus Andronicus*, and *Romeo and Juliet* as far as page 73. At this point the regular arrangement was thrown into confusion. Page 73 should begin a new quire (gg, gg<sub>2</sub>, gg<sub>3</sub>) consisting of the remaining five pages of *Romeo and Juliet* and the first seven pages of the following play. For some reason, however, the printing of this following play was interrupted. A jump in pagination to 109, and in signatures to kk was made, and the printing was then resumed with *Julius Cæsar* and was continued without interruption to the end of the book.

What play caused the printers this trouble? The answer is unmistakable. The editors originally intended to follow *Romeo and Juliet* with *Troilus and Cressida*. If we examine *Troilus and Cressida* as it appears in the First Folio, we find that it is placed between the Histories and the Tragedies, and that its name is omitted entirely from the "Catalogue" at the front of the book. The prologue of the play occupies the first page; the next three pages bear the title *The Tragedy of Troilus and Cressida*; and the third and fourth pages retain the pagination 79, 80. Now if we place *Troilus and Cressida* after *Romeo*

<sup>1</sup> The four copies in the British Museum (all of which I have examined) are sufficient to decide every case in question.

Hamlet  
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and *Juliet*, allowing the last page of *Romeo and Juliet* to occupy the page over which the prologue is spread, we find that the pagination of the third and fourth pages would have been 79, 80, and that the heading of the pages would originally have been "Tragedy." On no other hypothesis can we account for these curious facts than that originally the play was intended to follow *Romeo and Juliet*.

This is conclusively proved by the *Sheldon Folio*, thus described by Mr. Lee:<sup>1</sup> "A peculiar feature is a mutilated cancelled leaf containing concluding lines of 'Romeo and Juliet' on front and opening lines of 'Troylus' at back; this leaf, half of which has been torn away, precedes a normal leaf afterwards inserted, which supplies prologue of 'Troylus' in the front and opening page of that play at the back;" and by the *Morgan Folio*: "The leaf containing prologue and first page of 'Troylus' is from a smaller original. A cancelled leaf at beginning of Tragedies section, forming an original part of the copy, contains the last lines of 'Romeo and Juliet' on its obverse page (numbered 77 with a signature which is stated to read gg<sub>5</sub>)<sup>2</sup> and the opening lines of 'Troylus' on the reverse page. The sigs. of 'Troylus' differ from those in other copies."<sup>3</sup> We may take it as proved, therefore, that *Troylus and Cressida* originally followed *Romeo and Juliet*.

In the final form of the book, however, the space thus originally intended for *Troylus and Cressida* is occupied by *Timon of Athens*. *Troylus and Cressida*, as I have stated, appears by itself between the History section and the Tragedy section. This modification of the original plan gave rise to all the irregularities.

For the sake of convenience, I have classified as follows the facts involved in the case.

<sup>1</sup> Facsimile of the First Folio.

<sup>2</sup> Should be gg<sub>3</sub>?

<sup>3</sup> Facsimile of the First Folio. See also Mr. Lee's *A Life of William Shakespeare*, pp. 309-10.

- I. *R. and J.* leaf 71-72. End of regular quire ff.
- II. *R. and J.* leaf 73-74. A single, inserted leaf. Bears on recto the sig. gg.
- III. *R. and J.* leaf 75-76. A single, inserted leaf. Bears on recto the sig. gg<sub>2</sub>.
- IV. Leaf containing opening page of *R. and J.* Appears in two forms :

*a.* In the Morgan and Sheldon folios a superfluous single leaf, bearing the sig. gg<sub>3</sub>.<sup>1</sup> Has on the recto the closing page of *R. and J.* numbered 77 ; and on the verso the opening page of *T. and C.* numbered 78.

*b.* Usual folio form. Not a single inserted leaf, but the first of a new normal quire, with sig. gg. Has the incorrect pagination 79, 80. On the recto the closing page of *R. and J.* in a new setting of type ; on the verso, the opening page of *T. of A.*

V. Leaf containing opening page of *T. and C.* Appears in two forms :

*a.* See superfluous leaf described above, IV, *a.*

*b.* Usual folio form. A single inserted leaf. On the recto, in place of the closing page of *R. and J.*, has a prologue, set in large type, and sprawled so as to fill the whole page. No pagination ; no signature. On the verso, the opening page of *T. and C.* in a different setting of type from (*a*), and a different ornamental headpiece. No pagination.

VI. Second leaf of *T. and C.* A single, inserted leaf. Has the pagination 79, 80. Has the headline "The *Tragedie* of *Troylus* and *Cressida*."

VII. Rest of *T. and C.* Arranged in normal quire structure, with signatures ¶, ¶<sub>2</sub>, ¶<sub>3</sub>; ¶¶, ¶¶<sub>2</sub>, ¶¶<sub>3</sub>; ¶¶¶. The headline simply "Troylus and Cressida."

My interpretation of these facts is this. When the printers completed quire ff, they began with page 73 a new quire gg.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Lee does not state the signature of this leaf in the Sheldon Folio, "half of which has been torn away." Of the sheet in the Morgan Folio, he says that the signature "is stated to read gg<sub>5</sub>." This is obviously, however, gg<sub>3</sub>.



Not anticipating any trouble, they gave to page 73 the regular signature gg, to page 75, gg<sub>2</sub>, and to page 77, gg<sub>3</sub>. On page 78 they began *Troylus and Cressida*. Pages 79 and 80 of *Troylus and Cressida* were set up and printed off. At this point came some hitch in the printing of *Troylus and Cressida*. The printers, however, seems to have expected ultimately to continue with the play. Therefore they shrewdly calculated the length of *Troylus and Cressida*, and jumping quires hh and ii, began the next play, *Julius Cæsar*, on page 109, with the signature kk.<sup>1</sup> From this point to the end of the book the printing moved smoothly.

Then it became imperative to fill the gap, pp. 77–109, left for *Troylus and Cressida*. Evidently there was still a hitch in the printing of that play. What this was we do not know. It could hardly have been lack of copy, for the quarto edition of 1609 was at their command. It seems more probable that the editors of the Folio were having trouble over the copyright.<sup>2</sup> Anyhow, it was decided to fill the space with *Timon of Athens*.

When the printers came to fill the gap, they found on their hands the incomplete quire, gg, already described. This contained pages 73, 74, 75, 76, and 77 of *Romeo and Juliet*; pages 78, 79, and 80 of *Troylus and Cressida*; and two blank leaves (the second halves of folios gg and gg<sub>2</sub>).

The printers saw that they could use pp. 73–74, and 75–76 by tearing off the blank pages attached to each. This accounts for II and III.

Evidently the inner folio, gg<sub>3</sub>, containing the concluding page of *Romeo and Juliet* and the three opening pages of *Troylus and Cressida*, was worthless. Hence at this point the printers began their new quire. Carelessly overlooking the signatures on the two single leaves, and referring back to the preceding quire (ff), they began the new quire with the signature gg. This

<sup>1</sup> The signature jj was not used.

<sup>2</sup> The copyright was owned by rival printers, Richard Bonian and Henry Walley.

accounts for the confusion of the gg signatures, and for the fact that the last page of *Romeo and Juliet* was set up again with many typographical changes, including the error in pagination of 79 for 77, and the change of gg<sub>s</sub> to gg. (See IV, b.)

*Timon of Athens* lacked ten pages of filling the gap. It did not reach quire ii at all and lacked one sheet of filling quire hh. The awkwardness of a blank leaf was avoided by spreading over one side "The Actors Names;" the verso was left blank. At a later date, perhaps even after the "Catalogue" had been struck off, the hitch in the printing of *Troilus and Cressida* was removed; at least, the editors ordered the printing of the play. The printers had on hand the single folio gg<sub>s</sub>, containing the last lines of *Romeo and Juliet* (page 77), and the three opening pages (78, 79, 80) of *Troilus and Cressida*. The first leaf, evidently, was worthless, on account of the presence of the closing lines of *Romeo and Juliet* on the recto. The printers, therefore, tore the folio into two leaves. In the place of the first a new leaf was printed,<sup>1</sup> on the recto of which was sprawled in large type "The Prologue," not contained in the original quarto, nor included when the play occupied the first position after *Romeo and Juliet*. On the verso of this leaf, of course, was placed the opening page of *Troilus and Cressida*. This accounts for the fact that the first two leaves of the play are single inserted leaves and not a folio, or a part of a quire; for the existence of the prologue, and for its occupying a whole page; for the new type-setting of page two, with a different headpiece, and without any pagination; and lastly for the presence on pages three and four of the pagination 79, 80, and for the headlines "The Tragedie of Troilus and Cressida." (See V b, and VI.)

From this point the printers began regular quires, using the signatures ¶, ¶<sub>2</sub>, ¶<sub>3</sub>, ¶¶, ¶¶<sub>2</sub>, ¶¶<sub>3</sub>; ¶¶¶. No pagination was employed, and the title used was simply *Troilus and Cressida*.

<sup>1</sup> In the Sheldon and Morgan Folios this discarded sheet crept in by accident. (See IV, a.)

According to Mr. Fleay all of *Troilus and Cressida* had been set up in type, and a part (at least) of *Julius Cæsar* had been either set up or printed off, before the hitch came. "This space, then, of pp. 80-108,<sup>1</sup> which would have *just* held the *Troilus and Cressida*, being left unfilled, it became necessary to fill it. But if, as I conjecture, all the following plays from *Julius Cæsar* to *Cymbeline* were already in type, and had been printed off, there was nothing to fall back on but *Pericles* and the unfinished *Timon*. I have given reasons in my paper on *Pericles* for believing that the editors would not have considered it respectful to Shakespeare's memory to publish the *Pericles*; they therefore took the incomplete *Timon*, put it into a playwright's hands, and told him to make it up to 30 pages."<sup>2</sup>

In answer to Mr. Fleay's statement, "This space . . . would have *just* held the *Troilus and Cressida*," it is sufficient to reply that the space would have been too much by three pages. In no way could *Troilus and Cressida* be made "just" to fill the space.

Mr. Rolfe bases his theory on the same generally accepted belief, namely, that the gap, pp. 78-108, was made by the bodily removal of *Troilus and Cressida* after it had as a whole been put in type. "The latter play [*T. and C.*] had already been put in type and duly paged, and the work had gone along regularly with the *Julius Cæsar*. Perhaps, as Fleay conjectures, that and some of the following plays were in type and printed off before the gap made by transposing *Troilus and Cressida* was provided for. For that, or some other reason, the editors did not use one of the tragedies following *Julius Cæsar* to fill the gap."<sup>3</sup> He adds: "Readers who have not the folio or one of the reprints to compare, may be puzzled to understand why the second page of *T. and C.* is numbered 79, when

<sup>1</sup>Not 80-108, but 78-108. The error of 80 for 78 belongs to the *second* setting of the page, not to the original *Troilus and Cressida* page.

<sup>2</sup>*New Shakspeare Society Transactions*, 1874, p. 136.

<sup>3</sup>Stokes suggests "that none of the others would have fitted; *Macbeth* was too short, the others were too long."—*Chron. Order of Shak. Plays*, p. 134.



the first of *Timon* which is supposed to have taken its place, is numbered 80; but this 80 is really an error for 78, the two last pages of the preceding *R. and J.* being numbered 76 and 79. The first page of *T. and C.* was doubtless numbered correctly 78. When the play was transposed (which must have been done before it was struck off), the numbers of the pages were removed except the 79 and 80, which were accidentally left. It is proper to add that as *T. and C.* now stands in the folio, the *prologue* occupies a full page preceding the one we assume to have been numbered 78; but we have no doubt that the *prologue*, by some oversight, was not put in type until after the transposition. Unlike all other *prologues* it occupies a page by itself, without any heading to indicate to what play it belongs, the play beginning in the usual form, with large type heading, on the next page.”<sup>1</sup>

The awkwardness of this explanation is apparent. It is, however, forced upon those who accept Mr. Fleay’s theory.

The following reason for the removal of *Troylus and Cressida* has received wide acceptance. It is often quoted. “But as this play was originally called ‘*The History of Troylus and Cressida*’ (so in the Quarto Edition), and as there is really nothing tragical in the main bulk of it, it was doubted if it could be put with the Tragedies, so the editors of the Folio compromised the matter by putting it between the Histories and Tragedies, and not putting it at all in the Catalogue, though they still retained their first title for it as ‘*the tragedie of Troylus and Cressida.*’”<sup>2</sup>

But, as I have pointed out, the typographical evidence shows that only about three pages of *Troylus and Cressida* were set up in type before the hitch came. If the editors had ordered the removal of the play because they regarded it as unsuitable for the Tragedy section, the printers would probably have immediately reset the last page of *Romeo and Juliet* (only a half-page

<sup>1</sup> Edition of *Timon of Athens*, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Fleay, *New Shak. Soc. Trans.*, 1874.



of type), and have continued with *Julius Caesar* or some other play. The trouble, however, was not at first considered of a permanent nature. The directors of the printing *seem to have expected* to continue with *Troilus and Cressida* in this original position. Consequently they shrewdly guessed how many pages *Troilus and Cressida* would occupy, and skipping the proper number of quires, began the next play with sig. kk, and pagination 109. The leaving of this gap led to all the trouble.

Mr. Lee's explanation of the irregularities is as follows:<sup>1</sup>

"But when the first play, 'Romeo and Juliet,' reached a point near its close at the end of quire ff, the compositors fell into a confusion for which they themselves and not the furnishers of the 'copy' may be held responsible. They overlooked the four hundred and sixty-one lines that ought to follow quire ff, and began work on a new quire Gg without noticing the textual hiatus. Both the omitted portion, and the portion that followed it began with the same word 'I,' so that the catchword 'I' at the corner of the last page of quire ff did not open their eyes to their careless mistake. Luckily the omission was discovered in good time, and two separate leaves signed gg and gg<sub>2</sub> were interpolated to bear the overlooked lines. . . .

"But this mistake was venial compared to that which followed. In all copies the last lines of the tragedy of 'Romeo' occupy the first page of the opening leaf of quire Gg, which is numbered 79 (a typographical error for 77). On the back of the leaf Gg the printers, in accordance with their original instructions, began to set up 'Troilus and Cressida.' Three pages of the play were composed, and the second and third were numbered 79 and 80, in continuation of the correct number of the last page of 'Romeo and Juliet.' But before the composition of 'Troilus and Cressida' advanced much further a halt was called. The overseers of the press withdrew 'Troilus' from the compositors altogether, and put aside the

<sup>1</sup> Facsimile of the First Folio, 1902.

type already set. It may have been either that the owners of the already published quarto of 'Troilus' raised difficulties, or that it was felt incongruous to place a dramatic story of Troy after a dramatic story of mediaeval Italy. . . .

"When at length it became imperative to fill the place which the withdrawal of 'Troilus' had left vacant, 'T. of A.' was introduced. The last lines of 'Romeo' on the opening quire Gg were set up afresh with many changes of spelling, and at the back of the leaf the text of 'Timon' was begun instead of 'Troilus.' . . .

"But the difficulty was not yet fully met. There still remained unplaced the standing type of part of 'Troilus,' and the whole volume was ready for binding before the total neglect of the half-printed 'Troilus' was realized. The 'Catalogue' of contents—the list of the plays—in the preliminary pages, which was one of the last contributions to the book, was printed off without any mention of 'Troilus.' 'Coriolanus' was shown in the catalogue to begin the Tragedies section; 'Timon' to follow 'Romeo,' and 'Julius Cæsar' to follow 'Timon.' When the omission of 'Troilus' was recognized at the last minute, it was resolved to place the forgotten piece at the beginning of the Tragedies, before 'Coriolanus.' The type of the first two leaves at least was standing. The front of the first leaf bore the last lines of 'Romeo.' These were removed, and for them was substituted a hitherto unprinted prologue to 'Troilus,' which did not appear in the quarto, and was now set out in exceptionally large italic type so as to occupy the whole page. On the reverse of this first leaf the text of the play began but some changes were introduced into the old standing type, including a different ornamental headpiece. The next leaf was left in its original state, with its old page numbers (79–80), which remained to show that 'Troilus' as first printed, followed 'Romeo.' These two leaves were separate insertions, were unsigned, and formed no part of a regular quire. The fourth page of the play was begun on a new quire

of the ordinary dimensions of six leaves. It bore the signature ¶. . . .”

If, as Mr. Lee maintains, the first three pages of *Troilus and Cressida* were preserved in standing type: (1) Why were changes (of an accidental nature) introduced into page 78? (2) Why was a new ornamental headpiece substituted? (3) Why were the first two leaves printed as separate insertions, without any signatures, instead of being made a part of the first quire, or, at least, printed as a single folio? If the type was standing, the printers surely would not have made so awkward an arrangement of the play.

To sum up. A hitch came in the printing of *Troilus and Cressida* after three pages of the play had been printed as a part of quire gg. The printers expected ultimately to continue with the play; hence they left a gap, pp. 78–108, and continued with *Julius Cæsar*. Before the end of the book had been reached, *Timon* was selected to fill the gap. After *Timon* had been printed (and perhaps after the Catalogue had been struck off) the managers ordered the printing of *Troilus and Cressida*. Since there was no other place for it, the play was inserted between the Histories and the Tragedies. In making these changes the printers made as much use as possible of the original quire gg, losing only one leaf. This leaf, by accident, crept into the Sheldon and Morgan folios.

If my interpretation of the irregularities is correct, the difficulty lay wholly in *Troilus and Cressida*. *Timon of Athens* was involved by mere accident: the irregularities, therefore, have no bearing on the authorship of the play.

JOSEPH QUINCY ADAMS, JR.

# ON CONSTRUCTIONS OF INDIRECT DISCOURSE IN EARLY GERMANIC DIALECTS.

THOSE happy students of literature who say with the Chaucerian lad :

“ I lerne song, I kan but smal grammeere,”

will but sigh at the appearance of another treatise upon the subject of Indirect Discourse. Yet we may infer that a trifle more of the “grammeere” might have saved the lad from the implied rebuke of the neighboring line :

“Noght wiste he what this Latyn was to seye.”

To the syntactician the constructions of Indirect Discourse have presented the most interestingly baffling of problems. We do not lack attempts at solution. What grammarian has not tried the task ? Yet few are satisfied that the final answer has been given. A very brief review of the most widely accepted theories will be enough to indicate their ephemeral nature.

For a long time—and to a few conservatives the long time seems not yet ended—grammarians who dealt with Indo-European syntax were satisfied with the broad generalization that the optative mood in oratio oblique was the mood or “subjectivity.” The phrase was supposed to explain the genesis of the construction as well as to define the limitations of its usage in historical literature. We are now—or ought to be—spared the trouble of refuting such theories by the early efforts of Delbrück, whose work was so revolutionary and convincing that his influence in the cosmos of syntax seemed definable by the words with which Crusoe’s man Friday described his conception of a higher power : “All things say ‘O’ to him.”



There are, however, other theories that still gain attention, though they are not as faulty as the metaphysical one just mentioned. In the more creditable of the recent works on this subject two expressions are prevalent: "the potential optative," and "the optative of unreality." In some works the expressions are used well-nigh interchangeably.

Hermann's Kantian terminology (cf. Hale, *A Century of Metaphysical Syntax*), gave inordinate life to the term "potential" as applied to various modal conceptions. The word has been used to cover a multitude of independent and dependent modal usages that have little essentially in common. In applying the word to notions underlying the construction of Indirect Discourse, various writers have actually referred to wholly different things. All have quite agreed, however, that they must find the basis of the construction in a simple sentence which contains a subjunctive or optative independently conveying the desired force. Let us see how successful the search has been. Brugmann (*Griech. Gram.*, 167), in discussing the Greek problem, and Behagel (*Gebrauch der Zeitformen*, p. 160 ff.) in treating of Germanics both refer the construction of Indirect Discourse to an independent "potential" usage, meaning thereby almost the same thing. Brugmann says: "Er (der Opt. der ind. Rede) war ausgegangen von Sätzen wie . . . Od. 9, 89, *ἐράπους πολεῖν πείθεσθαι ἰόντας, οἳ τινες ἄνθρωποι εἶεν*, wo der Opt. ursprünglich *potential* war und erst durch Einwirkung des regierenden Satzes die subjective Färbung (orat. obl.) annahm und den eigentümlichen Sinn, der in Hauptsätzen den opt. pot. vom indic. unterschied, den Sinn der Ungewissheit, einbüsste." We are not just now concerned with his statement regarding the "subjective Färbung" nor with the still stranger discovery of "Ungewissheit" in the construction, but rather with his interpretation of *εἶεν* as a "potential" in origin. In a recent discussion of some so-called "potential" idioms (*Classical Philology*, II, p. 163), I have tried to point out the error of those who find an independent potential optative, in the sense here used, so far as Greek and Latin are concerned. All that

can be found at best is a brief collection of stereotyped phrases wherein several elements of the phrase combined may produce a tone that may possibly be described by the word "potential," but in no instance is the mood of the verb alone adequate to convey such meaning. The conclusion then must be that the examples quoted by Brugmann are themselves examples of a developed stage, are already in the optative of indirect questions, and are not connected with independent "potential optatives" conveying the meaning here found. Such optatives in fact do not exist.

The same objection holds for the assumption made by Behagel in referring the Germanic construction to a similar independent "potential" optative. Such independent "potentials," with the desired meaning of "may possibly," do not exist in any Germanic idiom. When the Kantian terminology, which had been stretched and wrenched to define the Latin idioms, was further stretched to cover Germanic usages, a few Gothic optatives, like *hwa sijai pata?* Mc. 1, 27, were found to serve as illustration for the term "potential." A more natural method of classification would never have given them the name. If the thing cannot be proved to have existed, how are we to assume it as the basis of such widely extending constructions as those of Indirect Discourse?

However even this demonstration is unnecessary, for it must be admitted that even if a true independent potential were in existence it would not serve the purpose, for neither in Greek nor in Germanics does the optative of Indirect Discourse contain a trace of the notion of *δύναμαι* or *können*.

The word "potential" is sometimes used in another sense, that *e. g.* of unreality, of the "hypothetical," etc. Erdmann's discussion (*Deutsche Syntax*, p. 169) will serve as an example of theories that find the modal construction based upon a "potential" which denotes uncertainty, unreality, etc.

The following statements are characteristic: "Auch der Conjunctiv ist nicht der Abhängigkeit des Satzes wegen gesetzt, sondern seines *unsicheren Inhaltes* wegen, . . . weil der *potentiale*

Conj. Präs. in ganz allein stehenden Sätzen nicht mehr gebräuchlich ist, so gilt er jetzt vorzugsweise als ein Kennzeichen der indirekten Rede" (p. 169). Again, p. 168, "Nach den Ausdrücken einer *unsichern* oder *ausdrücklich als irrig* bezeichneten Meinung *wähnen, vermuten, glauben, die irrige Meinung legen* u. a. überwiegt der Conjunctiv."

He gains at least a greater appearance of plausibility than men like Behagel and Brugmann, for he refers to meanings that must at least have been prevalent. Both subjunctive and optative can show well-established claims upon expressions of unreality and assumption of *certain kinds*. (I shall speak here only of Germanic usages, for the theory would hardly be applied to Greek or Latin by any accurate thinker.) There is however a fatal flaw in his argument. The conception of unreality, so far as it may exist in the construction of Indirect Discourse, is not of the type found in hypothetical sentences. The logic that makes it so contains a fallacy of equivocation. The attitude of mind differs completely in the two instances. Erdmann must himself admit that he can show no example of a simple sentence that expresses the kind of "unreality" which he assumes as the basis of oratio obliqua. Certainly his favorite example (*Wall. L. 4*), *ein Eilbote meldet, Regensburg sei genommen*, does not represent any independent "conjunctiv" of unreality. Mental doubt of the kind exhibited in his example cannot be conveyed by the mood alone in simple sentences. It always requires explicit verbal expression.

So much for impossible theories. I would also point out the fallacy of some methods and assumptions underlying methods now prevalent in research upon this question. There is, for instance, a tendency in the most recent works, regardless of differences of opinion as to the nature of the mood in question, to search for solutions that will serve throughout for Greek, Latin and the German dialects. Now while we must insist that even in syntax the comparative method yields fruitful data and supplies a useful point of view, nay more, that in some problems it is indispensable, we must in each instance inquire



whether it is applicable. Obviously an explanation of the genitive after Goth. *gamunan* based upon Germanic usage alone without reference to the cognate constructions in the other Indo-European languages would entail much misspent zeal; for the same construction is prevalent throughout the more important languages of our group. The data of all the languages must be made to contribute to the solution. Is the construction of Indirect Discourse a parallel case? It is, of course, impossible to lay down a definite dictum as to how widely a construction must prevail or how close a resemblance in form and meaning similar constructions of cognate languages must exhibit before the syntactician is justified or compelled to assume an Indo-European origin. As regards the modal usages in the various constructions of Indirect Discourse, so-called, I believe that a review of the essential differences which appear in the various languages will force us to the decision that each language developed its own construction independently.<sup>1</sup>

It must be admitted that as regards their respective constructions of Indirect Discourse, Sanskrit, Greek, Latin and the early German dialects agree in *no essential detail*. They differ in the use of moods, in the form of the quoted expression, and in the basic meaning of the whole construction in each case. In Sanskrit the subjunctive and optative are not employed in quotations to express indirectness of discourse. That fact alone would create a strong suspicion that the construction is not very old.

As for the use of the moods, Homer employs neither subjunctive nor optative in declarative indirect quotations. The optative occurs in a few questions of the preterite, particularly in preterite-futures. Classical Greek has developed a widespread usage of the optative in preterite quotations. Its use is never compulsory, however. Latin, after employing an infini-

<sup>1</sup> I am not here referring to late influences such as that of the fully developed Greek construction upon Early Latin and of both Greek and Latin upon the Germanic dialects by means of medieval translations.



tive for the main sentence of the quotation, regularly uses the subjunctive in clauses that depend upon the infinitive if such clauses convey a part of the quotation. The early Germanic dialects (apart from some infinitival idioms) use the optative regularly after certain verbs, the indicative after certain others, and vary the usage after a third group. So much for uniformity of moods. There is none.

As for the form of the quoted clause, in Greek the substantive clause of Indirect Discourse, whether in the indicative or in the optative, is usually introduced by *ὅτι* and *ὥς*, which are adverbial accusatives like our "how that" (Goodwin, 671). In Latin the main quotation is always an infinitive; while in Germanics it is a relative clause, the relative conjunction having developed from a prophoric deictic pronoun (Goth. *ei*; O. N. *at*) or from an anaphoric demonstrative (e. g., *dass*). Here again there is little uniformity.

When we inquire into the meaning of each construction, we find just as great differences. Here the Germanic dialects seem to have developed a logical distinction, that is in no wise found in Greek or Latin. In Old-High-German,<sup>1</sup> Old Saxon, Anglo-Saxon, Old-Norse, etc., verbs of perception and knowledge usually take the indicative, verbs of believing and thinking employ the optative very freely, while verbs of speaking are divided in their allegiance, often showing, however, a tendency to use the optative in quotations, the truth or exactness of which the reporter does not vouch for. Such logical distinctions do not for a moment hold for Latin or Greek, for in those languages the *verba sentiendi et declarandi* are on a par in the use of subjunctive or optative regardless of the degree of veri-

<sup>1</sup> Gothic is obviously the unsafest witness, though Behagel considers its extensive usage of the indicative a good indication that the optative is just coming into prevalence (*op. cit.*, p. 163). His inference is easily refuted. The other dialects could hardly agree so perfectly in the use of the optative had not the construction been Pre-German—i. e., of course, older than Ulfilas. The good bishop was merely translating New Testament Greek indicatives after *ὅτι* with great fidelity.

similitude to be expressed. Nor is there any trace of any previous existence of such logical distinctions, frequent<sup>1</sup> statements to the contrary notwithstanding. In the matter of meaning therefore, these modal constructions in Greek and Latin are actually what they are called, constructions of "indirect quotation," while those of the early Germanic dialects are only partly so; they are rather constructions of—shall we say "unvouched-for quotation." It is in fact unfortunate that the Germanic construction should ever have had to submit to the Latin name. This is only another instance of how German grammar has suffered from the nomenclature of Latin grammar.

We have found then that the constructions are dissimilar in function as well as in form and in modal usage. There is no ground left for comparative study in any scientific sense of the term. In fact, the nature of the quotations in the Vedas and in Homer makes it probable that the indicative was the mood of quoted statements in the proethnic period and that consequently whatever constructions have appeared later have developed independently in each language. We need not be disappointed then if an explanation of this modal construction for Germanics cannot be applied to solve the construction in other languages.

I believe, that by turning away from metaphysical hypotheses, the inadequacy and unreasonableness of which we have just pointed out, and by observing closely the behavior of each individual verb that introduces subordinate clauses of indirect quotation, we may discover the essential differentiating principle of the construction. There are still, to be sure, a number of unsettled problems in connection with the formal and semasiological provenance of several of the verbs concerned, but the evidence that can be gathered leads decidedly to the conclusions put forward in the following.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the surprising statement about "Ungewissheit" quoted above from the discussion of Brugmann. Refer also to Schlicher, "The Moods of Indirect Quotation," *Am. Jour. Phil.*, xxvi, pp. 60 ff., and a brief discussion of the same by the writer, in *Class. Phil.*, I, p. 82.

In general it is true enough that the verbs of thinking, believing, etc., *wähnen, glauben, meinen*, Goth. *huggan, munan*, and the like, hold the most constant record in the old Germanic dialects in governing dependent clauses that contain an optative. The group of verbs denoting actual speech, Goth. *qīpa, sagen, erzählen*, etc., stand second in order; while verbs of exact knowledge, like *wissen*, seldom employ the optative. Now what is the essential connection between the tendency to govern an optative and the meaning of the governing verb? The usual and most obvious answer is that the "verbs expressing uncertainty are followed by the mood of doubt." I believe, however, that a search for the earlier meanings of such verbs will lead to the conclusion that the use of the optative is an inheritance of a time when several of these verbs conveyed meanings of emotional rather than of intellectual content. The abstract and the purely metaphysical meaning of a word as well as of a modal construction may safely be considered a late development, an extension from the field of primitive emotions or of mere physical activity. So, for instance, words like *cogito* (*con-ago*), *comprehendo, puto* (cf. *putus*, "pruned"), *cerno* (cf. *κρίσις*, "separation") and many another are all metaphors borrowed from the more concrete sphere of physical activity, while words like *opinor* (cf. *praedopiont* = "praeoptant," Festus), *glauben, wähnen*, etc., have been borrowed from the sphere of man's most natural emotions. Illustrations could easily be multiplied.

We are here primarily concerned with the latter group: verbs of thought, like *wähnen, glauben*, etc., which formerly did service in the field of *ψυχικὴ θιάθεσις*.

In expressions of indirect thought, *wähnen* was regularly followed by the optative. This is the construction in Gothic (cf. Bernhardt, *Zs. f. D. Phil.*, VIII, 12-14). In the Heliand it is followed by the optative thirty times, while the indicative occurs but once (Behagel). In Anglo-Saxon it persists in the same usage. Gorrell (*Publ. Mod. L. A.*, III, 384) finds that "of all verbs introducing Indirect Discourse, *wénan* is the most



consistent in requiring the subjunctive of the dependent verb." In the early Anglo-Saxon, the proportion of optatives to indicatives is almost ten to one.

The meanings are, Goth. *wēnjan*, "vermuten," "meinen;" O. N. *wéna*, O. H. G. *wānan*, "hope," "assume;" O. S. *wānjan*, Ags. *wēnan*, "expect," "think," (cf. *wahn*, "unfounded belief," Goth. *wēns*, O. S. *wān*, Ags. *wén*, "hope," "expectation;" usually connected also with L. *Venus*, *venustus*, Skr. *vanati*, "desire").

Comparing the meanings of the earlier cognates with those of the noun *wēns*, it is evident that the earlier meaning was one of emotional content, *desire* and *hope*, which in fact is preserved to some extent in the verb as found particularly in Old-Norse and in Anglo-Saxon.

*Glauben* had passed through a similar transformation of meaning, although the Germanic forms of the verb do not betray the fact.

Goth. *galaubjan*, "believe;" O. N. *leyfa*, "allow," "praise;" O. S. *gilōbian*, O. H. G. *gilouben*, Ags. *gelýfan*, "believe." For the earlier meanings, cf. Goth. *liufs*, "dear," *lubains*, "hope," Oldbulg. *ljuby*, "love," Lat. *libido*, *libet*, Skr. *lubhyati*, "desire strongly." Here again it is evident that a verb of *desire* has become one of intellectual activity. It, too, regularly governs the optative. Even Gothic shows several instances of the construction, and the Anglo-Saxon of Cura Pastoralis, for instance, gives but one instance of the indicative.

The verb represented by Goth. *hugjan* is another case in point. Its forms usually convey metaphysical meanings. They are: Goth. *hugjan*, "think;" O. N. *hyggia*, "think" (in Hôv. 98 = "hope"), O. S. *huggian*, Ags. *hyegan*, "intend," "take thought of," "think;" O. H. G. *hukkan*, "think." (Cf. Goth. *hugs*. "Die Grundbedeutung ist 'geistige Erregung,'" Uhlenb. Fick compares Lat. *cupio*, B. B., 17, 320, though with little approval). Here again then it seems that a verb of emotional content has developed into an expression of thought. Its favorite associations are with verbs in the optative. Gothic



furnishes several examples. The optative is the regular construction in Ags., and in O. N. the optative is frequent in Indirect Discourse, though the verb there prefers to introduce direct quotations.

*Munan*, "think," "suppose," must also be added to this list, though it is somewhat less frequently employed to introduce indirectly quoted expressions. In Old-Norse it does most frequent service as an auxiliary. However, the connection with Goth. *muns*, "effort," "thought," Old-Ir. *muins*, "wish," Lat. *moneo*, shows at least that the verb had long teemed with emotional concepts, whatever its basic meaning had been.

It is in connection with the semasiological history of such verbs that we find the explanation of the optative usage in indirect quotation, and furthermore of a shift in the meaning of the optative (so far as concerns this construction) from an emotional, psychological one to a metaphysical one.

The process was simple. Verbs like the preceding ones expressed *desire*, *hope* and the like. They then naturally governed dependent clauses with verbs in the optative, substantive clauses of desire, etc., for the optative was used throughout the Indo-European languages in just such circumstances. In the demand for more verbs of metaphysical meanings, these very verbs gradually assume new functions. With a shift of function in the governing verb there is necessarily a coordinate semantic change in the habitual dependent clause. The optative of the dependent clause must assume logical significance in the same proposition as its governing verb does. Thus the optative is established in dependent clauses of indirect thought. When once the usage has been made customary by these more important verbs, these verbs, derived from expressions of mere physical activity, may well have adopted the construction. The process here assumed is not an unusual one. I shall presently give a number of illustrations of the same process. Meanwhile a few more verbs call for attention.

As a matter of fact, a great number of the verbs of thought are not borrowed from expressions of emotion but rather from

the ordinary world of bodily activity. Note for instance the following verbs in Gothic: *trauan* (cf. *δόρυ*), *ahjan* (cf. *ἄκνος* "hesitation"), *niman* (cf. Lat. *emo*, *nemus*), *miton* (cf. Lat. *modus*), *laisjan* (cf. Lat. *lira*, "fork," "track"), and several verbs of knowledge and speech: *andhaffjan* (cf. *capiō*), *kisjan* (cf. *gustare*), *sōkjan* (cf. *sagire*, "to track"), etc. Such verbs cannot be expected to carry with them any emotional *ψυχικὴ θιάθεσις* from their former sphere of activity. It is likely that they long employed the indicative and assumed the optative sequence only after it had been securely established by the former class of verbs. In fact, one finds some of them, *sōkjan* and *trauan*, for instance, very persistent in the use of the indicative, to such an extent that grammarians have felt themselves seriously called upon to explain the fact. (Cf. Bernhardt, *ad. loc. cit.*)

In regard to verbs of speech, we are at once met by the difficulty of not being able to find cognates for the verb of greatest importance for our construction, i. e., *qīpan*. This verb shows great fondness for the optative, particularly in O.S. and Ags. Its etymology, if we knew anything about it, might explain this habit. On the other hand, the habit may be a relatively late one acquired after the construction had been established elsewhere, in the way we have indicated above. All we can say at present is that by some principle of differentiation a logical distribution of labor took place, illustrated well in Anglo-Saxon where *cweðan* usually takes the optative, *cȳðan* the indicative, and *secgan* divides its allegiance between them, while *sprecan* usually introduces direct discourse. It is at present impossible to say whether such distinctions are due to a late division of labor or whether they actually represent an inheritance of previous semantic differences from a time when the predecessor of *qīpan* may have contained<sup>1</sup> volitional content.

<sup>1</sup> If its connection with Lat. *veto* is right, this may well be true, though we know little more about *veto* than about *qīpan*. If it is connected with Old-Ir. *bel*, we get little help from etymology, for it would then hardly contain any emotional suggestion. (See Uhlenbeck, in *P. B. Beil.*, xxx, p. 304.)

The explanation given above not only accounts for the arrival of the optative in constructions of indirect quotations in Germanic, but it also helps to explain why in this construction modal distinctions also came to represent metaphysical distinctions, which they seldom do elsewhere. The optative was dragged into the construction in its association with a group of verbs that seldom represented exact knowledge and continued to associate mainly with these. Such verbs, in fact, were often juxtaposed to verbs of exact knowledge; cf. the constant contrast between *wähnen* und *wissen* in sentences like:

*daz weiz ich unde wene es niht.*

Freidank, 116.

*sol einer recht sein, er muesz wissen und nicht wänen.*

Aventin,<sup>1</sup> *bair. chron.*, 1, 775.

It is not surprising that the respective moods which followed these verbs should have assumed logically contrasted distinctions<sup>2</sup> of function when their governing verbs were thus juxtaposed because of their decided logical difference. Thus it is that to a remarkable extent the optative comes to serve as the mood of doubtful, questioned, unvouched-for discourse, while the indicative persists in cases of greater certainty. There even arises a feeling that *witan* should take the indicative whereas *ni witan* deserves an optative.

The theory that I have offered does not assume the working of any new and strange force in language. When the semasiological data of syntax have been tabulated as they should be, a great number of parallels will appear. I have simply assumed a retention, a petrification as it were, of a modal usage beyond the life of the function that brought it into existence, together with a natural adaptation of that usage to its new surroundings. It illustrates a special kind of sur-

<sup>1</sup> I use Grimm, *Wörterb.*, sub *voc.* cit.

<sup>2</sup> Care must be observed not to recognize logical distinctions as ever thoroughly established. Division of labor between synonymous verbs on a purely economic basis, a lingering of old habits in spite of newly adopted semantic changes, and all the insidious forces of analogy help, and successfully so, to prevent the establishment of any thorough-going principle.



vival, examples of which are numerous enough. A good parallel in the field of case-syntax is the construction after *consto* in Latin. In the literal sense, the word *consto*, "stand together out of," governs an ablative, which was felt to be an "ablative of separation," as is shown by the occasional use of *ex*: *ex animo constamus et corpore*, Tusc. 4, 14. The verb, however, happened to gain a new connotation, the one we have kept in its English derivative, *cost*. However, it continued to govern the ablative even with this new meaning. Necessarily the function of the ablative was compelled to shift with the semantic change in the governing verb. It is no longer felt to be an "ablative of separation," it is an "ablative of price." This construction lived on, perfectly oblivious of the fact that the new ablative did not perform the functions of the old. Cf. the oblique case in *si li eust costé mil mars* (Ch. Lyon, 1277, cited in *Meyer-Lübke*, III, § 38), where no survival of the original meaning of *costé* was possible. This radical change in the meaning of the ablative, brought about by a semantic change in the governing verb, is quite as difficult as that which I have assumed in the shift of an "optative of desire" to a new one of "indirect quotation" made compulsory by the semantic changes of the leading verb from that of desire to that of thought. Similarly, in German, several substantives that governed possessive and defining genitives, lost their substantival force and their old meanings, drifted into the function of locative adverbs and prepositions, thereby compelling the genitives, which they still retained, to adapt their own meanings accordingly. Such are, e. g., *jenseits*, *innerhalb*, *wegen*, etc. Their genitives are no longer felt to be possessives, but are somewhat illogically governed by these prepositions, and are in fact entirely banished from the sphere of the more usual Grundbegriffe of the genitive. Cf. also such phrases as *trotz seiner Jahre*, *während des Kampfes*. The Germanist will readily recall other examples from his own observation. I shall add a few from other sources.

The ablative after the Latin prep. *tenus*, "up to," is



explicable only when one recalls that *tenus* was originally an accusative of space of a noun meaning "reach." Thus, a phrase like *collo tenus*, Livy, had once meant: "throughout the whole extent, reckoning from the neck," and only later "up to the neck." The dative after *credo*, "believe" (\**cred-dere*, cf. Skr. *grad-dha*, "give heart to") is also a survival of the time when the etymology of the verb was clear. Latin probably was no longer conscious of the meaning that created the dative usage. Certainly French has lost all consciousness of it, but still mechanically preserves the habit of using its dative-equivalent in the construction *croire à*; so persistent may habits be even after their meanings have vanished. In fact, *credo* even created the general conception that verbs of believing should govern a dative (cf. the usage with *confido*) and, even further, that the opposites of such should have the same construction (cf. *diffido*).

In modal syntax we may multiply examples. \**Fors sit an veniat* originally meant: "It would be problemetical whether he will come," the subjunctive of *veniat* being one of indirect questions. Eventually *forsitan* became an adverb and a synonym of *fortasse*, and might well have relinquished its claims upon a subjunctive dependent verb. However it retained the subjunctive—destined to become a bone of contention to many a syntactician in days to come.

*Quamvis* will furnish another very interesting example to any one who will look up its erratic behavior, its influence upon *quamquam*, and the part it played in leaving a legacy of subjunctives for concessive clauses in French.

I would even propose that a similar assumption of an inter-adaptation of function and construction between governing and dependent clauses will account for the use of the subjunctive in relative clauses after negatives and superlatives in the Romance languages. Several of the steps here proposed will be questioned, but I offer the suggestion in the conviction that it embodies the true explanation. The Indo-European usage of the subjunctive of *will* in purpose clauses had been extended

in Latin into consecutive clauses by the fact that governing verbs like *efficio* expressed the attainment of result as well as the aims of purpose. Now, the relative clauses whose antecedents are in the negative or superlative are by their very nature most invariably consecutive in force, and when the feeling was once established that the consecutive idea called for the subjunctive, these were the very ones that showed greatest persistency in the use of that mood. Plautus, Cicero's letters, Horace's satires, and Petronius reveal the fact that the subjunctive never fully established itself on the streets of Rome in the less clearly consecutive clauses that followed affirmative and positive antecedents. Now, in the sifting processes of the dark ages, the general custom of associating the subjunctive with all consecutive clauses perished, and nothing of the old habit persisted but the use of the mood with these most prominent groups of the old construction; the negative and the superlative. It is even probable that these mechanical survivals now created a new basic conception which in turn extended the usage of the subjunctive after negatives far beyond the old field of the consecutive sentence, *i. e.*, even into indirectly quoted relative clauses after negatived leading verbs. The old explanation of the subjunctive after negatives is too metaphysical, and has been borrowed from the explanations of somewhat similar facts that exist in Germanics. I have already explained the facts of the Germanic construction. The two constructions come from entirely different sources, though they both involve somewhat similar processes.

We see from these illustrations—and I have heaped them up with the additional purpose of encouraging a fuller classification of such semasiological data—that the language process which we assumed in explaining the construction of Indirect Discourse in German is one that is in constant operation.

There are some other facts bearing upon our principal problem, that afford some additional probability to our theory. It is a well-known fact that the optative is more frequent after a leading verb in the past tense than after a present, and

further that the optative, preferably the preterite, is still the more regular construction after what Erdmann (p. 171) calls "*verba des Meinens und Mitteilens*." Erdmann's explanation of this fact refers the phenomenon to the degree of probability contained in the respective tenses. He says: "Der Indicativ des Prät. schliesst die in der Vergangenheit vorhanden gewesene *Unsicherheit* entschieden aus, was beim Indicativ des Präs. für die Gegenwart nicht so entschieden der Fall ist." How incorrigibly philosophical syntacticians will be! There is a simpler explanation based upon the necessities of linguistic mechanism. The preterite optative must have served regularly as the only tense possible to express preterite-futures before the verbal auxiliaries appeared. Now if verbs like *wähnen* and *glauben* originally expressed desire and intention, since these meanings refer to the future, their preterites would necessarily, by the very nature of the case, refer to a time future to the past, which time nothing but a preterite optative could express. This regular occurrence of the preterite optative after the past tense in O. O. is therefore explicable as a survival of a habit incurred before these verbs came to introduce narrated facts of O. O. The usage therefore supports the theory we have proposed.

There is another fact which tends to support our theory. The old usage of "shall" in virtual expressions of Indirect Discourse whether following<sup>1</sup> or independent<sup>2</sup> of verbs of speech and thought—an idiom that has proved so hard to explain—falls in well with the theory proposed by this paper. Its scarcity in O. H. G. together with its rapid extension in M. H. G. would suggest that it is not very old; however a glance at the other dialects soon shows that such a conclusion would be unfounded. Anglo-Saxon, for instance, produces

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *swa sume men sædon þæt he sceolde beon gefangen*. Or. 206, 4. Cf. Wülfing, *Syn. Alfr.*, II, p. 31, for this and other examples.

<sup>2</sup> E. g., Herzog Johann soll irren im Gebirge (It is said that —). The example is quoted in Schlicher's suggestive, but, as I believe, unsuccessful discussion of this same construction. *A. J. P.*, XXVI, p. 83.



numerous instances of it in the early literature and it is by no means rare in Old-Norse though Cleasby does not seem to take note of it. (See Egils. 13; Hóv. 8.) There is nothing unreasonable therefore in dating the usage as far back as the (evidently pre-Germanic) development of the ordinary Indirect Discourse construction traced in the foregoing pages. The two constructions reveal marked similarities, and are, I believe, intimately connected in origin. In its earlier usage *shall* denoted obligation. One of the first developments of this usage is its employment in substantive volitive clauses to express the will or desire of another, as in Bede H., 184, and gehet ðone mæssepreost to hire ðæt he sceolde mid heo gan. (See Shearin, *The Expression of Purpose*, p. 107.) In other words, "shall" + infinitive was an exact equivalent of the volitive subjunctive which, (if the foregoing discussion is sound) developed into a subjunctive of Indirect Discourse. When that development took place it may well have carried through the same process this idiom of "shall" + infinitive, which was synonymous with it and involved with it in the expression of will and desire.

To summarize briefly the results of this discussion, we have attempted to indicate the weaknesses in the all too metaphysical theories that have been offered as explaining the construction in question. We have found that a semasiological study of the introductory verbs most frequently involved in the construction led to the conclusion that the use of the optative was due to a petrification, as it were, of a construction which had its *raison d'être* in the earlier volitive meaning of such introductory verbs. Similar petrifications of constructions and their persistence beyond the life of the creating factors were found to be numerous; and finally two otherwise unexplained peculiarities of the Indirect Discourse construction were found to be explicable in the light of this theory.

TENNEY FRANK.



## SIDNEY'S INDEBTEDNESS TO SIBILET.

IN his scholarly work, *Literary Criticism in the Renaissance*, Professor Spingarn has called attention to the general indebtedness of Sidney's *Defense of Poesy* to Minturno's *De Poeta* 'in all that relates to the antiquity, universality, and preëminence of poetry' (p. 269), and in a footnote he remarks that 'Sidney's acquaintance with Minturno is proved beyond doubt, even were such proof necessary, by the list of poets (*Defense*, pp. 2, 3) which he has copied from Minturno's *De Poeta*, pp. 14, 15.'

Of this indebtedness to Minturno there can be no question, but I think that Sidney also had in mind, when writing of the antiquity of poetry, Thomas Sibilet's *Art Poétique François*, a volume that appeared in 1548, eleven years earlier than the *De Poeta*.

Of religious poetry Sidney writes as follows: 'The chief, both in antiquity and excellence, were they that did imitate the inconceivable excellencies of God. Such were David in his Psalms; Solomon in his Song of Songs, in his Ecclesiastes and Proverbs; Moses and Deborah in their Hymns; and the writer of Job; which, beside other, the learned Emanuel Tremelius and Franciscus Junius do entitle the poetical part of the Scripture. Against these none will speak that hath the Holy Ghost in due holy reverence. In this kind, though in a full wrong divinity, where Orpheus, Amphion, Homer in his Hymns, and many other, both Greeks and Romans' (p. 9). To this passage, the two following passages from the *Art Poétique* offer a much closer parallel than any to be found in the *De Poeta*: 'Moïse premier diuin prestre, premier conducteur du diuin peuple, & premier diuin Pöete, apres auoir triumphe du danger de la mer rouge, & de la cruele malice de l'Egyptiën Pharaön, chanta-il grace & louenge a dieu autre-

ment qu'en vers poetiquement mesurez ? Depuis luy, David chanta-il ses Psalmes, Selomon ses Prouerbes, les trois enfans en la fournaise leur Cantique, les Prophetes leurs predictions, Hieremie ses lamentations, autrement qu'en mesure versifiee ? Mais, ie te pry, lecteur, les chantarent-ilz tous, autres qu'inspirez de l'esprit de dieu ? Ces Oracles sont tant certains & assurez de diuinite, que le doute n'y a que mordre. Et les responses que rendoient aussi entre les Grecz Apollo Pythien & Delphique, Themis, & autres telz Dieux & Deesses par les bouches de Phemonoe, Deïphobe, & autres teles Sibylles, estoient en vers : & si elles n'ont tele assurance de diuinite que les Oracles susdis, si en ont elles tant grande apparence, qu'en a este apparente l'opinion de ces diuins espriz Grecz & Latins' (p. 2 a). 'Laquelle congneue par les monarques & souuerains seigneurs des hommes & des terres, voians & oians dire qu'un Mercure, un Apollo, un Arion, un Amphion, un Orphee par la douceur de ses vers chantez auoit illustre la gloire des plus haus & plus puissans dieux, prirent ensemble enuie de s'egaler aux dieux, & estre comme euz louez & congnez a la posterite par le carme des Pöetes' (p. 2 b).

I am inclined to think that Sidney also had the *Art Poetique* before him when he gave the list of names to which Professor Spingarn has called attention. This passage in the *Defence* reads : 'Let learned Greece in any of her manifold sciences be able to show me one book before Musaeus, Homer, and Hesiod, all three nothing else but poets. Nay, let any history be brought that can say any writers were there before them, if they were not men of the same skill, as Orpheus, Linus, and some other are named, who, having been the first of that country that made pens deliverers of their knowledge to their posterity, may justly challenge to be called their fathers in learning. For not only in time they had this priority—although in itself antiquity be venerable—but went before them as causes, to draw with their charming sweetness the wild untamed wits to an admiration of knowledge. So as Amphion was said to move stones with his poetry to build Thebes, and

Orpheus to be listened to by beasts,—indeed stony and beastly people. So among the Romans were Livius Andronicus and Ennius; so in the Italian language the first that made it aspire to be a treasure-house of science were the poets Dante, Boccace, and Petrarch; so in our English were Gower and Chaucer, after whom, encouraged and delighted with their excellent foregoing, others have followed to beautify our mother-tongue, as well in the same kind as in other arts' (p. 2). Corresponding to this are the following sentences from the *De Poeta*: 'Deorum autem filii de rebus diuinis, Linus, quem debuit Pater Phœbus erudire, & Orpheus, qui potuit à matre Calliope didicisse, ut Deos laudare, ut precari deberemus, ornatissima carmina condiderunt. . . . Nam quid ego de Homero dicam? Quid de Hesiodo? qui, ut cætera illorum Poëmata multo celebriora pretermittamus, alter Deorum laudes, precesque diuinas, alter origines, elegantissime scripserunt. . . . Nec uerò temere decantatum illud censendum est, quòd cantu, & fidibus Amphion Thebis mœnia circumdidisset, feras, syluas, montes Orpheus deduxisset; fluuiorum cursus repressisset. Videlicet has diuina canendi ratione illi pollebant, qua rudes eorum temporum homines, ueluti saxa duros & horridos, ut feræ immites, in societatem humanioris uitæ conuocarunt, ut amnes animorum impetu, & ferocia concitatos compresserunt, eosque docuerunt, ille quomodo se ipsi muro ab hostibus defenderent, hic uti consuetudinem illam uiuendi inconditam & agrestem ad ornatiorem, mitioremque cultum traducerent' (p. 14). In the *Art Poétique* occurs the following: 'De la Homere, de la Hesiode, de la Pindare ressentirent entre les Grecz admiration & louenge de leur diuine versification: & tous ceuz qui suiuan leurs traces ont este depuis entre les Grecz honorez Pöetes. De la Liuius Andronicus, de la le pere Ennius, de la le plaisant Plaute trouuerent nom & faueur entre les Romains: & apres euz Virgile, Ouide, Horace, & autres infinis, furent enrichis, fauoris, & honnorez a Rome des Cesars, des Senateurs, & du peuple. Et depuis la Poesie aiantia trouue vn des plus haus degrez de son auancement, dont la fureur des guerres l'auoit abaissee, se

releua entre les Italiens retenans encor quelque vestige de ce florissant empire, par le moien d'un Danthe & d'un Petrarque. Puis passant les mons, & recongnue par les François auz personnes de Alain, Ian de Meun, & Ian le Maire, diuine de race, & digne de roial entretien, a trouue nagueres soubz la faueur & eloquence du Roy François premier de nom & de lettres, & maintenant rencontre soubz la prudence & diuin esprit de Henry Roy second de ce nom, & premier de vertu, tele veneration de sa diuinite, que l'esperance est grande de la voir dedans peu d'ans autant saine & autant auguste que elle fut soubz le Cesar Auguste' (p. 3 a). Sidney's opening reference to Orpheus and Linus, and the allusion to the refining influence of Amphion and Orpheus, are clearly reminiscent of Minturno, but the remainder of the paragraph bears more resemblance to the passage from Sibilet. To be sure Sidney replaces the French poets with the English, but this was quite the natural and fitting thing to do.

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## AN INSTANCE OF MILTON'S DEBT TO VERGIL.

IT has been suggested (Raleigh, *Milton*, p. 140) that in his memories of the Long Parliament Milton found examples of the types he has embodied under the names of Belial, Mammon, Moloch, and Beelzebub in the second book of *Paradise Lost*. Stopford Brooke thinks (*Milton*, p. 93) that we may in the portrayal of Beelzebub trace the lineaments of Strafford. Without questioning the interest and value of these suggestions, I should like to point out that Milton's memories of Vergil may have furnished him with at least one example of the type he has embodied under the name of Belial. It will be remembered that the eleventh book of the *Aeneid* contains a scene somewhat similar to that of the infernal council in Milton's second book. The chiefs of Latium have met to discuss the advisability of continuing the war with the hitherto victorious Trojans. The second speaker is Drances, who is described thus (11. 336-342):

Tum Drances, idem infensus, quem gloria Turni  
Obliqua invidia stimulisque agitabat amaris,  
Largus opum et lingua melior, sed frigida bello  
Dextera, consiliis habitus non futilis auctor,  
Seditione potens . . . . .  
Surgit, et his onerat dictis atque aggerat iras.

Turning to *Paradise Lost* (2. 108-118), we find:

On the other side up rose  
Belial, in act more graceful and humane.  
A fairer person lost not Heaven; he seemed  
For dignity composed, and high exploit.  
But all was false and hollow; though his tongue  
Dropt manna, and could make the worse appear  
The better reason, to perplex and dash  
Maturest counsels: for his thoughts were low—  
To vice industrious, but to nobler deeds  
Timorous and slothful. Yet he pleased the ear,  
And with persuasive accent thus began:—

It will be readily seen that at least two of the characteristics mentioned by Milton are found in Vergil. Taking into consideration the general similarity of situation in the two cases, it seems to me probable that we have here another instance of Milton's debt to the classics.

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THE METRICAL FORMS USED BY CERTAIN  
VICTORIAN POETS.

INCIDENTALLY to a broader piece of work I have lately performed the mechanical task of counting the number of metrical forms employed respectively by three of the most prolific Victorian poets. To print the classification in full is out of the question in a periodical article, but the result seems of sufficient interest to warrant summary statement with the minimum of explanation. The bare final figures are as follows :

Browning, about two hundred (200) forms. This includes about 15 different movements where stanzas are either lacking or of irregular length and which are irregular also in the number of stresses (feet) to a line, generally in the kind of feet used, and in the rime-system. (Some of these irregular movements are of the "choric ode" class.)

Tennyson, about two hundred and forty (240) forms, including about 35 different irregular movements.

Swinburne, about four hundred and twenty (420) forms, including about half a dozen different irregular movements.

These figures do not include poems in foreign languages, of which Tennyson has two forms in Latin and Swinburne fourteen in French and Latin. The count is based for Tennyson on the poems and dramas included in the standard collective editions; for Browning, on all the known extant poems and dramas (substantially as collected in the "Camberwell" edition); for Swinburne, on all the dramas, and the poems in the six-volume collective edition, omitting the *Heptalogia* of parodies.

The enumeration, in the main, is of the various kinds of units of which the poems are immediately composed. By *unit* I mean *stanza* when one regular stanza is used throughout;

*distinct passage* or *whole poem* when stanzas are lacking or irregular and stress or rime or both irregular; in most other cases, *couplet* or *single line*. In the case of individual poems composed of different units I have counted the units separately when they are combined irregularly (for example when a stanza riming *a b b a* occurs sporadically in a poem composed mostly of stanzas riming *a b a b*); but have treated the whole poem as the unit when the combination is in accordance with a definite artificial system, as for instance in the *ballade* or the sonnet.

I have stated the figures approximately for two reasons: (1) The question of distinctions must be decided by individual judgment more often than one who has not had experience would suppose. (2) In any count there must almost certainly be some errors, due to the difficulty of applying with absolute consistency whatever principles may be adopted. It would be very unreasonable to demand that such a count be altogether proof against criticism. But I believe that the figures given are trustworthy in the main. Certainly they indicate with sufficient accuracy the comparative numbers of forms used by the respective poets considered.

Some further explanation is evidently required. My four principal criteria, naturally, are: (1) Number of lines in a unit (not applicable where the lines are not regularly grouped). (2) Number of stresses (feet) in the line. (3) Rime-system. (4) Kind of feet employed. In making the classification, as a matter of fact, I have applied these criteria in the order in which they are here named. I have also set by themselves imitations of classical meters and artificial forms like the *ballade* and the sonnet. Except in a few cases I have not found any other feet than iambs, anapæsts, trochees, dactyls, and spondees; and I have never recognized the spondee in making distinctions, but have always treated it as a substitute or equivalent for some other foot. I employ these names in the usual anglicized senses, with reference simply to stress, except in the case of the (quantitative) spondee.



In connection with the fourth criterion just mentioned considerable attention has to be paid to the omission (truncation) of unaccented syllables at the beginning or end of lines and to the addition of unaccented syllables either initial (anacrusis) or final. Of course these processes, when initial, are generally identical with change from iambic to trochaic movement or from anapæstic to dactylic or *vice versa*, and when final are identical with change from single (masculine) to double (feminine) or triple endings or *vice versa*. I have not considered their occasional irregular appearance as a sufficient mark of distinction; but I have so considered not only their regular appearance in fixed places but also their frequent irregular appearance. A hypothetical normal illustration may make this clearer. In the case of several iambic and trochaic poems in four-line stanzas with the same number of stresses to a line, the same rime-system, and lines always or almost always ending in a stressed syllable—aside from possible forms in which certain fixed lines were always iambic and the others always trochaic, I should count three forms: (1) those which are almost uniformly iambic, that is, whose lines almost always begin with an unstressed syllable; (2) those which are almost always trochaic, that is, whose lines almost always begin with a stressed syllable; (3) those in which, whether or not one sort of line or the other may predominate, both occur frequently. So with feminine endings: My procedure has been similar as regards the use of feet individually interchangeable. That is, I have not taken account of the occasional appearance of an anapæst in an iambic measure or of a dactyl in a trochaic measure, but have distinguished meters in which anapæsts and iambs are both frequent both from those wholly or almost wholly iambic and from those wholly or almost wholly anapæstic.

I have always recognized medial rime as a differentia—as a matter of fact, partly to avoid inconsistencies, I have always counted a separate line for each rime. I have generally accepted stanza divisions as indicated by the poets themselves. Thus, I

have distinguished an eight-line stanza which is metrically only a four-line stanza doubled (rime-system *a b a b c d c d*) from the same four-line stanza (*a b a b*) employed as a unit; this because the sense divisions usually correspond to the stanza divisions and have weight in the metrical effect. But in the case of couplets the poets sometimes make stanza-groupings which seem arbitrary; these I have disregarded. I have recognized refrains as regular criteria of distinction.

The most difficult and least satisfactory part of the count is the attempt to classify the passages which are irregular in all respects. I presume that some other students would make fewer distinctions among them than I have made, at least in the case of Tennyson.

I have counted prose and unrimed iambic pentameter (ordinary blank verse) each as one form; except that I have distinguished as separate forms the stichic verse of Greek drama dialog (where each speech occupies a single line) and blank verse with feminine endings in several successive lines (Browning). I have arbitrarily distinguished three and only three kinds of sonnets in iambic pentameter: (1) the "Italian" (without taking account of the arrangement of rimes in the sestet); (2) the "Elizabethan;" (3) all others. (It is interesting to note incidentally that none of the poets considered employs the "Elizabethan" form except Swinburne, and he in only five of his later sonnets—vol. VI—though he has a very large number in the "Italian" form). But I have, in sonnets as in other poems, recognized as *differentiae* variations in the number of accents and kind of feet employed and the introduction of feminine rimes. This gives Swinburne nine varieties of sonnets; for he uses lines of six, seven, and eight accents, and trochees and anapæsts as well as iambs.

It scarcely need be observed that Swinburne's remarkable numerical superiority to the other two poets is due largely to his instinctive and irrepressible facility in the use of minor devices of variation. Browning and Tennyson, further, scarcely employ at all other artificial forms than the sonnet; but Swin-

burne uses such forms often, chiefly the *ballade* and the roundel. He has 38 varieties of roundels (the difference is sometimes only in the refrains) and 20 varieties of *ballades*, besides two of *double ballades*.

From many points of view the significance of the figures here given is obviously decreased by the fact that any trifling meter used in only a single poem counts for as much as any one of the best meters, like unrimed iambic pentameter, employed in thousands of lines of the greatest work. But all such considerations are irrelevant to the present purpose.

It is interesting to note that Milton in his English poems uses only about 30 forms, including six or eight irregular ones; and Chaucer 23, all regular, among them ten forms of *ballades* and *envoys*.<sup>1</sup> Let me distinctly disclaim, however, any such intention as that of suggesting that a poet's greatness can be measured by the number of forms which he employs.

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<sup>1</sup> This estimate includes the four short pieces printed as doubtful by Skeat, of which three, according to my classification, are unique in form. It would be irrelevant to urge that much of Chaucer's early work has very likely been lost; for substantially the same thing is true of Tennyson and Browning, at least. Apart from prose, all Chaucer's meters are prevailingly iambic except that of the two four-line *Proverbs*, which are prevailingly trochaic; and all are in lines of five accents except three meters, namely: (1) that of the insignificant *Proverbs* just mentioned; (2) the romance stanza which Chaucer uses satirically in *Sir Thopas*; (3) the octosyllabic couplet which he uses in *The Romaunt of the Rose*, *The Bok of the Duchesse*, and *The Hous of Fame*.



## TWO NOTES ON WORDS.

## I. ANGLO-SAXON AS A NAME OF THE LANGUAGE.

IN the *New English Dictionary* the earliest date given for the term *Anglo-Saxon* as a name of the Old English language is 1783. The relevant part of the article is as follows :

‘**Anglo-Saxon.** II. Extended to the entire Old English people and language before the Norman Conquest. **B.** *adj.* (*absol.* The Old English language.) [1605 CAMDEN *Rem.* (1614). . . . 70 *Fole*, the English Saxon woorde for people. 1715 E. ELSTOB (title) *The Rudiments of Grammar for the English Saxon tongue*]. 1783 BAILEY, *Anglosaxon*, the Saxon language as it was spoken in England.’

So far as I am aware, no one has hitherto pointed out any earlier instance of the word in English in this sense, and the quotation given in the *Dictionary* has been accepted as the first use. Thus, recently, Cook, in a note to his translation of Sievers, *Old English Grammar* (third edition), p. 1, ‘The use of “Anglo-Saxon,” as an English term applying to the language, dates from only 1783 (cf. *New Engl. Dict.* s. v.).’ This comparative lateness of the term, is, as all know, one of the reasons for preferring the designation Old English. The latter, however, is now so well established that its use is not likely to be endangered if a few occurrences of the word Anglo-Saxon earlier than 1783 be pointed out.

In the first place, the 1783 edition of Bailey’s *Etymological Dictionary*, in which Anglo-Saxon is defined as above, is the twenty-fifth. The book was first published in 1721, sixty-two years earlier. Whether it then already contained the passage quoted, the present writer can not say, as the copy of Bailey to which he has access is of the same twenty-fifth edition



(Edinburgh, 1783). But it is likely that the entry occurs in some earlier editions, if not in the very first.

In Johnson's *Dictionary* (1755), the word Anglo-Saxon is not given in the body of the work, among words defined. In the *Preface* and in the accompanying *History of the English Language*, Johnson uses the terms 'Saxon' and 'the Saxon language.' In the *History*, however, he gives a table, which he attributes to Hickes (author of the *Linguarum veterum septentrionalium thesaurus*, etc., 1703-1705), in which 'Anglo-Saxon' is used as a generic term including 'Dutch, Frisick, English.'

Much earlier, however, nearly two centuries earlier than the instance given in the *New English Dictionary*, is the following unmistakable use of the word in the recent sense, from Puttenham's *Arte of English Poesie* (1589), lib. 3, chap. 4, (p. 156, ed. Arber):

'Then when I say language, I meane the speach wherein the Poet or maker writeth be it Greek or Latine, or as our case is the vulgar English, and when it is peculiar vnto a countrey it is called the mother speach of that people: the Greekes terme it *Idioma*: so is ours at this day the Norman English. Before the Conquest of the Normans it was the Anglesaxon.'

## II. *Lee*, MEANING '*stream*,' IN SPENSER.

The third stanza of Spenser's *Prothalamion* begins (ll. 37-38):

With that I saw two Swannes of goodly hewe  
Come softly swimming downe along the Lee.

In a note on the word in his *Longer English Poems* (p. 207), J. W. Hales says, 'We do not know of its occurring elsewhere than here as a common noun.' Reference to the *Glossary* published with the *Globe* edition of Spenser, however, is sufficient to show that Spenser uses the same word in at least two more passages, which are herewith appended, with another.

*Faërie Queene*, v. 2. 19. 1-2 :

His corps was carried downe along the Lee,  
Whose waters with his filthy bloud it stayned.

*Ruines of Time*, 134-135 (not in *Glossary*) :

And where the christall Thamys wont to slide  
In silver channell, downe along the Lee.

*Ibid.*, 603-606 :

Whilest thus I looked, loe ! adowne the Lee  
I sawe an Harpe stroong all with silver twyne,  
And made of golde and costlie yvorie,  
Swimming.

In the last passage the 'Lee' is the river Thames, as before.

This word, *lee* as a common noun in the sense of 'stream,' is not in the *New English Dictionary*, the *English Dialect Dictionary*, the *Century*, or in any other which I have consulted. It is apparently peculiar to Spenser. There can be little doubt that, as Hales suggests, it is the familiar river-name Lea, adopted as a common noun. Occurring in *The Faërie Queene* and the *Prothalamion*, it is certainly entitled to recognition.

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## THE LOVER'S MASS.

THE beautiful fifteenth-century poem to which I give the above title has been already in print, in the Appendix to the *Lay Folks' Mass Book*, edited for the Early English Text Society by the late Rev. T. F. Simmons in 1879. He there entitles the work the *Venus' Mass*, and assigns it to Lydgate; in this he perhaps follows Warton-Hazlitt III, 60; and he is followed by Mr. W. A. Neilson, in his valuable monograph on the *Court of Love*, p. 223. Brandl, however, in Paul's *Grundriss* II, 692, considers this attribution impossible; and I cannot see the reason for such ascription. There is no mention of Lydgate in the manuscript, the fine codex Fairfax 16 of the Bodleian Library; neither the list of Stow nor that of Ritson alludes to this poem, and the internal evidence is very strongly in the other direction. Indeed, the metrical variations and the grace of the movement are beyond most of the minor poems of Chaucer. That the work of Chaucer and of Gower was not unknown to the poet we infer from the allusion to the *Legend of Good Women* in the Epistle in Prose, concluding the *Mass*, and from the possible allusion to the *Confessio Amantis* in its *Misereatur*. The other limit for conjectural data may perhaps be deduced from the age of the codex. It has been pointed out by various critics that the "1450" which is written, apparently in a contemporary hand, on the flyleaf, fits very well with the orthography of the volume; and there is a further piece of evidence in the coat of arms which is blended with the elaborate illumination facing the first entry, the copy of Chaucer's *Mars*. I do not find this coat described or mentioned either by the Chaucer Society editors or in Professor Skeat's edition; it is that of Stanley-Storeton-Hooton, and I hope to present it in full before long.

Meanwhile, the only connection which I can see possible

between the *Lover's Mass* and Lydgate is the substantial agreement of a part of the Epistle in Prose, concluding the *Mass*, with several stanzas of the prologue to the third book of the *Falls of Princes*. As this latter work is not easily accessible, I quote, from the Tottel print of 1554:—

“Folkes that vse to make great viages,  
Which vnderfong long trauaile and labour,  
When thei haue done gret part of their passages  
Of werines tasswage their rigour,  
again faintise to find some fauour,  
loke oft agayne parcell to be releued,  
to see how much theyr iourney is atcheued.

Cause why they so oft loke ageyne,  
backward turne loke, and eke visage,  
is onely this, that it may be seyn  
To them, how much is done of theyr viage :  
eke wery folke that gone on pilgrimage,  
rest them somewhile a ful large space,  
laborious swete to wye fro their face.

Their heauy fardel among they cast down,  
at certain boundes to do their backes ease,  
at welles colde eke of intencion,  
Drinke fresh waters their greuous thyrste tappease,  
or wholsom wines their appetite to please,  
rekenyng the miles by computacions,  
which thei haue past of castels & of tounes.

It doth them ease the number for to know,  
sith thei began of many great iourneys,  
of hye mountaines and of valeys lowe,  
And straunge sightes passing by countreis  
the vncouth building of boroughes & cities  
counting þe distance from townes, & the spaces  
this is their talking at theyr resting places.



The residue and the surplusage,  
 thei reckon also of their labour comming,  
 thinke it is a maner auantage,  
 To haue and see a clere knoweleging  
 Of things passed, and thinges eke folowing  
 for to their hertes it doth fulgreat pleasance  
 whan al suche thyng is put in remembrance."

It will be evident from a comparison of these stanzas with the Epistle in Prose of the *Lover's Mass* that the verse is of the truly Lydgatian expression, and that the "Mass" cannot possibly be from the same hand. It is a question whether the one piece of work is indebted to the other for the idea, or whether both derive from the ultimate original of Lydgate's lines, the following passage of Boccaccio's *De Casibus*: "Consuevere longum ac laboriosum iter agentes / non solum aliquando consistere / sudores abstergere / corpus leuare / auram captare lenem / & sitim poculis pellere: Set etiam in tergum facie versa / iam acta metiri spatia / opida recolere / flumina / montes / vallesque / & aequora / recensere. Et dum toti itineri quod preteritum est / eximunt: Non modicum sibi / ad laboris residuum / virium superaddere," etc., etc., (from the undated edition of the *Casibus*, prologue to Book III).

The text follows:—

(MS. Fairfax 16, Bibl. Bodl.)  
 (folio 314a)

Introibo

[rubric]

Wyth all myñ hool herte enter  
 To fore the famous Riche Auter  
 Of the myghty god of Love  
 Whiche that stondest high above  
 In the Chapel / of Cytheron  
 I will wyth gret devocion  
 Go knele / and make sacrifyse  
 Lyke as the custoñ doth devyse

Afor that God / preye and wake  
 Of entent I may be take  
 To hys seruyse / and ther assure  
 As longe / as my lyf may dure  
 To contune / as I best kañ  
 Whil I lyve / to ben hys man

## Confiteor

[rubric]

I am aknowe / and wot ryght well  
 I speke pleynty as I fel  
 Touchynge / the grete tendyrnesse  
 Of my youthe / and my symplesse  
 Of myn vnkonyng / and grene age  
 Wil lete me han noon advantage  
 To serue loue I kan so lyte  
 And yet myn hert / doth delyte  
 Of hys seruauntys / for to here  
 By example of hem / I myghte lere  
 To folowe the wey / of ther seruyse  
 Yif I hadde koñying to devyse  
 That I myght a seruant be  
 Amongys other in my degre  
 Havyng ful gret repentaunce  
 That I non erste me gan avaunce  
 (fol. 314b)

In loue court / my selfe to offre  
 And my seruyse / for to profre  
 ffor ffer of my tender youthe  
 Nouthur be Est / nouthur by Southe  
 Lyst Daunger / putte me a bake  
 And dysdeyn / to make wrake  
 Wolde hyndre me / in myn entente  
 Of al this thyng / I me Repente  
 As my conscience kañ recorde  
 I sey lowly Myserycorde

## Misereatur

[rubric]

By god of louys Ordynaunce  
 ffolkys / that haue repentaunce  
 Sorowful in herte / and no thyng lyght  
 Whiche ha nat spent hys tyme aryght  
 But wastyd yt in ydelnesse  
 Only for lake of lustynesse  
 In slep / slogardye / and slouthe  
 Of whom / ys pyte / and gret routhe  
 But when they repente hem ageyn  
 Of al ther tyme / spent in veyn  
 The god of love / thorgh hys myght  
 Syth that Mercy passeth ryght  
 The mot acceptyd be to grace  
 And pute daunger out of place  
 This the wyl of Dame *Venus*  
 And of hyr Bisshopp *Genivs*\*

## Officium

[rubric]

In honour of the god Cupide  
 ffirst that he may be my guyde  
 (fol. 315a)

In worshepe eke of the pryncesse  
 Whyche is lady / and Maystresse  
 By grace they may / for me provyde  
 Humble of herte / devoyde of pryde  
 Envye and Rancour set asyde  
 Without change / or doubilnesse

In honour of the  
 ffirst that he

Joye and welfare in euery tyde  
 Be yove to hem / wherso they byde  
 And yive to hem *grace* / on my dystresse

\*This word was read *Temus* by Simmons. The initial capital is confused, and might be B, T, or G. The allusion is probably to Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, or to the *Roman de la Rose*.

To have / pyte / of ther hyghnesse  
 ffor in what place / I go or ryde  
 In honour  
 ffirst that

Kyrie

[rubric]

Mercy. Mercy. contynuely / I crye  
 In gret disioynt : vpon the poynt : to deye  
 ffor that pyte : ys vn to me : contrayre  
 Daunger my ffo : dysdeyn also : whylk tweye  
 Causen myn herte : of mortal smert : dyspeyre  
 ffor she : that ys : fayrest ywys : of ffayre  
 Hath gladnesse : of my syknesse / to pleye  
 Thus my trouble / double and double / doth repayre

xpe

[rubric]

Repeyreth ay : which nyght nor day // ne cesseth nought  
 Now hope / now dred / now pensyffhede / now thought  
 Al thyse yfere / palen myn chere / and hewe  
 Yet to hyr grace ech hour / and space / I ha besought  
 Hyr lyst nat here / ffor hyr daunger / doth ay renewe  
 (fol. 315b)

Towardys me / for certys she / lyst nat rewe  
 Vp on my peyne / and thus my cheyne / ys wrought  
 Which hath me bounde / neuer to be founde / vntrewe

Kyrie

[rubric]

Vntrewe nay : to se that day : god forbede  
 Voyde slouth / kepe my trouthe / in dede  
 Eve and morowe / ffor Joye or sorowe / I have behyght  
 Til I sterve : euere to serve / hir womanhede  
 In erthe lyvyng / ther is no thyng / maketh me so lyght  
 ffor I shal dye : ne but wer hir Mercye mor than ryght  
 Off no decertys / but Mercy certys / my Journe spede  
 Adieu al play : thus may I say / I woful wyght



## Gloria in excelsis

[rubric]

Worsshyppe / to that lord above  
 That called ys / the god of love  
 Pes / to hys / seruantes euerychon  
 Trewe of herte / stable as ston

That feythful be

To hertys trewe of ther corage  
 That lyst chaunge for no rage  
 But kep hem in ther hestys styлле  
 In all maner wedris ylle

Pes concord and vnyte

God send hem / some ther desyrs  
 And reles / of ther hoothe ffyr  
 That brenneþ at her herte sore  
 And encresseth / more and more

This my prayere

And after wynter / wyth hys shourys  
 God send hem coñfort / of May flourys

(fol. 316a)

Affter gret wynd / and stormys kene  
 The glade soñe / with bemys shene

May appere

To yive hem lyght after dyrknesse  
 Joye eke after hevynesse  
 And after dool / and ther wepynge  
 To here / the somer foulys synge

God yive grace

ffor ofte sythe men ha seyn  
 A ful bryght day / after gret reyn  
 And tyl the storme / beleyd asyde  
 The herdys vnder bussh abyde

And taketh place

After also the dirke nyght  
 Voyde off the Mone / and sterre lyght  
 And after nyghtys / dool and sorowe

ffolweth ofte a ful glade morowe  
 Of Aventure  
 Now lorde that knowest hertys alle  
 Off louers / that for helpe calle  
 On her trouthe / of mercy rewe  
 Namly on swyche as be trewe  
 Helpe to recure.

Amen [rubric]

(A very little space remaining on fol. 316a is blank.)

(fol. 316b)

The Oryson [rubric]

Most myghty / and most dredful lord  
 That knowest / hertys fals and trewe  
 As wel ther thynking as ther word  
 Bothe of lovers / olde and newe  
 Off pyte / and of mercy rewe  
 On thy *seruauntes* / that be stable  
 And make ther Joye / to renewe  
 Swich as wyl neuer be chaṅgable

The Epystel in prose. [rubric]

ffrom the party of the por plentyff in love wyth  
 many yers of probacoṇ professed to be trewe /  
 To all the holy ffraternite and Confrary : of the  
 same bretherhede / And to alle hospytlerys and  
 Relygious / nat spotted / nor mad foul wyth no cry-  
 me of Apostasye / nouthyr notyd nor atteynt wt  
 no double fface / of symulacoṇ nor constreyned  
 coṇtenaunce of ypocrysye // To alle swiche chose  
 chyldre of stabylnesse wyth oute variaunce of co-  
 rage / or of herte Joye / Elthe / : and long prosperyte /  
 wyth perfeccoṇ of perseuerance / in ther trouthe  
 perpetually / tabyde // Experyence techeth / that  
 pilgrymes / and folkes custoṁable to vyage //

Whan they vnderfange / any long / weye wiche  
 that ys laboryous // Somwhile off consuetude /  
 and custom / they use a maner to reste on ther  
 wey // Off entent to wye / and wasshe away the soot of ther  
 vysages // And sum also vsen to ley adoun the hevy ffar-  
 dellys of ther bake // ffor to alleggen ther wery lemys /  
 of her grete berthene / And somme outhen vsen to gadryn

(fol. 317a)

wyne / And somme to drynken outhen water or wyn // of ther  
 botell or Goordys to asswage / the grete dryhnesse of ther  
 gredy thruste // And somme of hem somwhile / rekne and  
 accounten / how myche they ha passyd / off ther Journe /  
 And sodenly tourne ageyn ther bakkys / towardys / som nota-  
 ble seteys Which they of newe / be partyd fro / And there-  
 wyth al Recorden / and remembren hem / of Cytes / Castel-  
 les / and touns which they ha passyd by / and nat forgete  
 hylles no valeys / dygne to be put in remembraunce of hyt /  
 for a Memoryal / Somme entytlen hem / in smale bookes of Re-  
 port or in tabyls / to callen hem to mynde / whan they  
 sene her tyme / And somm ought callen to mynde gret Ryuers  
 and smale / And pereylles of the see that they ha passyd  
 by / And whan they han alle accountyd / and ageyn Rebatyd /  
 the partyes passed off her Journe / Off nowe they take to  
 hem force / vigour / and strengthe / myghtyly Wyth oute  
 feyntyse / to parforme / and manly to acomplysshe / the  
 Resydue / and the remnaunt of her labour // And thus .I.  
 in semblable wyse al the tyme of my lyff / ffrom my grene  
 tendre youthe / And tyme that I hadde / yeres of dyscre-  
 con beyng / and contynuyng / as an Errynge pylgrym / in  
 the seruise of the myghty and dredful god of loue / how  
 many perylous / passages / and wayes / that I ha passyd  
 by / How ofte in compleynyng I have setyndon // to wypen  
 away the soot of myn inportable labour /

(fol. 317b)

And dronken euer among of my botell and Goordes / the byt-  
 ter drynkes / of drerynesse / And ofte sythes assayed / to

casten adoun the inportable fardel / of myn heuy thoughtys /  
And amongys al this thyngys // lookyd bakward to consydren /  
and sen the fyn and the ende of my worthy bretheren / and  
predecessours in love // that ha passyd the same pilgrym-  
age toforne // And ther I ha founden / and seyn the grete  
trouthe of Troylus / parseuerant to his lyves ende // The  
trewe stable menyng of penelope / The clenness of poly-  
cene // The kyndenesse off Dydo quen of cartage // And  
rad also ful often in my contemplatyff medytacouns The holy  
legende of Martyrs / of Cupydo / The secre trouthe of  
Trystram and ysoude And the smale Gerdouns of woful Pala-  
mydes / All thyse / and anhondryd Thousand mo callyd to  
mynde / me semeth / amonges all I am on of the most for-  
sake / And ferthest set behynde of grace / and moste hyn-  
dred to þe mercy of my lady dere / Nat wythstondynge the  
grete party of my pilgrymage / that I ha don But that I  
shal euere for lyfe or deth / contynue / and perseuere  
trewe to my lyves Ende // Besechynge ful lowly / to alle  
yow my brethere / vn to whom thys lytel Epystel ys dy-  
rect // That yt lyke yow / of pyte / amonge your devout  
obseruances to han me Recomendyd / w<sup>t</sup> som Especial Mem-  
orye / in your prayers / That yet or I dye / I may sum  
mercy fynde / Or that the god of love / Enspyre my ladyes  
herte of hys grace what I endure for hyr sake

ELEANOR PRESCOTT HAMMOND.



## A PARLIAMENT OF BIRDS.

PERHAPS the two most famous of Chaucerian manuscripts are the codices marked respectively Harley 7334 of the British Museum and Gg 4, 27, of the University Library at Cambridge. Of these the latter presents problems still more complicated than the former, owing to the variety of its contents, which include not only the *Canterbury Tales*, but also the *Troilus*, the *Legend of Good Women*, the *Parlement of Foules*, three short poems by Chaucer, and Lydgate's *Temple of Glass*. This last has been considered by Schick, in his edition for the Early English Text Society; all the Chaucerian poems are in type, and the text of the *Legend* has received examination by Bilderbeck; but two brief non-Chaucerian bits contained in the manuscript, just preceding the *Troilus*, are, so far as I know, still unpublished. These short poems are, first, the poem here printed, which is mentioned by Skeat in vol. I of his *Oxford Chaucer*, p. 55; and secondly, a pair of poems in a mixture of Latin, French, and English, one from the lover to his lady, the other her "Responcio." The entire codex is in one hand, the firm heavy conventional script reproduced by several examples in the Chaucer Society's *Autotypes*, and of an age not far from 1400. As showing markedly the influence of the *Parlement of Foules*, and thus forming another in the long list of poems produced in imitation of Chaucer, the subjoined text has its interest. Moreover, all material is of value which throws light upon the work of the Gg scribe, the transmitter of texts at once exasperating and invaluable.

(MS. Univ. Lib., Cambr., Gg 4, 27.)

(fol. 8b)

(1)

In may whan euery herte is lyȝt  
And flourys frosschely sprede & sprynge

And Phebus w<sup>t</sup> his bemys bryȝte  
 Was in þe Bole so cler schynyng  
 þ<sup>t</sup> sesyn in a morwenyng  
 Myn sor for syghte to don socour  
 (fol. 9a)

W<sup>t</sup> inne a wode was myn walkyng  
 Pur moy ouhter hors de dolour

## (2)

And in an erber sote & grene  
 þat benchede was w<sup>t</sup> clourys newe  
 A doun I sat me to bemene  
 ffor verray seyke ful pale of hewe  
 And say be syde a turtill trewe  
 ffor leue gan syngyn of hire fere  
 In frensch ho so þe rondevle knewe  
 Amour me fait souent pensere

## (3)

Cupidis brid þe nygtyngale  
 W<sup>t</sup> streynede þrote be melody  
 Sat on a sidre be syde a vale  
 And angelly be gan to cry  
 þat euere in leue is melody  
 And brestis brede w<sup>t</sup> debat  
 And euere sche song ocy ocy  
 Ner esperance mon cuer senbat

## (4)

W<sup>t</sup> dyuerse tunys þ<sup>t</sup> were so sote  
 Plesance to don on to nature  
 As I lenede vþ on a rote  
 W<sup>t</sup> werbelys tuned be mesure  
 I herde a mauys don hire cure  
 To synge mery be ermony  
 And tawȝte trewely I ȝow ensure  
 Qui bien ayme tard oublye

## (5)

ȝit in þe wode þere was discord  
<sup>1</sup>(þorugh) rusti chater yng of þe iay  
 Of musik he coude non acord  
 Ek pyis vnpleasunt to myn pay  
 þey iangeledyn & made gret difray  
 þ<sup>t</sup> foly kyndelyth loue fere  
 þus watte gan syngyn in his lay  
 Que je ne facece fors de bien aymmyer

(fol. 9b)

## (6)

Robert redbrest & þe wrenne  
 ffro bow to bow as þey gunne sterte  
 þey seyde agas it is gret synne  
 to hyndere ony trewe herte  
 And in good feyth for ioie or smerte  
 We wele not lettyn in no weye  
 To loue / þyn song schal vs not lette  
 Biele a biels yeulx on ge ie soye

## (7)

þe fesaunt scornere of þe cok  
 Be nihyter tyme in frostis colde  
 þat nestelyth lowe be sum blok  
 Or be sum rote of bosschis olde  
 W<sup>t</sup> brest vp born sche gan hire bolde  
 And w<sup>t</sup> dym voys þus sche crew  
 Hire hertes sentens to vnfolde  
 Ma esporaunce mad deceu

## (8)

þe larke longe er it was day  
 Gan mountyn hye in þe eyr  
 And drerilyche song þis lay  
 In compleynyng be dispeyr  
 Allas for on þ<sup>t</sup> is so fayr

<sup>1</sup> Here and in stanzas 8 and 9 the manuscript writes þo with an ur-flourish.

ffortune I fayle [þorugh] þyn sort  
 Troylus in loue I am þyn eyr  
 Car vene me ad purchace la mort

(9)

A joly gold fynch frosh & gay  
 W<sup>t</sup> sunny federys bryȝte & schene  
 Song as sche sat vp on de spray  
 þe da[r]te of loue haþ cut so kene  
 [þorugh] out myn herte þat alwey grene  
 Myn wounde abidyth for penaunce  
 vñmerci causith al myn tene  
 De iour en iour *par* languisaunce

(10)

þe vncurteys coukkow most vn kynde  
 Seyde it was foly so to pleyne  
 Sithe alday in loue men may fynde

(fol. 10a)

If on be lost whe opere tweyne  
 I can no french soþ for to seyne  
 Ne oper langage w<sup>t</sup> outyn oth  
 þus am I lasyd in *venus* cheyne  
 I seye as good loue comyth as goþ

(11)

þe popyniay gan to pikyn mod  
 And seyde coukkow lat be lat be  
 I trowe þu maddyst or þu art wod  
 ffor schame to speke swich dyuerste  
 ffor I loue on so fayr & fre  
 And for hire syngre most verteuous  
 Erly in morwe whan I hire se  
 Estreynez moy de cuer Ioyous

(12)

þanne spak þe frosty feldefare  
 And seyde þ<sup>t</sup> loue is dere aboutt  
 A man to leuyn euere in care



ffor hire þ<sup>t</sup> of hym rechep not  
 perfore put hire out of þy þougȝt  
 Sythn on þyne peynys sche wele not rewe  
 And let hire grace no more be sowȝt  
 But synge for hyre a dew a dewe

(13)

Now certys quod þe tetenose  
 Now is þis a wondyr þyng  
 ffor he þ<sup>t</sup> coueytyþ to han a rose  
 Hym must a hyde þe growyng  
 Ryȝt so þ<sup>t</sup> loue is so gladyng  
 þ<sup>t</sup> halt vp hertis par esperance  
 Wherfore of on þus wele I synge  
 Je ay en vous tut maffyaunce

(14)

þe starlyng gan to sterte & stare  
 And seyde þese songis ben so queynte  
 I can no skille of swich french fare  
 To speke in engelych I haue more deynte  
 ffor loue now so sore I feynte  
 þow womennes hertis were made of stel

(fol. 10b)

ffor hem oueral I wryte & peynte  
 I loue hem alle alyche wel

(15)

þe throstillcok song last of alle  
 And seyde it was no stedefastnesse  
 In loue to turne as a bal  
 Ne no tokene of gentillesse  
 Wherfore I rede ȝow alle to dresse  
 Of on to synge w<sup>t</sup> herte entyre  
 þ<sup>t</sup> wele not fayle in non distresse  
 En dieu maffie sanz departer

Amen

ELEANOR PRESCOTT HAMMOND.

*CHRIST 117 AND 125 b-127 a.**Christ 117 reads:*

sæton sinneahtes synnum bifealdne.

This may be illustrated from the third stanza of the first Ambrosian hymn on the Works of the Days: <sup>1</sup>

Ne mens gravata crimine  
Vitæ sit exsul munere,  
Dum nil perenne cogitat,  
Seseque culpis illigat.

*Christ 125 b-127 a runs:*

somod eardedon  
nihtig Meotudes Bearn ond se Monnes Sunu  
geþwære on þēode.

With this idea of the dwelling together of God and man in human flesh, may be compared the fourth stanza of an Ambrosian hymn of the fifth century: <sup>2</sup>

Ut hominem redimeres  
Quem ante iam phasmareras,  
Et nos Deo conjungeres,  
Per carnis contubernium.

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<sup>1</sup> Daniel 1. 57 ; Mone 1. 82 ; Wackernagel 1. 52.

<sup>2</sup> Daniel 1. 185 ; Wackernagel 1. 54.

## KING LEAR 1. 1. 71-77.

*Lear* 1. 1. 71-77, in the *Furness* edition, reads as follows :

*Regan.* In my true heart  
 I find she names my very deed of love ;  
 Only she comes too short ; that I profess  
 Myself an enemy to all other joys  
 Which *the most precious square of sense possesses*,  
 And find I am alone felicitate  
 In your dear highness' love.

In the interpretation of this passage, the editors have held generally to three views : *square*, 'a space,' held by Wright and *Blackwood's Magazine* for October, 1853 ; *square*, 'a capacity,' held by Johnson, Edwards, Capell, and Hudson ; *square*, 'a figure of symmetry,' held by Warburton, Holt, Smith, and Schmidt. Moberly explains it as 'estimate,' and Collier, Singer, Keightley, and Bailey alter the text.

Has not this passage fallen prey to the symbolism which is the besetting sin of Shakespeare commentators ? Why not explain this as simply a concrete figure from chess ? Chess is used in *Temp.* 5. 1. 196, where Prospero discovers Ferdinand and Miranda playing at chess. In *Shrew* 1. 1. 158, there is a pun on the expression 'to stalemate,' when Katherine says, 'Sir, is it your will to make a stale of me among these mates ?' Shakespeare is possibly thinking of checkmate when Macbeth is made to say, 5. 1. 186, 'My mind she hath mated, and amazed my sight.' The senses of the Persian 'mate' in checkmate, and of the Teutonic 'mate,' to match, are played upon in *Errors* 3. 2. 54, where Antipholus of Syracuse replies to Luciana's 'What, are you mad, that you do reason so ?' with 'Not mad, but mated.' Again, may not the speech of Troilus, in *Tr. and Cress.* 4. 4. 89, 'I cannot play at subtle games to which the Grecians are most prompt,' refer to the supposed invention of chess by Palamedar ?

So much for Shakespeare's allusions to chess. In the light of them, our passage may be interpreted: 'the most precious square, the most advantageous position upon the board, from which one has the board at his command.' 'The joys accruing from having full control over sense, feeling, reason, appreciation of all things, are as naught in comparison with your dear highness' love.' Regan compares her position to the playing of a game of chance.

Another passage in the same scene should be studied in connection with the above. In lines 157-159 Kent uses the figure of chess, possibly with Regan's speech in mind:

My life I never held but as a pawn  
To wage against thy enemies, nor fear to lose it,  
Thy safety being the motive.

Furness takes this to mean simply a 'pledge,' yet how much more effective it is to explain the passage as an allusion to chess, since it is the office of the pawn to keep the king from falling!

May not the reference to *primero* in 1. 1. 125, 'I thought to set my rest on her kind nursery,' have been attracted by the figure of the game? Such attraction is common in Shakespeare, and we find an unequivocal example of it in this very Act 1, 4. 91-93, where 'bandy,' a term from tennis, is quickly followed by 'base foot-ball player.'

From the time of Haroun al Raschid to that of Queen Elizabeth, chess was the game of kings, and this tragedy is a royal one. Further, chess is preëminently an intellectual game, and this drama is a struggle of intellects, in which the dynamic point is the breaking down of a noble mind.

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## REVIEWS.

*Synkretismus*. Ein Beitrag zur germanischen Kasuslehre von B. Delbrück. Strassburg. Verlag von Karl J. Trübner, 1907. Pp. vii + 272.

Professor Delbrück desires this work along with his treatise on the Germanic Optative to be considered as preliminary chapters to a comparative syntax of the Germanic dialects. The present work is a careful and valuable investigation into the meaning and force

## NOTE

In the confusion incident to Professor Karsten's death the proof of Professor Lawrence's review (Vol. VII, No. 1) was not sent to him for revision. The following corrections should be made: p. 125, l. 8, read *Beowulf*; p. 125, l. 13 from bottom, read (*co*); p. 126, l. 10, read *dō[a]ð*; l. 23, read 575 for 475; l. 24, read *nicras* 1427; l. 27, read *secg-hete*=*ecg-hete* 84.

the book very interesting indeed. Of course, a number of these developments cannot be established with absolute certainty, but to students of syntax the presentation of the facts and a plausible explanation of such important phenomena will always claim the closest attention, for there is an irresistible desire to peer into the darkness which surrounds the origin of the case forms.

On page 175 Professor Delbrück treats of the use of the instrumental case as an object. For purposes of illustration he uses the modern prepositional construction with *mit* to make clear the force of the instrumental: *Ich werfe mit einem Stein*. He regards this construction as practically of the same force as the accusative construction *Ich werfe einen Stein*, and adds that in the competition of these two constructions the instrumental has lost its living force and has become practically dead. The reviewer believes this latter

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As differing from his previous publications and the position assumed by Brugmann in his "Kurze vergleichende Grammatik" Professor Delbrück now regards the Germanic separative genitive, not as the modern representative of the older ablative, but as a development out of the meanings of the genitive itself. This point he illustrates very clearly by examples and everywhere thruout the work there is a profusion of luminous illustrations which make the book very interesting indeed. Of course, a number of these developments cannot be established with absolute certainty, but to students of syntax the presentation of the facts and a plausible explanation of such important phenomena will always claim the closest attention, for there is an irresistible desire to peer into the darkness which surrounds the origin of the case forms.

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statement to be true for English rather than for German, as he has illustrated in his *German Grammar*, page 525 (e). Since the publication of his *Grammar* he has collected a number of additional examples : mit den Augen blinzeln, *to wink one's eyes*, mit der Peitsche knallen, *to crack one's whip*, mit den Zähnen knirschen, *to gnash one's teeth*, mit dem Kopfe nicken, *to nod one's head*, mit den Flügeln schlagen, *to flap its wings*, mit den Lippen schmatzen, *to smack one's lips*, mit dem Fusse stampfen, *to stamp one's foot*, mit den Händen winken, *to wave one's hands*, mit den Schultern zucken, *to shrug one's shoulders*, etc. After years of observation it seems to the reviewer that the instrumental construction is in German a marked feature of the language which invariably attracts the attention of an English-speaking person. A native German often provokes the smile of a native Englishman or American by the too liberal use of this instrumental construction in talking English. It seems indeed true that this old construction, once common in different Germanic languages, has lost but little of its former usefulness in German. While in German it still competes with the accusative construction, the latter is far more common in English, altho in some expressions the prepositional construction is still quite natural, as in *He stamped with his foot*, or *He stamped his foot*.

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*Geschichte der Inszenierung im geistlichen Schauspiele des Mittelalters in Frankreich. Von Dr. Gustave Cohen.*  
 Vermehrte und verbesserte Ausgabe. Ins Deutsche übertragen von Dr. Constantin Bauer. Leipzig, 1907, (256 pp. 12 M.

The French version of this work, under the title *Histoire de la mise en scène dans le théâtre religieux français du moyen âge*, appeared in 1906 in the "*Mémoires couronnés de l'Académie de Belgique*" and was also published separately in a limited edition (Paris, Champion, 1906). The fact that this French edition was soon exhausted has led to this new edition in German



translation with a number of additions and corrections due for the most part to reviews of the French version. The work is an excellent one and a new edition is welcome, although it is not clear to me why it should be in German translation. It is scarcely of a nature to be used by anyone who could not use it perfectly well in French, while on the other hand such a work, written originally in French, dealing with a subject involving a large number of more or less technical French terms, and based for the most part upon French documents not always perfectly clear in the original, such a work cannot but lose in translation, however well the translator may have done his work.

The work is divided into three books dealing with the *mise en scène* in the liturgical drama, in the semi-liturgical drama (chiefly the Norman *jeu d'Adam*), and in the mysteries. This last is naturally the largest, filling most of the volume. The subdivisions in each of the three books are practically the same and include chapters on the place of the performances, the stage and decorations, the '*machinerie*,' the organization, the authors and texts, the players, and the spectators. In the first book and more at length in the third book are chapters on the relation of the drama to medieval art. It is evident that Dr. Cohen has given his subject a broad interpretation and aims to present a complete picture of the performances from all points of view. The thoroughness with which the author has sought out and brought together the widely scattered material, the light he has thrown on many obscure points, the sympathy with which he has entered into the spirit of the medieval drama combine to make the work an important and at the same time a very readable one. Its value is increased by a number of plates; the six of the French edition are here increased to eight. Finally a bibliography of thirteen pages and an index.

One criticism of the work as a whole is the author's tendency to make his descriptions too general and not attach them closely enough to the individual texts. As a result sources are sometimes not given at all or are not given completely enough; also features from different plays are often woven into one general description where there is no evidence that they were ever combined or even that the several features were of common occurrence.

There are a number of matters of detail that call for correction or comment.

On page 14 occurs the passage, "ein verhülltes Kreuz wurde am Altar aufgestellt, um das Grabmal zu versinnbildlichen;" similarly on page 16 and page 25 the crucifix is spoken of as symbolizing the sepulchre, whereas it symbolized the body of Christ and before the Easter service was removed from the place representing the sepulchre.

The footnote on page 16 speaking of Lange's *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern* reads: "Wir führen hier die Texte in einer neuen Anordnung auf, nicht nach dem Datum des Manuskriptes, worin sie stehen, sondern nach dem Umfang der Inszenierung." This assumption that in these liturgical texts extending from the tenth to the eighteenth centuries the simpler *mise en scène* is necessarily in all its details the more original is certainly questionable. To be sure but few of the texts are used and the question of method does not materially affect the results.

On pages 221-2 is the passage: "Geländer und ein Wassergraben müssen die Bühne vor dem Andrängen der schaulustigen Menge schützen. Auch in England und Deutschland waren diese vorhanden." This brief assertion of the use of a water-ditch to keep back the crowd in all three of the countries in which the religious drama was chiefly cultivated is broad enough in its scope to deserve examination. In France, so far as records go, there was one such case of a water-ditch, and it seems indeed to have been used for this purpose. For England the statement seems to rest upon a very feebly supported conjecture of Brandl (*Quellen des weltlichen Dramas in England vor Shakespeare*, p. xx). In the morality *Pride of Life*, which Brandl is here discussing, the king uses the following lines in describing his merry messenger:

Mirth & solas he can make  
 & ren so þe ro,  
 lightly lepe oure þe lake  
 Qwher so euer he go.

From the 'lake' in this perfectly natural description and from a few scattered lines admonishing the audience to be quiet Brandl conjectures that the stage was protected by a water-ditch.

He supports his conjecture by calling attention to an old stage plan that has been preserved for the morality *Castle of Perseverance*, where around the rudely represented castle there is a circle and the remark that here if possible there is to be water. This moat about the castle is, however, only an early attempt at realism, especially as the castle in the course of the play is besieged. There is no evidence of its use to keep back the audience. In fact it is to be noted further that according to the old plan the moat was not directly between the stage and the spectators, for outside of the circle representing the moat are marked out stations for other characters of the play. Finally for Germany there is absolutely no evidence of such a use of a water-ditch or of the occurrence of a ditch around the stage. That Dr. Cohen includes Germany in his statement is evidently due to a misunderstanding of Brandl. Brandl says (p. xx): "Verwandtes begegnet auch in Deutschland (Heinzel, *Altde. Drama*, S. 31 ff)"; this "Verwandtes" does not include the water-ditch of which he has been speaking, but refers only to the chief subject of his discussion, the mansions or "Bühnenstände." This may be confirmed by the reference to Heinzel, who there discusses only the stage mansions.

In view of the fact that the author has included in a comparative way the religious drama of Germany, there are some strange bibliographical omissions. There is no mention in the bibliography or elsewhere of Heinzel's *Beschreibung des geistlichen Schauspiels*, nor of his *Abhandlungen zum altdeutschen Drama* (in the *Sitzungsber. der Wiener Akad.* 1896), nor of the various publications of Brandstetter (especially his Program *Die Regenz bei den Luzerner Osterspielen*, and his articles giving the *Bühnenrodel* in *Germ.* xxx. and xxxi.) which give the great mass of interesting details about the Lucerne Easter plays. In the *Bühnenrodel* the author would have found something bearing upon the question as to whether players, especially Adam and Eve, actually appeared nude, as the rubrics often state. In the first edition he thought he had irrefutably proved that they did. In the present edition (p. 201) he has changed his opinion, convinced by some of his reviewers, and believes that such rubrics are not to be taken literally and that some garment or at least a loin-girdle was kept on. In the Lucerne plays tight-fitting



"Leibkleider" were used; as the Bühnenrodel for the play of 1583 says, "Beide (*i. e.* Adam and Eve) sond nacket sin in Lybkleidern über den blossen Lyb."

The following typographical errors were noticed: P. vii for 'Sepe' read 'Sepet'; p. 118 footnote for 'Wackernagel' read 'Wackernell'; p. 133 footnote for '*Passion de Francfort*' read '*Passion von Donaueschingen*'; p. 198 for 'Comertor' read 'Comestor'; p. 218, l. 26 for 'ersten' read 'ernsten'; p. 233, l. 29 for 'Gegner Wiclefs' read 'Anhänger Wiclifs.' It is evident from the sentence itself as well as from the preceding sentence that 'Anhänger' is what the author means or should mean. Also the quotation which follows is not, as is now stated, from an opponent of Wiclif, but is from one of his followers; it is, however, as the author states, from one who opposes the miracle plays, and yet it is devoted wholly to telling the good results that may come from witnessing a miracle play. This is bewildering and the author should have explained that the passage quoted contains only the current arguments which the writer intends to refute.

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*The Religion of the Teutons.* By P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye. Translated from the Dutch by Bert J. Vos. Boston, 1902, pp. 504.<sup>1</sup>

Professor de la Saussaye's work on *The Religion of the Teutons* forms Volume III in a series of handbooks on the History of Religion, edited by Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., of the University of Pennsylvania.<sup>2</sup> The purpose of the handbooks is to serve at once as practical text and reference books, to illustrate

<sup>1</sup> The importance of this work together with the fact that it does not seem to have been noticed in any American periodical may be sufficient excuse for a belated review.

<sup>2</sup> The preceding numbers are: Vol. I, *The Religion of India*, by Prof. E. W. Hopkins, and Vol. II, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, by Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr.



modern methods of study, and of compiling the ascertained results of scholarship. In conformity with the general character of the series, this volume does not attempt to construct a system, detailed investigation is not presented. Nor does the author aim to bring to light new material, for he believes that "at the present moment there is at least as much need of arranging the material at hand and of presenting the picture it discloses of Teutonic paganism as of searching for new material." I regret to see that he has on this account thought fit to omit a general survey of sources, which would certainly have enhanced the usefulness of the handbook. The material has been presented in two main divisions. First the data are arranged in historical order, periods and peoples are delineated in accordance with their distinct characteristics; in the second section the individual duties are treated, the myths, and the cult. After this special consideration of peoples and groups of subjects the author finally considers the whole, seeks to form an estimate about it and to determine its character and position in the family of religions.

It will be seen at once that de la Saussaye's treatise differs somewhat from other manuals on Teutonic mythology. In place of the introductory discussion of sources we have a chapter sketching the history of the science, which is followed by eight chapters (pp. 49-209) of a historical character in which everything is included which in any way may serve to throw light on Teutonic religion. The subjects here treated are: III, The Prehistoric Period; IV, Tribes and Peoples; V, Teutons and Romans; VI, Paganism and Christianity; VII, The German Heroic Saga; VIII, The Anglo-Saxons; IX, The North Before the Viking Age; X, Norway and Iceland; History and Literature. Nearly half of the volume then is given to the historical part, the remainder being the portion therefore that corresponds more particularly to the material offered in other works on Germanic mythology. Most complete is the discussion of the history of Teutonic mythology (pp. 7-48), and further Chapters III (49-64) and X (180-209). While the Chapters devoted to the German heroic saga and the Anglo-Saxons are the shortest, they represent a forward step in the presentation of the mythology of the Teutons in the effort to properly evaluate for mythology the Anglo-Saxon material and the heroic saga. For the

latter field the author's special authority is his countryman B. Symons (*Germanische Heldensage*, 1898),<sup>1</sup> to whom acknowledgment is made in the Preface, and who has, as we also learn there, "carefully revised the first eleven chapters." In the Mythology proper his more immediate predecessors are E. Mogk<sup>2</sup> and W. Golther,<sup>3</sup> although instances where he deviates from the opinions of these men are numerous. In this second part of the book the author considers the following subjects: Chapter XI, Folklore; XII, The Pantheon; XIII, Gods and Divine Nature; XIV, Animism, Souls, Worship of the Dead; XV, Walkyries, Swan-Maidens, Norns; XVI, Elves and Dwarfs; XVII, Giants; XVIII, The World: Cosmogony, Cosmology and Eschatology; XIX, Worship and Rites; XX, Calendar and Festivals; XXI, Magic and Divination; XXII, Conclusion. After this follows a comprehensive and extremely valuable Bibliography, pages 417-463, with titles arranged in groups corresponding to the subjects of the various chapters, and finally an index, pages 465-504.

In comparison with other works on Teutonic mythology de la Saussaye's treatment differs also in the stress that it constantly lays on the cult and the popular religion as opposed to the myths, and the work is certainly stronger on this side than in the discussion and interpretation of the myths. The work has on this very account special interest to the student of mythology proper as a presentation by one, who views it from the broader, less special, standpoint of the Science of Religion. Herein lies also undoubtedly the main reason for the broad foundation he lays in the detailed consideration of Teutonic antiquity and the evidences it offers of pagan religion. In fact I cannot help feeling that the specifically mythological portion has been treated entirely too briefly in proportion, for contrary to what the title might lead to suppose, he aims to cover both sides of the field (see p. 131). Chapters XII-XVIII covers only 133 pages, frequently offering only a sketchy discussion of things of which many would undoubtedly like to have had a fuller account given. In the first part this applies particularly, it seems to me, to Chapter III

<sup>1</sup> Also O. L. Jiriczek, *Deutsche Heldensage*, Vol. I, 1897.

<sup>2</sup> "Germanische Mythologie" in *Paul's Grundriss*.

<sup>3</sup> *Handbuch der Germanischen Mythologie*, 1895.

on "The Prehistoric Period," which to me is far from satisfactory. Archeology has certainly in recent years brought to light things of the greatest importance for the study of Teutonic religion,<sup>1</sup> and the author's negative attitude toward the significance of archeological finds must be designated, mildly speaking, as not up to date. It will hardly do any longer to say with Grimm "from the ancient grave-mounds no clear voice, but only confused sounds reach our ears," or with Sars, "these remains afford but a glimpse of only a few aspects of culture, and these the less important ones."<sup>2</sup>

While de la Saussaye's book is a very important contribution to literature on the subject, the critical reader will find many things in which it does not answer the requirements of a handbook which aims to present the present status of the science. Reference has already been made to its estimate of archeological evidences to which must be added: the discussion of Keltic-Norse interrelations, the account of recent investigation of the *Voluspa*, of the Ragnarok myth, of Loki, of Odin myths, the extent of Thor-worship in Scandinavia as compared with Odin-worship, the genealogies of the Teutonic tribes, etc. I miss in the bibliography several recent works and, in the chapter on the history of Teutonic mythology, at least a reference in proper place of many works that bear directly upon the discussion.<sup>3</sup> On page 38 I miss a mention of Vodskov's *Guder og Gloser* in connection with the earliest announcement of (Bang's and) Bugge's theory and also of Edzardi's extensive analysis of Vigfusson's Western hypothesis. In the account of Finnur Jónsson's arguments on the Edda (p. 88), occurs the surprising statement that F. J. brought forward evidence to maintain the development of the myths of the Edda out of the older Scaldic poetry. While the author correctly recognizes the healthy influence of Bugge's investigation, he is undoubtedly correct also in accepting only a small portion of

<sup>1</sup> Compare e. g. the recent find of a sun-chariot from the older Bronze Age, in Sjælland, Denmark, for a full account of which the reader may be referred to *The Saga-Book of The Viking Club*, London, for 1904, in article: "A Prehistoric Sun-Chariot in Denmark," by Karl Blind. Pp. 381-391.

<sup>2</sup> Citations with which Chapter III is introduced.

<sup>3</sup> As Chadwick's *The Cult of Odin*. London, 1899, to mention only one.



Bugge's results, while the form they take at the hands of Bugge's followers he styles as "improbable and at variance with established facts" and that in spite of recent research "we still encounter in even the most recent mythological literature, some of the same wild combinations and extravagant theories." He recognizes the far-reaching importance of the work of the Danish scholar Vodskov, as also that of Gruppe's theory of contact in prehistoric times. "Historical investigation must take account of one as well as the other theory and must follow up every trace of such influence. Modern research must, in fact, bestow an increasing amount of attention on historical intercourse as a factor in the dissemination of myths and cults."

The various theories of the cradle of the Indo-Europeans the author dismisses with the brief statement that there is some support for each, but for none are direct proofs available. Direct proof there very likely never will be, but the evidence which is being accumulated points so overwhelmingly in one direction that such a negative attitude is hardly any longer warranted. Certainly very few scholars will today seek in Asia the original home of the Indo-Europeans, or the people out of whom the Indo-Europeans developed. It is undoubtedly true that among philologists as philologists "questions concerning the mother country and the primitive race have to a large extent been dismissed, and the theory that the Teutons set out from the common ancestral home with a stock of culture and mythology has been abandoned" (so too Vodskov). But nevertheless we do believe that in a certain prehistoric period an Indo-European primitive people dwelt in a definite locality (albeit that locality was geographically extensive), and that the Indo-Europeans became Indo-Europeans (that is received their special character) in that locality, and there also the beginnings of their religion, which, however, developed its individual character in each branch of the family according to the character of the locality in which each developed its linguistic and cultural individuality. It seems to me that Vodskov's investigations have foreshadowed the way to the solution of much here that is yet unsolved. While we may not speak of an Indo-European mythology, the fact that archeological research is year by year making it more and more probable, that the original home of the Indo-Europeans was precisely in that region



in which the Teutons (and the Lithuanians?) developed should be of considerable interest to students of Teutonic mythology, and, I believe, of no little importance. This fact must receive increased consideration in the future, it has perhaps more bearing on the question of the pagan religion of our ancestors than the science is at present in position to say. De la Saussaye, has, I suppose, thought that it is too early as yet to pass verdict on these things.

The numerous names of persons are undoubtedly also important for the study of religion (p. 76). It is, however, rather uncertain as to how far we can determine the distribution of cults from names of persons. I do not believe that the presence or absence of the name of Odin in proper names in any locality signifies very much, not at any rate as much as the presence or absence of the names of such gods as Thor or Frey. I miss also an account under this head of the equally important evidence of names of places. On page 87 the author gives expression to the sane doctrine that "common characteristics do not necessarily imply always either influence from the one side or the other, or borrowing," and yet he himself sins on this point in attributing the extensive spread of magic practices among the Norsemen to contact with Finns (p. 96), and in the interpretation of Keltic-Norse relations (173-74). It seems to me that it is about time to call a halt on the practice in many places to derive from the Kelts everything that Kelts and Teutons (and Norsemen) have in common. Borrowings there have been, but certainly far less than even now many scholars are inclined to assume. I see absolutely no reason *e. g.* for assuming such influence on the basis of what the author presents on p. 74. I attach no importance whatever to the fact that the early Norse settlers in Iceland met some Irish hermits there. Iceland, to be sure, always maintained close connection with Ireland (the Norsemen in Ireland). But song-craft was as specifically Teutonic and Norse as it was Keltic. It is as much to the point to cite the instance of the Vandalic King Gelimer as the Welsh bard.

In the chapter on the Anglo-Saxons it is perhaps the account of Beowulf (esp. pp. 155-157) that is the least satisfactory in the light of the extensive and extremely important Beowulf literature of the last few years, which has followed that highly inspiring

work *Epic and Romance* by W. P. Ker<sup>1</sup> (which was published as early as 1897, but seems only recently to be fully appreciated, even in the Scandinavian countries and Germany, not to speak of America). De la Saussaye does not believe *e. g.* that the localization of *Heorot-Hleðr* in Sjølland, Denmark, is original, because *Hleðr*, modern *Leire*, is situated inland. At present this point may perhaps be regarded as settled by Sarrazin's latest studies on the subject. Hardly adequate now is the discussion of Danish saga, *Boðvar Bjarki*, and the *Bjarkamál*, so excellently elucidated in Axel Olrik's *Danmarks Gamle Heltedigtning*. Copenhagen, 1903.

On page 91 the author discusses the narrative of the Arabian author, Ibn Fadhlān, who in 1821 traveled as ambassador of the Caliph of Bagdad to the Volga, and who there witnessed the funeral rites of one, whom de la Saussaye calls "a distinguished Russian." These are spoken of by our author as "so characteristically Scandinavian that we seem almost compelled to assume a connection and consequently Scandinavian influence on Russian (that is Slavic) burial custom." But surely it is common knowledge, is it not, that the *Russ* (*Rhus*, *Rhuotsi*), who were discussed by Ibn Fadhlān, were Scandinavians, or more particularly Swedes? The particular funeral rites in question were characteristically Scandinavian indeed, for they *were* Scandinavian. It is beside the point entirely in this case to speak of Scandinavian influence on Slavic burial custom.

But I have already taken more space than I intended to. In spite of shortcomings on many special points, the general excellence of Professor de la Saussaye's book must be acknowledged. It will undoubtedly prove very serviceable as a popular Handbook on The Religion of the Teutons.

It may be added finally that the style is charming and the translation excellent.

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February, 1906.

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<sup>1</sup> Cp. *e. g.* the works of Krakow, Häuschkel and Routh, but especially, Heusler's *Lied und Epos*. Dortmund, 1905.

*Beowulf nebst dem Finnsburg-Bruchstück, mit Einleitung, Glossar und Anmerkungen herausgegeben von F. Holthausen.* I Teil: Texte und Namenverzeichniss. II Teil: Einleitung, Glossar und Anmerkungen. Heidelberg, 1906.

These volumes, which form the third number in the series of Early English Texts edited by Morsbach and Holthausen, will be welcomed by all who are interested in the textual criticism and interpretation of *Beowulf*. The need of an annotated edition of the poem, presenting the more important results of recent investigation, with copious bibliographical references, has been evident for some years,—a lack which has only been partly supplied by the successive republications of the Heyne-Socin text. Whether the present work is better suited than some previous editions for class-room work remains to be seen,—for those whose mother-tongue is English the convenient text of Wyatt will hardly be displaced immediately. But Professor Holthausen's volumes contain a mass of material which no careful student can afford to neglect, no matter what edition he may be using, and they offer to the investigator, in systematised and convenient form, many notes and much bibliography which must otherwise have been scattered about in manuscript form.

The most striking innovation in the text is the method of indicating the quantity of the diphthongs. In accordance with a suggestion made by Bülbring (*Anglia Beib.* 14, 1, p. 2), the short diphthongs have been marked (*ēo*), while the long diphthongs bear no indication of quantity save when they are to be counted metrically as dissyllabic. The wisdom of this arrangement is certainly questionable. In the first place, diphthongs which are to be reckoned as two syllables are of comparatively rare occurrence, and it seems hardly worth while to upset the whole present system in favor of these isolated forms. The first 500 lines of the poem contain only one such, if a hasty examination may be trusted, *geþēon* 25. It seems inconsistent, too, to register long diphthongs in the same way as short vowels, and dissyllabic diphthongs in the same way as long vowels. The student must also distinguish the treatment of such a word as *geōmor*, in which the macron on the second vowel indicates its length, the *e* show-



ing the quality of the consonant. Cases of this sort do not occur with great frequency, however. The practical advantages of up-setting the usual system of marking ordinary long and short diphthongs are hardly apparent. Doubtless it would be well to indicate the true character of such contracted forms as *tēon*, *flēon*, *pēon*, etc., but it seems as if some distinguishing mark should be added to those forms alone, other diphthongs being left as they are. The method in the present text does not provide for such dissyllabic forms as *dōn*=*dōan*, cf. note to 1134, in which the reading *swā nū-gýt d ō[a]f* is proposed. Unfavorable comment has already followed the application of this system in two studies published under the direction of Professor Holthausen. (Cf. review by R. Jordan, *Anglia Beib.* 18, 2). The original suggestion in Bülbring's article was hardly put forward, apparently, with any idea that it would be adopted.

The metrical researches of Sievers have been carefully considered in establishing the text. The number of syllables in the half-line is frequently reduced, this being indicated by placing a dot beneath the suppressed vowel, as *magen*, *fyre<sup>.</sup>na*. In many cases the usage cannot be definitely determined (cf. Sievers, *Altgerm. Metrik*, §79), but the editor's general tendency appears to be to employ this sign rather freely, as in the syncopation of a middle syllable after a short vowel, as *niceras* 422, 475, *nicera* 845, the ms. having *nicra* 1425. The same sign is also used to indicate transitional *e* after palatals as *sēcean*, *pyncean*, and is further extended to denote complete deletion of a letter for any reason, as = *secg-hete* + *ecg-hete* 84.

A glance at the "Verbesserungen und Nachträge" at the end of Vol. II shows that a second and revised edition of the text will incorporate a good many changes, especially in matters of detail. The editor frankly acknowledges that he has often changed his mind in regard to doubtful passages. Many of these alterations are also suggested in the notes. One rather striking feature of the text, the assumption of numerous lacunae, indicated by dotted lines, is partly nullified by the corrections in the second volume. For example, the first 2,000 lines as printed contain 22 gaps, but 15 of these are struck out in the revision, thus leaving only 7. In order to make the transitions easier, changes in the readings are often suggested. A discussion of



these readings, as of those occurring in the poem generally, lies outside the province of a brief review. The editor has not hesitated to depart from the standard texts of Grein-Wülker or Heyne-Socin when he has thought it best to do so. The evidence afforded by the manuscript, as recorded in the Zupitza fac-simile, has apparently influenced him more in doubtful cases than conjectural emendations of an ingenious but questionable character. The difficulty of establishing a satisfactory text, with due regard to all recent work, is certainly very great, and it is inevitable that many alterations should seem advisable in issuing the second volume. It is surely wiser not to assume too many lacunae, especially now that it is more generally conceded than it used to be that the expression of thought in Anglo-Saxon poetry is frequently disconnected and inconsequent.

The Finnsburg Fragment, and an interesting attempt to restore the first 52 lines of *Beowulf* in the original Northumbrian dialect form a supplement to the first volume. An Index of Proper Names follows, which serves mainly to locate persons and places as they occur in the poem, only the briefest information, a word or two, being given by way of explanation. While a somewhat more detailed treatment would occasionally be useful, the plan adopted is more in accord with the general principles of the series than the elaborate comments of the Heyne-Socin text would be. The effort has evidently been made to condense the work as much as possible, a method which has much to commend it.

This striving for compression is still more noticeable throughout the second volume. Bibliographical references are generally made to serve instead of extended explanations, and much is suggested in a few terse phrases. The size of the volume is materially reduced in this way, and the *apparatus criticus* made less formidable. The introduction consists of selected references covering editions, criticisms of the text, discussions of the language and style, and translations. Many students will wish that the editor had expanded the single page in which he sums up the origin, composition, sources, and contents of the poem. A great deal of interesting light has been thrown on these questions in the past few years, and most readers can hardly be expected to search through the mass of criticism, most of which has

appeared in periodical form, for the sake of keeping their information up to date. A very short résumé of the arguments for the essentially Scandinavian origin of the poem, which has won wide acceptance in the past twenty years, would be exceedingly convenient. This would be all the more useful as there appears to be no one place to which students can be referred for an impartial presentation of the case as it now stands. Professor Holthausen rightly rejects the attempts to separate the epic into its component parts made by ten Brink, Müllenhoff, and others, and believes that its present form is chiefly to be attributed to a single poet.

The glossary seems admirably done. Each occurrence of all save the commonest words is registered by line-number, but the definitions are made as compact as possible. The arrangement is strictly alphabetical, *æ* following *ad*, and *ð* or *p* following *t*. There is no such needless and tiresome separation of long and short vowels and diphthongs as in the Heyne-Socin text. On the whole, the plan of giving only the briefest definition of a word, and reserving the explanation of special passages for the notes, seems a good one. The notes themselves are, as has already been noted, largely bibliographical, and very valuable for their careful consideration of recent investigations. In a few instances some space is given to important citations from such chroniclers as Saxo or Gregory of Tours. In view of the compression of the glossary, one is again moved to wish now and then that the editor had allowed himself more detailed explanations here, or given in a few words the purport of a reference not immediately obtainable. But it seems ill-natured to find fault where so much has been suggestively indicated in a brief space. The editor's own comments and his treatment of the material at his disposal show sound common-sense, a quality which does not always accompany critical acumen. In disputed passages, he is careful to indicate where evidence on both sides of the question may be obtained, but he has surely acted wisely in showing, as he generally does, what he himself believes to be the correct interpretation. The fact that one sometimes dissents from his conclusions is no reflection upon his work, since nothing short of the millenium will ever bring complete accord in regard to the interpretation of *Bēowulf*.

Altogether, this new edition is one upon which Professor Holthausen may be cordially congratulated. It should appeal to a wide circle of students in various countries. A new and revised edition will certainly be welcome in a short time,—an edition representing not only the correction of certain errors and inconsistencies sure to creep into a first draft, but also embodying the results of some of the many friendly criticisms which such a book as this is sure to call forth. The difficulties and the labor which attend the preparation of an edition of *Bēowulf* are probably not fully realized by most readers. Surely, hearty encouragement should attend so creditable a performance of the task.

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*Beowulf nebst dem Finnsburg-Bruchstück, übersetzt und erläutert von Hugo Gering. Heidelberg, 1906.*

This little book forms a fitting companion-piece to Holthausen's edition of *Bēowulf*, reviewed above. The translator has based his work upon the Holthausen text, allowing himself liberties here and there, but without entering into discussions of variant readings, so unimportant and uninteresting to the general reader. While not primarily intended for the use of scholars, the book is one which they may be glad to add to their libraries. The name of Professor Gering is a sufficient assurance of the general excellence of the work. Students of early Germanic poetry are already indebted to him for a translation of the Poetic Edda into German verse, with a convenient introduction and useful notes. In the present volume, his familiarity with the Northern material which has so close a connection with *Bēowulf* appears in the admirable annotations, some of which may be new even to those who are fairly well acquainted with Anglo-Saxon literature. These notes, with a brief introduction, give the general reader all that is necessary for an intelligent comprehension of the main facts in regard to the poem.

The experiments which have been made in rendering *Bēowulf*



into modern English have left many critics, perhaps most, with the conviction that prose is better than verse as a medium for the translator. The opportunity which it affords for a more literal reproduction of the original, and the difficulty of suggesting the movement of the Anglo-Saxon, or perhaps rather the danger of giving a false impression of it by the use of modern verse are strong arguments in support of this view. At the same time, *Bëowulf* is a poem, and it is perhaps better for those who can gain only a superficial knowledge of it to feel its poetic quality by reading it in verse, however different this may be. Most of the standard German translations are metrical. Professor Gerding has no doubt done wisely in not departing from this precedent, especially since his readers are to be those who desire the story and a suggestion of the spirit of the original, rather than a literal rendering of the text.

An illustrative passage will give a better idea of the translation than any description.

- Nur einige Meilen  
Entfernt von hier ist der furchtbare Sumpf;  
Darüber hangen bereifte Haine,  
Die wurzelgefestet das Wasser beschatten.
1365. Dort sieht man allnächtlich ein seltsames Wunder,  
In der Flut ein Feuer; erforscht hat nie  
Ein Menschenkind dieses Moores Tiefe.  
Selbst der hornbewehrte Heidebewohner,  
Der Hirsch, der gehetzt vor den Hunden sich flüchtet
1370. Ins belaubte Gehölz, gibt sein Leben eher  
Dahin am Gestad', eh' sein Haupt er berge  
Im See, denn dort ist's selten geheuer.  
In Wirbeln steigt zu den Wolken oft  
Das Wasser empor, wenn der Wind herantreibt
1375. Die leid'gen Gewitter, die Luft sich verdunkelt  
Und der Himmel weint.

Perhaps a foreigner is not justified in attempting to decide how successful the present rendering is when judged from the point of view of German verse. Whether or not it brings out anything of the peculiar coloring of the original, it is on the



whole a fairly close translation, and it keeps a constant suggestion of the alliteration. In such a sentence as

Nō þæs frōd leofað  
gumena bearna, þæt þone grund wite,

which obviously must be paraphrased, the translator has shown considerable ingenuity in dealing with the Anglo-Saxon idiom. The language is generally clear and simple,—a quality which appears somewhat more plainly in other passages than the piece of description just quoted. Upon various matters of detail one might take issue with the translator, but such differences of opinion would deal with expressions in regard to which a legitimate difference of opinion may exist. The limitations of a metrical version must, of course, never be forgotten.

The introduction gives a short résumé of the familiar facts about the poem, written from the point of view of a scholar thoroughly familiar with the present state of critical theory. Professor Gering recognizes the purely imaginary (sagen - oder märchenhaft) basis of the poem, but rejects as unproved Müllenhoff's hypothesis that the two principal adventures represent at bottom the exploits of a divine hero Beowa, identical with Freyr. Of mythology he has nothing further to say, but much of historical events. He is careful to point out that the epic is inconsistent in its representation of political and historical conditions, but he ventures to offer an ingenious table of events, with hypothetical dates, from the birth of Hrethel (430?) to the death of Beowulf (571?), the only ascertainable date being naturally the year of Hygelac's death. He comes stiffly out for the Fahlbeck-Bugge hypothesis of the location of the Geats in Jutland, in which he will find a good many scholars disagreeing with him. In a book of this kind so disputed a matter should perhaps have been presented more diplomatically. It might be well for the average reader to be told that the people who heard the poem in its present shape in England very likely had no clear idea of its geography, and that possibly the man who put it into final form was not clear in his mind as to the relative location of the different tribes. Professor Gering rightly rejects the old "liedertheorie" arguments, and recognizes the piece as substantially the work of a single author. A cleric it was, he thinks, a man who

"placed a Germanic heroic epic beside Biblical epics already written." The probable Scandinavian origin of the story might have been made a little plainer, lest the casual reader get a wrong idea of the provenience of the "Anglo-Saxon" epic. The important parallels in Saxo, the sagas, and Scandinavian literature generally, and their meaning for questions of origin might well have been briefly noticed here. The mention of them later in the notes hardly serves the same purpose.

The notes themselves, as has already been suggested, are admirable. Such difficult passages as the Finnsburg Episode and Fragment, or the Thrytho Episode, are interpreted clearly, and with due regard to the critical evidence. The explanation of the Thrytho passage is more convincing than Holthausen's. The latter makes the ferocious lady's name a compound,—*mōðþrýð*, "hochmut." These notes are full of suggestive parallels from Old Norse, which will often set the intelligent student to a fresh reading of that literature, as where the grief of the father who sees his son riding upon the gallows (2444) is compared to the situation in the Eormanric story upon the tragic death of Randver. The mention of even very obvious resemblances cannot be said to be out of place in a translation intended for a general audience.

It is gratifying to see a book like this, intended for popular use, conceived and executed in a thoroughly scholarly way. It forms in this respect a sharp contrast to another translation of *Beowulf*, published in Germany a year earlier.<sup>1</sup> In that volume the poem is sliced up and served in sections, the separation of supposedly spurious portions from the older and genuine passages being, according to the principles followed by the author, necessary to an enjoyment of the poetic qualities of the epic. In short, the "liedertheorie" still flourishing like the green bay tree, undisturbed by the assaults of criticism. The merits of Professor Gering's work appear in a still stronger light when compared with a translation and explanatory material not based on modern research. Renderings of the sort just mentioned should be discouraged. They tend to give a false idea of the poem as it stands, and encumber the reader with information

<sup>1</sup>P. Vogt, *Beowulf*, *Altenglisches Heldengedicht*, Halle, 1905.

which is not only superfluous but misleading. On the other hand, no apology is necessary for adding another to the list of translations of *Bēowulf*, when it preserves the general high standard of the present volume. With its sane and scholarly illustrative comment, its adequate reproduction of the original, and its attractive and inexpensive form, it should rank with the best modern renderings, not only in German, but in English as well.

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*The Moral System of Shakespeare, a Popular Illustration of Fiction as the Experimental Side of Philosophy.* By Richard G. Moulton. New York, the Macmillan Company, 1903. 800, pp. viii, 381.

‘Another volume of Shakespeare criticism!’ says the weary student, as he reads the title of Professor Moulton’s book, ‘Is there anything new in it?’ At least, he will find no rehashing of the meagre details of Shakespeare’s life, no discussion of dates, or authorship, or sources, no new attempt to wring from this drama or that any evidence as to Shakespeare’s psychical states. ‘Indeed, this book does not concern itself in any way with the man Shakespeare! if any of my readers inclines to the view that the plays of Shakespeare were written by Lord Bacon, or, for that matter, by Queen Elizabeth, he will find nothing in the pages that follow to disturb his faith. “Shakespeare” is only used as a convenient name for the whole body of thirty-six dramas usually attributed to William Shakespeare, by whomsoever these dramas may have been composed, in whatsoever way they may have been put together.’

If this new volume of criticism is not personal nor historical, neither is it of the showman-critic type. Shakespeare is not put through his paces with admiring ejaculations of ‘How beautiful! How sublime!’ The book is as purely objective as the plays themselves. Surely this is a virtue.

Professor Moulton calls his study ‘The Moral System of Shakespeare,’ and the prospective reader will wish to know what



this doubtful title implies. Is it to be a series of moral sermons on Shakespearian texts? The author may explain in his own words: 'Every degree of success in discovering and coördinating moral ideas in the Drama may lay claim to the broad sense of the word system.' While under the term moral 'we are open to consider all that touches character, the ways of men, the aims, motives, impulses, whether of individuals, or of classes; all that is covered by the Latin word *mores*.'

Whenever we attempt to coördinate or reduce to a 'System' so complex a range of truths as is implied in the last sentence, we expose ourselves to two serious dangers. Either our system will be so involved that only the mind of the author (if indeed his) will be able to grasp it, or else in our attempt to simplify we shall 'falsen some of our matere.' Fortunately Professor Moulton has chosen to err in the direction of simplicity. His discussion is divided into three books, of which the first is called 'Root ideas of Shakespeare's moral system.' Here we are dealing mainly with that great mystery of life which has to do with punishment and reward. The way of the transgressor is always hard, but it does not always lead to retribution; neither do the righteous always receive what seems to us their just reward. The first chapter deals with right triumphant as shown in the career of Henry V; the second shows us 'wrong and retribution' in the fate of Richard III; the third chapter portrays the mystery of innocent suffering in Romeo and Juliet; from *The Winter's Tale* and *Cymbeline* are drawn illustrations of 'wrong and restoration'; a concluding chapter develops the principle, already formulated by Professor Moulton in his *Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist*, of the contrast between the 'life without' and the 'life within,' showing that reward and retribution may be found sometimes in one of these domains, sometimes in the other. The five chapters which constitute Book II, 'Shakespeare's world in its moral complexity,' though interesting in themselves, are not so clearly organized. Among the subjects treated are 'Comedy as life in equilibrium,' 'Tragedy as equilibrium overthrown,' 'The moral significance of humor.' The last book deals with 'The forces of life in Shakespeare's moral world,' such as personality, character as a web of habits, the trend of history, the supernatural, 'moral accident and overruling providence.'



One feels that a scheme like this has hardly the right to lay claim even to 'the broad sense of the word system.' A more accurate title would have been 'moral laws in Shakespeare' or perhaps better 'Shakespeare's plays as illustrations of moral laws,' for the real value of the book, and its value is considerable, lies not in the system it develops, or tries to develop, but in its analysis of important plays and characters. Some of the criticisms given repeat in part those of Professor Moulton's earlier volume; but there the emphasis was placed on plot and structure, here it is on character. Deserving of special attention are the discussions of the characters of Coriolanus and Macbeth, and of the Shakespearian conception of comedy. Where so much good matter is offered, we shall surely not quarrel with the author's title, nor even with his general plan. His analyses are subtle and illuminating, and usually convincing.

I trust it is not necessary to enter into any long defense of the author's critical methods. It is easy, of course, to laugh at some of the terms in which his analysis is expressed; the 'clash of primary and secondary plots in a common climax,' 'complicating villany action,' 'resolving farcical action'—there is no need to pile up examples. Apollo and the muses would never suspect that such phrases as these belonged to literary criticism. But no serious student of Shakespeare, who has given either of Professor Moulton's books a fair hearing can fail to have profited. Let us grant the worst that the opposing school affirm, though the point is by no means established, that close analysis injures our aesthetic enjoyment of the play. The injury at most will be temporary, and after a few weeks the play may be re-read or re-seen aesthetically with clearer comprehension, and deeper emotion. If we have a single flower to enjoy, we do not pick it to pieces to study its structure, for no florist on earth can replace the petals and give us once more a perfect whole; the beauty is destroyed forever. But after we have 'picked to pieces' a drama, there is an ardent power in the heart and mind of any man who has any right to talk about 'aesthetic enjoyment' which will fuse the *dissecta membra* into the perfect whole in which the poet has first presented them.

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*Die Überlieferung von Lazamons Brut nebst einer Darstellung der betonten Vokale und Diphthonge*, von Adolf Luhmann. Halle, Niemeyer, 1906. Pp. x, 212.

The importance of the *Brut* as a Middle English document is coming to be more and more appreciated. Lazamon's position on a dialectal frontier near the beginning of the Middle English period and as a direct inheritor of Old English culture gives his work special value in the history of the language; in interest, in preserving earlier traditions, and as an Arthurian document the poem is significant as literature. It is scarcely too much to say that Lazamon challenges attention no less than his contemporary Orm. Material for the adequate study of the poem in its various aspects is becoming fairly abundant.<sup>1</sup>

Luhmann's treatise, the enlargement of a Göttingen dissertation, is the most complete phonological and orthographical investigation of Lazamon that has yet appeared. No student of Lazamon in particular or of old transition English in general can afford to neglect it. It is a valuable contribution to the history of English spelling.

Though concerned chiefly with linguistic problems, the author devotes about half his space to an *apparatus*, which to many will perhaps prove the most interesting part of the volume. For the poet's attainments, originality, and intelligent interest in his task Luhmann has high praise.<sup>2</sup> He has examined the manuscripts with reference to the two scribes and to the corrections by later hands. The fact that these exhibit a strong Anglo-French influence leads to a searching criticism of Skeat's so-called Sixteen Canons,<sup>3</sup> showing in what particulars Skeat's conclusions have to be modified. There is a brief discussion of scribal blunders; a close examination of the sign *ea*; a passage on other orthographical peculiarities;

<sup>1</sup> See the bibliography at the end of this article.

<sup>2</sup> One who reads any considerable portion of the *Brut* cannot help feeling that Lazamon was far above the average of twelfth century priests. Certainly he could not have been of that class described by Stephens, *History of the English Church from the Norman Conquest to Edward I*, p. 298; cf. ch. xvi.

<sup>3</sup> *Modern Language Quarterly*, Nov., 1898; *Philological Society's Transactions*, 1895-98, pp. 399-418; *Notes on English Etymology*, 1901, pp. 471-5; and we may now add *Phil. Soc. Trans.*, 1899-1902, pp. 439-467.

and an attempt to suggest the orthography of the original. Of a quasi summary of this portion of the work (pp. 74-76), I give here a condensed paraphrase.

The original manuscript of Lazamon is not now extant. The older of the two existing manuscripts preserves the original only in a form mutilated by separate hands, confused in its orthography, and showing some modernization of sounds. Between this copy and the original there were some, perhaps several,<sup>1</sup> intermediate versions, distinct sound-changes going on during this period of (frequent?) transcription. The latest date for the original is that reached by Madden, 1205. Whether Lazamon had a regular system of orthography cannot be determined from the manuscripts which remain. We have, however, some ground on which to base conjecture. A poet writing in mature age would naturally cling to the conservative speech, yet Lazamon was not under the sway of the older literary language. He was observing enough to note the regularity of that language as well as of Latin and French, and very probably got thence a suggestion for his own practice. His work betrays an endeavor to write phonetically, by a known rule rather than according to mere caprice. Less minute and pedantic than Orm, he is more readable, and that is the chief point. He wrote not, like Wace, for honor and reward, but for pleasure. He had a simple, inartistic orthography, which, to be sure, gives no clue to the quantity of vowels, since he trusted to the common sense of his readers, yet which uniformly suggests the quality of vowels, without great variation in detail, as far as the language of the time, with its many double forms, made such suggestion possible. Lazamon himself spelt well.

In the light of this discussion Luhmann proceeds to an explanation of the stressed vowels and diphthongs in the older manuscript. He indicates what he regards as the regular development in Lazamon of the O. E. vowels; tabulating Lazamon's divergences, and then in a series of interesting notes discussing the character and significance of these variations. The work is detailed to the last degree, in some cases needlessly so. Yet the material as a

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Zessack's conclusion that the earlier (A) text, though not itself the original, is close to the original; and that the later (B) text is removed therefrom by several intermediate versions.



whole is well organized and made readily usable by a copious index.

Though not exhaustive (the history of the new diphthongs can not be concisely tabulated), the following table may be useful as a summary. For completeness I have added from my own notes the two columns for the later text. Less usual spellings are enclosed in [ ].

O.E.	La3. A.		La3. B.	
	sound	spelling	sound	spelling
a	a	a [æ]	a	a
ȝ (a + nasal)	o	o, a [æ, eo, u]	a	a [o]
æ (Merc. Kent. e)	æ > a (a not fully estab- lished)	æ, a, e [ea, eæ]	a	a
ea	a	a, æ, e, ea	a	a
e, ȝ	e (open)	e, a, eo [i, u]	e (open)	e
eo	æ (e, eo not yet fully lev- elled)	eo, e	e	e
i	i	i, e [u]	i	i
o	o	o, [a, æ, eo, u]	o	o
u	u	u, o [eo]	u	o [u]
y	ü	u, i, o [eo]	ü	u
ā	ā tending to ȝ	a, o, æ [e, ea, eo]	ȝ	o
ǣ	ē	e, æ [a, ea, eo]	ē	e, ea, ee
ēa	ē	ea, æ [e, a]	ē	e, ea
ē	ē (close)	e, æ [a, eo, i]	ē	e
ēo	ēo tending to ē	eo, e	ē	e, [eo, i]
ī	ī	i [e, u, y]	ī	i
ō	ō	o, eo [a, u]	ō	o [eo]
ū	ū	u, ou [eo]	ū	ou, u
ȳ	ū	u [i]	ū	u

This sufficiently illustrates the extreme orthographical irregularity of A, the comparatively fixed orthography of B. It is these numerous variations in A that Luhmann seeks to explain. Some are obviously errors of the copyist (*falke* for *folke*, *weos* for *wæs*); some are due to misreading of the ms. (confusion of *u* and *a*); some may be relics of distinctions no longer existing (*ā*, *ēa*); some indicate mixture of dialect (*siggen*); some are attempts to represent sounds undergoing change (*oa* in *loaðe*); many are due to French influence (*o* for *u*, *ou* for *ū*). For its full significance one must read Luhmann's discussion itself.



Going back to the first paragraph, I may conclude this article with a bibliography of Lazamon, complete, I believe, to date.

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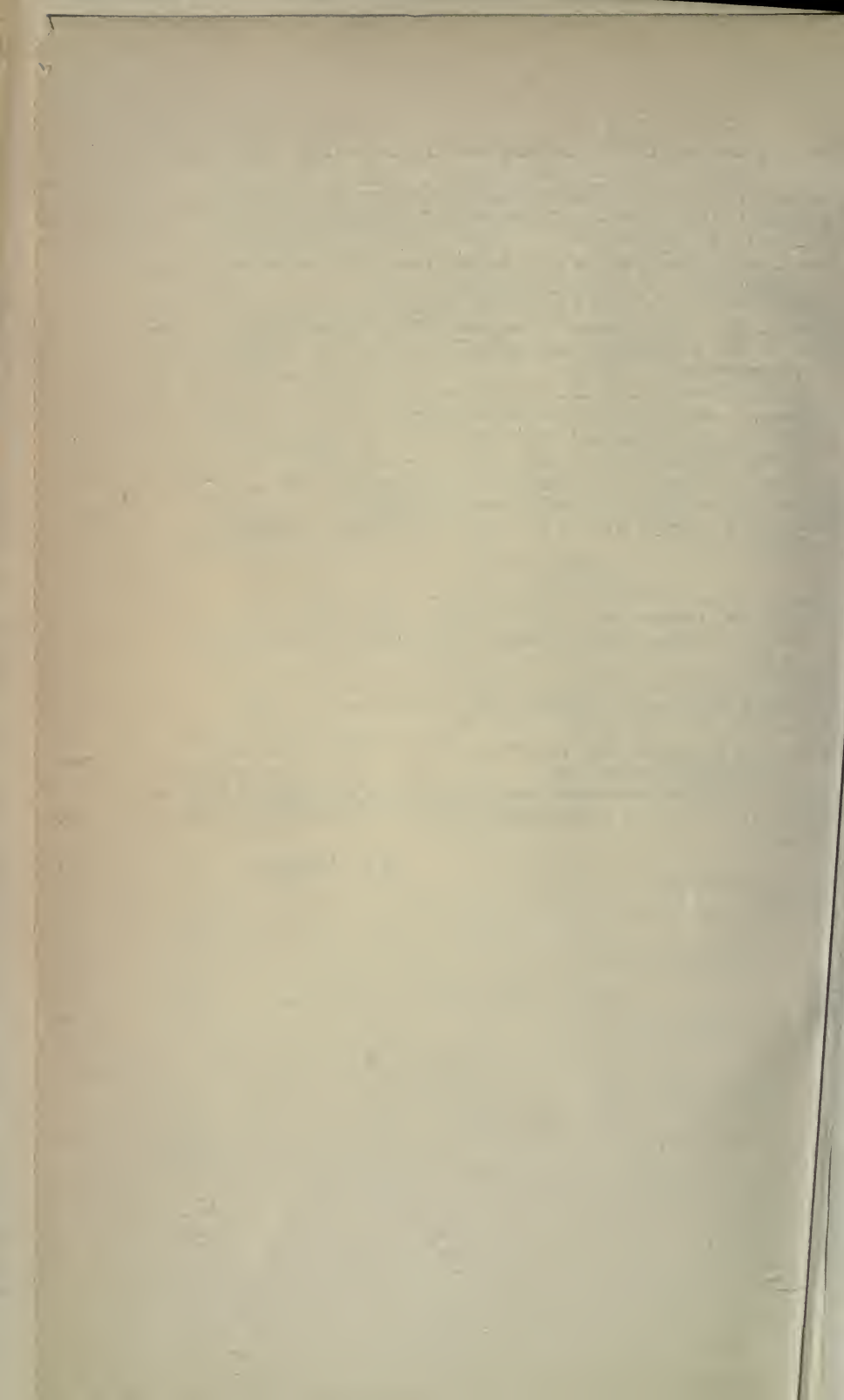
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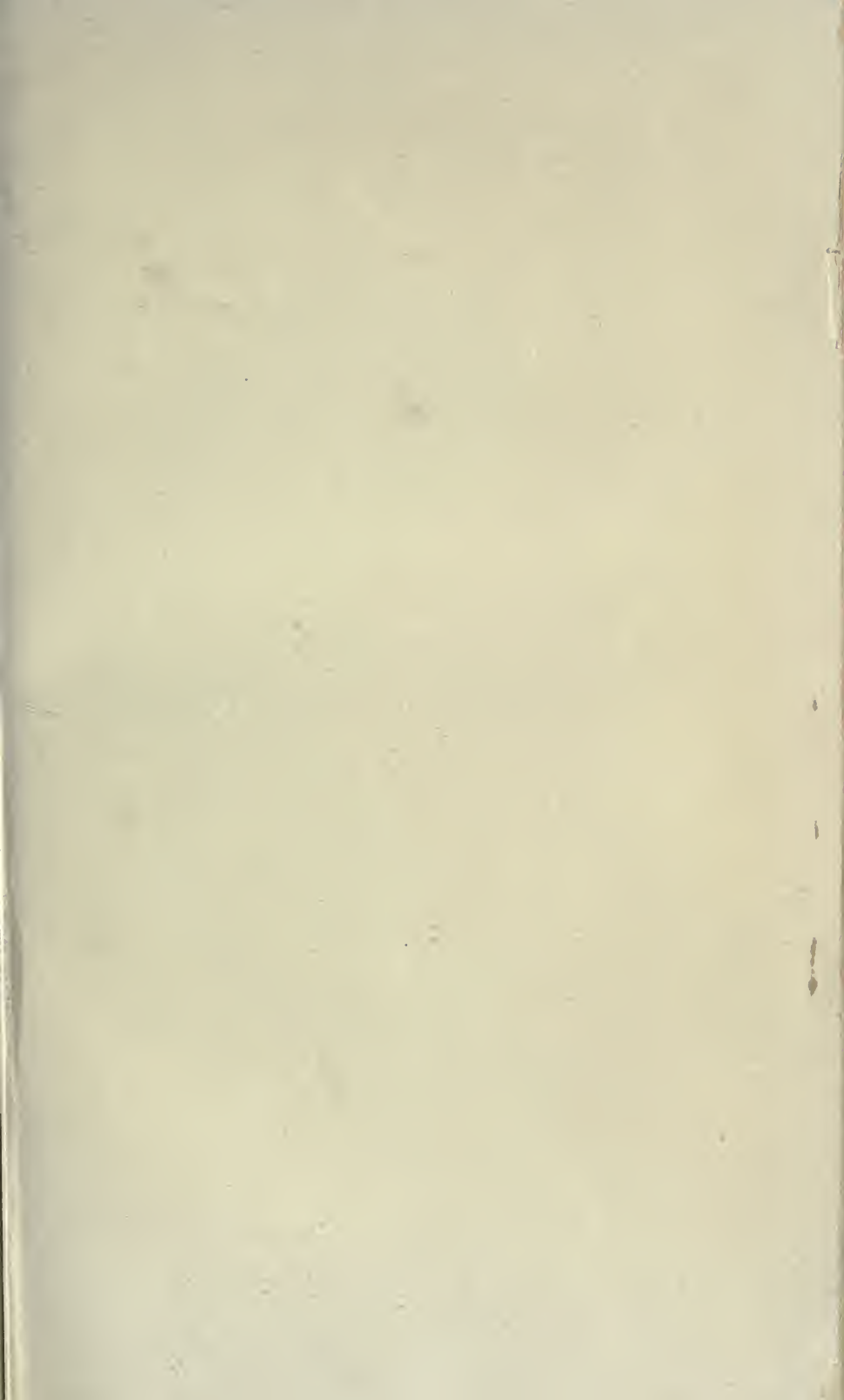
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*Er. Karsten.*

## IN MEMORIAM.

**D**IE hier zum erstenmal veröffentlichten Arbeiten Gustaf E. Karstens sind neben den schon bekannten die Trümmer eines geistigen Lebens, das sehr viel reicher war als die blossе Zahl erkennen lässt. Der Verstorbene hat das Los derjenigen geteilt, die aus der akademischen Atmosphäre Deutschlands als Pioniere der Wissenschaft nach Amerika verpflanzt worden sind: Sie finden sich als Beamte grosser Lehranstalten, die ihren Namen Universität zu verdienen eben anfangen; sie müssen die Bedingungen erst schaffen helfen, die wissenschaftliche Arbeit ermöglichen. Als Gelehrte, als Forscher sind die gekommen, im Klassenzimmer geben sie ihr Wissen, im geschäftsmässigen Verwaltungsdienst ihre produktive Energie aus.

Karsten sprach wenig von seiner akademischen Tätigkeit in Deutschland, noch weniger von seiner Jugendzeit. Studienfreunde, die davon zu erzählen wüssten, waren aus dem oder jenem Grunde nicht zu gewinnen. So habe ich nur einzelne Daten zu geben.

Gustaf Karsten ist am 22. Mai 1859 zu Petershagenfeld in Westpreussen geboren. Er besuchte die Universitäten Königsberg, Leipzig, Heidelberg, Tübingen und zuletzt Freiburg im Breisgau, wo er 1883 promovierte. Der Titel seiner Dissertation ist in nachstehender Liste enthalten. Er habilitierte sich als Dozent der germanischen und romanischen Philologie an der Universität Genf, wurde 1886 als Professor der romanischen Sprachen an die Universität des Staates Indiana nach Bloomington berufen und ging dann bald darauf ganz zur Germanistik über. Achtzehn lange Jahre hat er in dem weltverlorenen Städtchen verbracht. Es war eine Zeit unablässigen und zähen Ringens für ein Ideal der Wissenschaft, das von der Leitung jener Universität nicht gewürdigt wurde.

1896 gründete Karsten das 'Journal' und schuf damit der germanistischen Forschung in Amerika das erste Organ grossen Stils, das sich deutschen Zeitschriften an die Seite zu stellen ein Recht hatte. Die äussere Geschichte dieser Schöpfung steht in nunmehr sechs Bänden verkörpert. Die innere Geschichte, die Kämpfe, die Sorgen, die Opfer und Entbehrungen, die das Bestehen der Zeitschrift Karsten und seiner edlen Gattin auferlegte, wird nie ganz bekannt werden. Mancher Abonnent wäre weniger nachlässig in der Bezahlung, weniger ungeduldig über verspätete Zustellung gewesen, hätte er geahnt, dass jede einzelne Nummer das Resultat eines neuen Kampfes, eines neuen, mühsam errungenen Sieges war.

Ein Kämpfer war Karsten. Aber nie handelte es sich um persönliche Sonderinteressen. Nie hat es einen selbstloseren Menschen gegeben. Der Kern seines Wesens war absolute Wahrhaftigkeit. So war ihm alles Unechte, Halbe, Gleissnerische verhasst. Und alle Unechten, Halben, Scheingrossen hassten ihn, mussten ihn hassen, wie der Schatten das Licht, weil sie vor dem Blick seiner klaren, tiefdringenden Augen nicht gedeihen konnten.

Seine Wahrhaftigkeit, seine unbestechliche Ehrlichkeit schloss ruhiges Genügen aus. Wie er nie mit sich selbst zufrieden war, so hat er auch an seine Nebenmenschen die höchsten Anforderungen gestellt. Er war ein Muster von Fleiss und Gewissenhaftigkeit. Was er tat, das tat er ganz. Den Kleinlichkeiten des Bureaudienstes widmete er dieselbe Sorgfalt wie wissenschaftlichen Aufgaben. Hätte er mehr an sich gedacht, so wäre ihm wohl ein längeres Leben beschieden gewesen. Hier in Illinois fand Karsten nach traurigsten Enttäuschungen den geeigneten Boden für seine Kräfte. 1906 von dem genialen, ihm wesensverwandten Präsidenten an die Spitze der Abteilung für moderne Sprachen gestellt, von umsichtigen Dekanen gefördert, gelang es ihm in kurzer Zeit, den Lehrbetrieb auf eine wissenschaftliche Basis zu heben. Schon zeigen gediegene Arbeiten seiner Schüler, was die Universität seinem Wissen und seinem Organisationstalent verdankt.



Seine Bedeutung ging über den Bereich der eigenen Abteilung hinaus. Von Anfang an bildete seine machtvolle Persönlichkeit einen gewichtigen Faktor im Gesamtverband der Universität. Seine umfassende Gelehrsamkeit, sein scharfer Verstand, sein feuriges Temperament, seine männliche Sicherheit wirkte anspornend auf alle. Sein Dasein an sich erzeugte Leben und Bewegung. Sein gesundes Urteil führte manche heilsame Entscheidung herbei; zumal seit er Vorsitzender des Committee on College Policy geworden war. Er stand auf der Höhe seines Könnens und hatte selbst das Gefühl, dass er in dieser Umgebung jetzt eigentlich beginne, wirklich fruchtbar zu arbeiten. Er genoss das Glück, sich endlich verstanden, anerkannt und auch ausserhalb seiner Familie geliebt zu sehen. Von solchem Glück hat ihn der Tod plötzlich hinweggerissen. Nach kurzem Unwohlsein ist er am 28. Januar verschieden.

Nicht alles von dem nachstehend Gedruckten ist ursprünglich zur Veröffentlichung bestimmt gewesen. Aber es schien den Herausgebern, als dürften sie aus dem Nachlass nichts vorenthalten, was zur Charakteristik von Persönlichkeit und Arbeitsweise des Toten beitragen konnte.

Die Anmerkungen zu Göthes Faust sind das Letzte, was er geschrieben hat. In einem längeren Aufsatz wollte er das Beste von dem zusammenfassen, was er durch jahrelanges Nachdenken über Faustprobleme gefunden zu haben glaubte. Daneben beschäftigten ihn noch Herder und Kant, und aus den stenographischen Berichten über die Verhandlungen des Frankfurter Parlaments suchte er ein genaues Bild von Uhlands Stellung zu bekommen. Auch der Anfang zu einer populären Darstellung der deutschen Literaturgeschichte ist noch vorhanden. Wie Karsten von der romanischen zur germanischen Philologie übergegangen war, so hätte er sich jetzt mehr und mehr literarhistorischen Forschungen zugewandt.

O. E. LESSING.

## GERMANIC PHILOLOGY.\*

IN the year nineteen hundred and four, in connection with the Universal Exhibition at St. Louis, there was held an International Congress of Arts and Science, to which scholars from all over the globe were invited, not to present new discoveries in their respective fields of work, but rather to give a survey of the work already done and of the problems now before them, and especially to show the scope and character of their various disciplines and the relations of the latter to other branches of research or applied sciences. This last question, of scope and relations, to be sure, was in a way decided for them in advance, or at least it was strongly prejudged, by Professor Hugo Münsterberg of Harvard, the originator and chief promoter and organizer of the whole plan. For the purpose of arranging the program it was, of course, necessary for him at the outset to develop some scheme of classification, so as to assign to each subject its own place in what seemed to be its proper group. Professor Münsterberg's classification was that of a philosopher; it served well enough its practical purpose as a basis for the arrangement of the program; but with all its logical consistency it yet remained, in a way, arbitrary and necessarily quite one-sided. For no one system could do justice to the manifold relations of the various sciences to each other, or even of any one of them to the others. These complete details were to be worked out by the speakers. In the choice of the latter, I think, the Language and Literature groups were especially fortunate: we had such men as Hempl, Wheeler, Kittredge, Collitz, Sievers; indeed hardly one of them seemed to have been selected on extra-cathedral grounds, or on account of the spectacular nature rather than the solidity of his work; and yet it must be said, that within the natural limitations of their papers they did not, in-

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\*Inaugural address, delivered Nov. 25, 1906, at the University of Illinois.

dividually or collectively, exhaust the subject. One fact, to be sure, did appear with wonderful impressiveness at the whole Congress, namely the fact, well known long ago, but not always sufficiently active in our minds, that all the various branches of human endeavor are, indeed, closely and in many ways connected and concatenated with each other; that they, like the various phenomena of life itself, form but parts of one great unit;—but as to the actual points of contact and lines of demarcation our speakers could only suggest what was or seemed to them most important. Much had to be ignored; and moreover, no two persons would see the whole field in the same light, so that after all we went home, and we have since been reading the published Transactions of the Congress with the feeling that with all due admiration for the speakers, we should have liked to see this or that point mentioned or brought out more vividly, even at the expense of other lines of thought, if necessary, and I trust therefore, that I may be pardoned today, if I undertake to speak to you of the scope of Germanic Philology, and if I, too, can do this vast subject only such scant justice as my time and my limited horizon and ability will permit.

The discipline of Germanic Philology is not only, like the work of all our departments, very comprehensive and closely interwoven with other sciences, but we have here to contend with the additional difficulty, that there is much uncertainty and difference of opinion as to the meaning of the term Philology and the proper extent of philological work; and the uncertainty exists even among those most directly interested in the subject.

In English, and especially in American English, the word Philology has largely come to mean the History of Languages and, perhaps, the Science of Human Speech, and nothing more. A very different, a much broader interpretation obtains in continental Europe, and it is gaining ground in America also; like the Greek *φιλολογία*, Philology refers not only to the form but also to the content of the *λόγος*: it virtually means the whole history of the human mind, as it manifests itself in language documents of the past and present.



Our compendium of Germanic Philology, Paul's Grundriss, and the Annual Report of the Berlin Society, the Germanistische Jahresbericht, contain, besides the sections on Language and Literature, also special chapters on the History of the Germanic tribes and nations, on their Mythology and Religion, their Legend, Traditions and Customs, their Customary Laws, their Institutions, their Art, their Folklore in all its various aspects.

It is evident, however, that no one man can claim to be a philologist in this broad sense, and in reality, a large number of scholars co-operate in the publication of the Compendium and the Annual Report which I have just quoted, each one treating only his own particular portion or corner of the field. But it is also true that no philologist can afford to quite ignore many of these special fields without detriment to his own work, whatever that may be.

As a matter of division of labor and of natural development, the study of the language of a country has come to be more especially associated with that of its Literature, in the usual sense of the word. These two topics,—and along with them perhaps Mythology and Folklore,—usually form the chief domain of our departmental interest, except that a further division has taken place along geographical lines, in so far as the English branch is everywhere, in Germany, and, of course, in English speaking countries, recognized as a special department, and of late the Scandinavian also has at some Universities developed more or less into a unit of its own. But, while it is beyond the possibility of any one man to do justice to the whole realm of Germanics, there is no real scholarship, in English or in German or in Scandinavian, possible without a fair ground work in all of them; for they all go back to the same origin; like members of the same family and neighbors, for ages, they have much in common with each other, and even many of the special features of each one can be rightly understood only by reference to the other branches. For a philologist to limit himself strictly to English or German would be the same as if a Botanist or Biologist were not to look beyond the limits of Illinois and another



beyond those of Iowa, and each one were to present his observations as particular to Illinois or Iowa. Only as a matter of practical necessity, then, must we recognize the subdivision of Germanic into English and German and Scandinavian, and the limitation of our work chiefly to Language and Literature as the two main and most distinctly interdependent branches of Philology.

Now in the study of the German Language and Literature, of course, our methods do not differ essentially from those pursued in the Humanities throughout, and in our teaching, our experience is probably about the same, also. To speak first of the subject of Literature, you all know, what a very popular topic it is, and rightly, is,—and you also know, how every one who has read a literary work, perhaps only in a translation, feels able, not only to enjoy it in his own way—which is as it should be,—but also to expound it to others from nothing but the depth of his own inner consciousness,—and how every once in a while the cry is raised for a less technical and more inspiring instruction in Literature at our Universities. And it is, indeed, quite certain, that just as far as the educational and cultural purpose prevails over the purpose of instruction and of research, the highest aim of our teaching of Literature must be, not so much to impart a minute knowledge of a few individual pieces of literature, but to inspire, by means of an intimate familiarity with some classical examples, a lasting love and a correct appreciation of all good literature, and thereby to contribute toward the development of high ethical and esthetic standards.

But, what would we think of a Mathematician who would stop from time to time in his teaching of Mathematics, to impress upon his students the moral bearings of the fact that two and two is four and can never and never be five? What would we think of a Botanist who would stand before his class, a lily in his hand, and speak on the loveliness and purity of rural life? What of the Geologist who would exhibit a precious stone and pointing out its beauty and its market value, would make it the basis of a sermon on the grandeur and glory and boundless

wealth of nature? We rather trust to mathematics itself to make for stern logic and for virility; and we have confidence in the intrinsic educational value of the sciences themselves, and if it is true, that Literature, being one of the finest manifestations of the human mind, lends itself particularly to the further education of the mind, why not listen to Homer, Shakespeare, Goethe themselves? We hear and read altogether too much about these men, and do not become well enough acquainted with them. Their noblest thought will impress itself upon every one well enough, when once the important facts, their language, the circumstances under which they wrote and to which they refer are well understood. But furthermore, we willingly recognize, and we rejoice in the fact that good literature forms an excellent basis for the teaching of Ethics and Esthetics. So let it by all means be applied to that purpose. Only, we should keep in mind, that it is one thing to use literature, or any other subject, for educational purposes, or for our own enjoyment, and it is quite another thing, to study it; and in the second place, that a careful study and full understanding of literature, or of any other fine subject cannot help enhancing its enjoyment and its educational value.

And how should we study good literature? Clearly so as to understand it fully in all its bearings. Now evidently an historical subject can be understood only in the light of its own history; and on the other hand, any one branch of a large subject can be truly comprehended only, when its connections with the other related branches are considered. The study of literature or of any part of it must, therefore, be historical and comparative, or one may simply say historical in the full sense of that word. For we must remember that the literature of any given period and people is the most direct reflex and echo of the life and civilization of that time and people. It must, therefore, be considered in the light of the history of its own people and in fact of all the cultural as well as literary motives at home and abroad that may have influenced it, as it again will shed a flood of light on the historical conditions of its time. And similarly

in regard to the individual work of the individual authors in their relation to others, we must proceed along paths leading inductively and deductively back and forth between the work and the man, the man and his times. The man's work is illumined by his life, and again we shall understand his work better through his life, the individual, on the background of his time and again the period as the composite result of the efforts of individuals. With these facts in mind, we may approach our subject from many points of view.

Probably the most important, perhaps the one essential, is the esthetic test; for, literature in our sense, of *belles lettres*, is to be above all an artistic expression of the human mind, and must be looked upon as a branch of art. But, we should be true to our historical method,—first set forth by Herder and now fully recognized in theory, but seldom practiced,—we must not simply apply our modern views of esthetics, so far as we may have any. That would not be quite so bad as measuring the income of a Chinese laborer simply by the cost of living in America. Literature while the product of its time and people is yet the property of all times and nations, and I have no quarrel with the man who tries to determine just what Homer or Shakespeare may be to us; only, he should not thereby mean to test the original, the historical, or, least of all, the intrinsic value of their work. We know, as yet, hardly any fundamental, leading laws of esthetics, we have hardly a science of esthetics. The study of any one work or period of literature from the esthetic point of view, can teach us only the esthetics of that work or period; the esthetic study of the world's literature will give us the entire history of esthetic views, so far as literature is concerned; but even it can not yet yield a true science of esthetics or one single incontrovertible esthetic law.

Esthetics as a science, is a part of Psychology, perhaps of Physiology, and if we ever are to arrive at fundamental intrinsic laws, governing human tastes and human arts, we must expect them from those sciences. It is, however, the office of the history of Literature and of all other arts, to furnish a large amount



of valuable, if merely ideological evidence, which, properly sifted by the trained Psychologist, may help to suggest the direction of the work and interpret the results of the laboratory. In this sense, also, the whole study of Metrics, of rhythm and rime, forms an important branch of literary research, and it is significant to note that the most competent investigators of Metrics, men like Sievers and Heussler, after following the subject historically as far back as possible, into Indo-European times, have crossed the boarder line and concerned themselves with general questions of speech, rhythm and speech melody in a way which is essentially experimental. In other fields of esthetic research, we are still in a period of rather crudely descriptive work.

There is especially the motive of Nature sense, *Naturbeseelung*, on which nearly every department of English and of other modern languages has been harping for the last twenty years, as ever since the German Professor Alfred Biese wrote his work on *Naturbeseelung bei den Alten, im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit*. It seems indeed to be vitally related to the very essence of art and it is to be hoped that sooner or later all these records on Nature sense in Literature may be vitalized in some way. So far, they have been altogether mechanical and essentially fruitless.

There are those, now, who doubt whether esthetics ever will evolve any absolute standard by which works of art can be measured,—and in the meantime, many a critic, ignorant of Esthetics in any sense, poses in our magazines as self-appointed arbiter elegantiarum, and passes judgment with startling positiveness, after the manner of Juvenal's women of Rome.

*Hoc volo, sic jubeo, sit pro ratione voluntas*, or as Molière has it, *et nul n'aura du goût, hors nous et nos amis*. It is precisely this sort of subjective, arbitrary estheticism that makes all literary criticism just a little suspicious to serious-minded people. More promising has been the fight between and the study of the various literary schools, of Idealists, Realists, Classicists, Romanticists, Naturalists and Symbolists. At least, the negative result



seems to have been reached, that none of them has a right to claim a monopoly on artistic expression.

More tangible than are the imponderabilia of Esthetics are the results which the study of Literature yields in regard to other topics of historical research. Indeed, numberless as the problems of civilization, are the questions which Literature has answered or is ready to answer to the careful student, confirming or modifying the testimony of other sources of information. The whole outer and inner life of our ancestors from the time when they first came into contact with the Roman world, is mirrored in their poetry if anywhere. What was their mode of life? and what their attitude toward important events of history, to fundamental questions of human life? What were their means of sustenance, their institutions and customs, their education, ethical and intellectual conditions? What and how did they love and hate and fight? What were their ideas of marriage and family life? How did they die, and what did they think of the value of life? What of death? To know this exactly would enable us to see many a literary plot with its struggles and catastrophies in the right light. What were their ideas of right and duty? By what egotistical or altruistic motives were they actuated? By devotion to country or to personal leaders? By love of family or tribe or nation? Or by adherence to a political unit, the State? What was their sense of humanity (*humanitas*), of humane sympathy, the first blossom of civilization? Kuno Franke of Harvard has described the Literature of Germany with special reference to Social Forces, as he calls it, his chief purpose being to show how individualistic and collectivistic tendencies are alternating or co-operating at different times in the minds of men.

I have been interested for some time in the question of Fate *versus* Free Will, not with the intention of proving or disproving any theory on determinism,—that we must leave for students in Philosophy and Religion to discuss, and for Biology to decide as best it may. But our question is, whether, consciously or especially unconsciously the idea of Fatalism or of Free Will was an

active factor in the various periods and branches of our Literature.

Fatalism, be it as an element of old Teutonic religion in which Wurdhiz, old English wyrd—we have the word in Shakespeare's weird sisters—was more or less distinctly personified as a goddess, corresponding to and perhaps influenced by the classical idea of Fate, the Roman *fatum*, the Greek *ἄτη*; blind and unchangeable even by Zeus who can only ascertain and carry out its decrees; or be it that the fate of men is felt to be in the hands of personal gods—*θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κείται* when the All-father Odin not only finds out, but by his runes, also determines the future.

The oldest Germanic documents, the Beowulf and the Hildebrand show a naive mixture of such half pagan, half christianized fatalism with a strong feeling of self-reliance and personal responsibility, very much like the modern "Trust in God and keep your powder dry." Or be it that ideas of an equally blind but purposeless, incalculable chance prevail, corresponding to the Greek *τύχη* and certainly much fostered by the Romanic *fortuna*; or that a belief in Predestination shows itself in literature (as for instance, in Freidank's *Bescheidenheit* and his contemporaries,) long before it became the doctrine of part of the Reformers, or that another fatalism gradually grows up in modern views on the determining influences of heredity and surroundings, as stated by Darwin, or in a modified form, by Weissmann; or that over and against such external or internal determining influences there manifests itself more or less vigorously and consciously, the idea of Free Will, the sense of self, the feeling of individual responsibility. It is clear that the relative strength of these two motives determines for us not only an important part of the ethical background, on which situations, conflicts, characters are constructed by our authors and are to be understood by us, but it also is of importance in questions of Esthetics, in regard to the theory of the drama, for instance, when the old problem of dramatic guilt is examined. With the help of our younger colleagues and fellow students in the de-

partment we may perhaps hope to develop these studies into a comprehensive history of Determinism in German Literature.

And how about the religious life of the Germans, as revealed in their literature? This question is far, as yet, from having been sufficiently studied; and it is a pertinent and very important one, because religious controversy or controversy on semi-religious grounds has played an enormous part in the life of the people. The various Germanic tribes, converted during the first great split of the Church, into Arians and Athanasians, adopted partly the one creed and partly the other, a fact which partly accounts for their cruel internecine fighting against each other. And when the orthodox Franks had emerged victorious from the great strife and Charles the Great had on that fateful Christmas day of 800 accepted the imperial crown from the Pope, the whole history of medieval Germany turned into one continuous struggle for supremacy between the empire and the papacy.

That struggle has had the greatest influence upon the life of the German people; it weakened the imperial power, and favored the efflorescence of the feudal system into a confederacy of States rather than a political unit, it has crippled the economic evolution of Germany and absorbed her resources in inner troubles at a time when other nations laid the foundation for world empires; and it also weakened the influence of Rome among the German people, princes and clergy, and thus made it possible for Germany to become the starting point and the center of the Reformation. And more recently, the struggle again taken up by Bismarck with characteristic vehemence but with equally futile results.

Surely, among a people so constantly and deeply stirred by religious troubles, it is of consequence for us to know, just how our writers felt in regard to this question, if we want to understand them fully. And in regard to all modern literature, it is important to find out, how has it been influenced by the mightiest of books, the Bible? This question has been repeatedly, though in no way exhaustively dealt with by Professor Cook, of Yale



University, for the English language and literature; for Germany it still remains to be treated.

And this suggests another line of work: the study of literary sources and influences. Of course, this is one of the Philologist's first duties; some think it preliminary, others, indeed, have seen in it the principal task of Philology. It is evident that, before we can appreciate an author correctly from any point of view, we must know whether he gives us his own work and views, or whether he is translating, borrowing, perhaps copying from other, older or foreign sources, whether he is behind or ahead of his times, whether he is in harmony with prevailing currents or struggling against them, in short, we must determine the extent of his indebtedness to others, and of his originality, if there be any, or his attitude toward his sources. This question is, of course, extremely difficult to answer in the case of modern writers, where an enormous wealth of traditional motives, in regard to form and contents, is available and the exchange of ideas so universal and so rapid; but from the oldest times on the question of sources must be kept in mind, and indeed, the literature of Germany has always been peculiarly open to foreign influences. Even Germanic Mythology as we have it in the Eddas—which at first seemed to be most venerable and thoroughly indigenous, has been shown by Professor Sophus Bugge of Christiania to be largely intermingled with Classical and Celtic elements, and certainly some remarkable motives of popular burlesque stories have found their way into the Edda.

And thus it goes on throughout the centuries. The Classics, the Orient, the French, later the English, the Italians, and again the Classics in the renaissance period, the French, and through Winckelmann and Lessing the Classics, through Lessing and Gerstenberg the English, and through Herder's translations and stirring appeal the world's literature, and now and then a special influx of Spanish, also of Hindoo, and in modern times the Scandinavian, Russian and French.

All have had their turn, some repeatedly, in exercising a strong influence upon German letters, enriching it with new



motives, at times almost imperiling it in its own national development, then again absorbed and assimilated, or crowded back. Just at present, the Germans, seemingly drowned in French and Russian pools and currents are trying to find themselves again by means of *Heimatkunde* and *Heimatkunst* and a renewed interest in folksong, which after all reflects most truthfully the character of the race. It is clear that for the study of literary sources a fair knowledge of the respective languages is necessary, quite especially in dealing with older periods, when often we do not know the author of a work, nor when or where it originated and a searching examination into the language of the documents is our only guide in deciding at least the question of time and locality; and when, out of the different readings of various prints or manuscripts the original has first to be obtained by means of textual criticism.

It is this sort of work which seems to be so particularly irksome to some of our critics and teachers of literature, and the protest is often raised with useless and suspicious vehemence. It is quite true that useful service in the study of literature can be rendered without this study of sources and the prerequisite linguistic training; not all students need to or should undertake the same kind of work, but the trouble is that only too often we are expected to accept the absence of such training as about the only proof or indication of the presence of literary genius, or a fine sense for literature. I will now turn away from the study of literature, reluctantly, because I feel that I have not by any means exhausted it and I will briefly consider the other chief branch of Philology, the study of the language.

The study of language approaches in almost all its phases the accuracy and the stern method of mathematics, and consequently it is not necessary as it was in the case of literary work, to warn against a premature application of linguistic knowledge. As in Calculus, the offense here quickly exposes itself, and punishes the offender, before he has had time to do much mischief. In our language work we may distinguish chiefly between three

features which according to the circumstances may be paramount in our mind.

We note first, corresponding to the cultural value of literary studies, the mental training which the acquisition of a language, especially a living language affords. This point has long been emphasized by our first educational authorities, and it only remains for us, for the individual teacher, to really put as much mental training into his work as the subject and the circumstances may allow. Nor do we need to dwell on the practical applicability of language studies. This also is a matter quite clear in itself, and moreover, it, too, is one of applied knowledge again. And while the individual may think a little more of one kind of application than of another, it all remains fundamentally the same, it is applied knowledge, whether we use it for travel, commerce or politics, or for the purpose of teaching again to others, or of reading works in other sciences or in literature or for any other practical or scientific purpose. It is, however, not quite so generally understood that the historical and comparative study of languages also produces results of its own, which make it worth while. Pure linguistics have the same relation to applied linguistics, be the appliance whatever it may, as Botany does to gardening, geology to mining and so forth. I take it that rational gardening may at any point prove helpful to botany, and *vice versa*, botany certainly helps gardening; so with other sciences and so also in our case. Scientific linguistics help us to better understand and apply our understanding of the modern language.

But quite aside from this, pure linguistics, the minute study of many languages, leads up to the science of human speech which is again like literature, a branch of Psychology, of Ethnology. It may seem a long way from the deciphering of an old runic inscription, utterly insignificant in itself, or the history of a short vowel in some poor, out-of-the-way dialect to questions concerning the nature and functions, the origin and development of human speech; but the connection is there. To be sure, as in all psychological work, a large amount of testimony is necessary

in order to eliminate or reduce the element of personal equation and personal error; but in its totality the study of languages, just like that of literature, ends in and is based upon Psychology. We shall see this at once, when we consider for a moment what language really consists of.

Speech, human speech at least, and in all probability also animal speech, is a means of expression and communication, mainly through sounds produced by our organs of speech, sounds which, chiefly by way of association, have come to be connected with certain meanings. A sound, however, is simply the impression upon our ear made by temporary vibrations of the air; the vibration radiates and vanishes away shortly after it has been produced. But language remains; it perpetuates itself. Does it, then, consist just of such sounds only? Certainly not; the lasting elements of speech, the real language, exist in our minds. The sounds we speak and hear are merely the means of transmission, the result of our art of speaking.

The process, at present, is plain enough in a general way: A sound, a word strikes, chiefly through our ear, our nerve-brain apparatus; there it effects a change of some kind, we do not yet know whether mechanical or chemical; but in some way the impress of the sound picture is made. By repetition it may be deepened and thus be retained all the more distinctly in our memory. And every time we hear the word, it is uttered under certain conditions which also impress themselves upon our mind and become associated with the memory picture of the word. Of course, the circumstances are different every time; but there is one element which invariably forms part of the whole situation, when the word is heard. It gradually detaches itself from the otherwise varying therefore hazy background and becomes alone distinctly connected with our word picture; the word comes to mean to us that one specific element. Of course, the recognition of the real meaning of a word may be and, under our present conditions, commonly is, accelerated by parents, teachers or other persons; but the process is fundamentally the same; we now



possess in our memory a word picture connected with its meaning; we understand the word when we hear it.

But how do we learn to speak it? A human being, whether a child or adult, entirely unaccustomed to articulate speech could no more produce a single sound or word correctly, than we can play a tune on the violin, without having learned how to do it. To be sure, we have the organs of speech, and, in the gradual differentiation of the functions of our nerve-brain apparatus, into our so-called senses,—the connection between the motory nerves of our organs of speech and the centers of hearing has become or remained especially close and direct, as on the other hand, the connection between the motory nerve centers regulating our hand and our sense of sight seems to be especially close. Therefore, our organs of speech readily respond to any agitation in the region of our sound centers. Besides, owing perhaps to such favorable connections, the tendency to imitate impressions of sound or sight, has long since developed into a pronounced instinct.

Now, whenever the meaning of a word presents itself to the mind of the child, the connected sound picture becomes by apperception particularly vivid and may all the more easily cause an innervation at the speech centers. Our first attempts at reproducing a new sound may be, and in the child are, pretty sure to be unsuccessful; only gradually the child hits upon and learns to repeat the necessary articulation, that is, the right motion and sensation of motion becomes likewise a firmly impressed memory picture. The word is now pronounced with sufficient accuracy to call up the corresponding sound picture in the hearer's mind, and thus the turnus has become complete. We now possess in our mind the impress of a sound picture, associated with its right meaning, and we also possess the memory of the sensation of motion necessary to reproduce that sound picture, likewise associated with it or with the picture of its meaning.

These memory pictures, thus associated with each other, form the real basis, the leading elements of our speech; every language act of ours answers to and again forms or modifies such an im-



press in our mind, and all the various speech impressions, of sounds and syllables and words and sentences and functions become connected with each other, forming groups of many kinds, logical and purely formal categories.

Little is known, as yet, in regard to the actual working of this whole apparatus, and it is, of course, chiefly for Psychology and Physiology to deal with the many problems that present themselves at every step. Without going further into detail, I would say, that in my opinion one of the most fundamental questions is: What are the smallest speech units, not physiologically but psychologically considered? And just in what manner do they, say sound pictures—enter into the formation of larger, physiologically more complete units, such as syllable and word pictures? Upon the nature of these connections hinges the answer to some important questions as to sound changes and other problems that constantly confound us in the historical study of individual languages.

On the other hand, it is for historical and comparative Linguistics, just as we found it to be the office of the history of literature, to furnish to Psychology a wealth of historical evidence which, if not conclusive, is at least highly suggestive, and which no psychologist, not even Professor Wundt of Leipzig, can ignore without danger of falling into error. But in order to be able to observe and record correctly the historical facts, linguistics must get at the reality of things; it must work not with letters but with sounds. For even the best up-to-date spelling is but an imperfect indication of the really spoken sound.

Spelling is like a garment which is intended to fit the body of the word; but the words keep on changing, and to follow their growth the garb has to be refitted from time to time. Our present spelling of English, German or French was developed by our ancestors because it fitted their pronunciation; it was intended to be essentially correct and phonetic; year was then pronounced ye-ar, and though was thōch and light was liht, and so forth. To adhere to that outgrown garb now that the words have so

changed, may be convenient to grown people, but in the interest of our children we should realize that the truly historical way is to do as our ancestors did, *i. e.*, to make our spelling as much as feasible conform to our pronunciation. But as I said, even the best ordinary alphabet is but a vague indication of the actually spoken sounds. To know the latter, their physiology must be studied carefully, that is, their articulation, the necessary movements of the various organs of speech.

The science of phonetics has in the last twenty years made enormous progress. We no longer speak of dark or clear sounds, of soft or hard consonants. That hazy terminology has long been replaced by terms based strictly on the genesis, the articulation of sound. And even such expressions as labial, dental, guttural, have been superseded by more exact ones. Indeed, during the last ten years, or so, very accurate copies and records have been obtained of the various sound articulations by means of revolving cylinders and delicate recording instruments.

Rousselot in France has given a strong impetus in this direction, and in our country Schmidt-Wartenberg, Weeks, perhaps Scripture and others have reached reliable results. Similarly, in Acoustics, the theories of Helmholtz, his *Lehre von den Tonempfindungen* have been revised and partly modified by Scripture and Trautmann and others. On the whole, however, the study of Acoustics has, so far, proved less helpful to linguistics than that of the genesis of speech; and the latter seems also destined to place our teaching of orators and public speaking on a more solid basis; that is, of course, so far as enunciation and accents and stress groups and the whole most interesting subject of speech rhythm and melody are concerned.

But to return to our special subject, it is clear, that the study of Germanic languages is rooted in the larger subject of general linguistics which ought to consider all languages, and especially that Germanic forms an integral part of Indoeuropean linguistics, contributing much toward it, and again depending upon it for its solid foundation. It is, therefore, both historical and comparative.

I shall stop here, painfully conscious, as I said before, of my inability to do justice to the large subject. It is, however, useful and necessary for us to stop from time to time, and look about us to ascertain in what direction our lives and labors should be moving, and what and where is the goal which we should like to reach or at least to approach before the end of our journey. It is also encouraging, to see a broad expanse of promising, inviting land about us; but on the other hand, it would not be wise to reach out prematurely for final results. We must do our every day's work faithfully, we must give ourselves up unreservedly even to the petty things of the hour; it is the devoted, quiet, and yet aggressive doing of detail work that makes for progress in the search for truth.

## UEBER DAS AMERIKANISCHE SCHULWESEN.

WAS dem an deutsche Verhältnisse gewöhnten Beobachter am amerikanischen Unterrichtswesen zuerst auffällt, ist seine Systemlosigkeit. Zwar unterscheidet man zwischen primary, secondary und higher education, und Ausdrücke wie Common School, Highschool, College, University—die Rangliste der hauptsächlichsten Anstaltstypen,—erinnern an vertraute Namen; aber einheitliche Lehrpläne, klare Grenzl意思, harmonisches, auf natürlicher Angliederung begründetes Zusammenwirken fehlen fast gänzlich. Das kommt daher, dass das Unterrichtswesen nicht von der Regierung geregelt wird. Vielmehr werden die einzelnen Anstalten von den Gemeinwesen verwaltet, die die Unterhaltungskosten tragen. Das heisst: die öffentlichen Grammar Schools und Highschools von Land- und Stadtgemeinden, die Staatsuniversitäten oder Colleges von den einzelnen Staaten, während der Lehrbetrieb der vielen Privatanstalten niederen und höchsten Ranges überhaupt keiner öffentlichen Aufsicht untersteht. Das mag dem Deutschen, der die Erziehung seiner Kinder mit nahezu spartanischer Selbstverleugung dem Staat anheimstellt, bedenklich erscheinen. Aber so ist es. Hier darf jeder, der es bezahlen kann, eine Unterrichtsanstalt unterhalten und dann mittels derselben unbehindert, offen oder verdeckt, seine eigenen politischen, sozialen, ökonomischen, religiösen und sonstigen Anschauungen vortragen und verbreiten lassen. Die Gefahr dieser eigentümlichen Lehrfreiheit liegt auf der Hand. Es muss aber zugegeben werden, dass schlimme Missbräuche selten vorkommen und dann nicht lange anhalten.

Zunächst spielen ja im allgemeinen wirklich Motive edelster Menschenfreundlichkeit bei Schulstiftungen die Hauptrolle. Es wäre sinnloser Pessimismus das zu verkennen, schnöde Undankbarkeit, es bestreiten zu wollen. Sodann aber ist die Schule



zwar ein gründliches, aber ein für die egoistischen Zwecke des Einzelnen zu langsam wirkendes Agitationsmittel. Allerdings ist nicht zu leugnen, dass manche von reichen Verbrechern unterhaltene Lehranstalt unter allen Umständen schon durch ihre Existenz das öffentliche Gewissen irre leitet. Auch steht der Nation tatsächlich kein Schutz zur Verfügung gegen den Missbrauch des Unterrichts zur Förderung gemeingefährlicher Sonderinteressen, während es andererseits den einzelnen Lehranstalten ein Leichtes ist, den Unterricht, ja die Wissenschaft gefügig zu machen. Eine vorsichtige Verwaltung sorgt schon durch die Auswahl der Lehrer in aller Ruhe dafür, dass keine, dem Gründer unliebsamen Anschauungen vorgetragen werden, im Notfalle schrickt man auch vor brutalen Gewaltmassregeln nicht zurück.

Indessen, früher oder später entwachsen die Privatanstalten meistens dem Einfluss ihrer Gründer. Selbst die von kirchlichen Sekten und Sektierern gestifteten erheben sich grossenteils im Laufe der Zeit zu echter Religiosität und bilden sich allmählich zu öffentlichen Schulen und Universitäten im besten Sinne heraus. Das macht die gesunde Grosszügigkeit des ganzen Lebens, der kluge Idealismus und der schöne Patriotismus des Amerikaners mit seinen hohen Zielen und schweren Aufgaben, die nichts kleinlich Persönliches dulden. So ist denn die freie Teilnahme des ganzen Volkes an der Erziehung seiner Jugend hier in Wirklichkeit noch ein nationaler Segen, eine Bereicherung des geistigen Lebens.

Allerdings müssen wir dabei vorläufig auch bedenkliche Nachteile mit in den Kauf nehmen. Es leidet die Arbeit der Lehrer und Gelehrten und damit die Erziehungskunde und überhaupt aller wissenschaftliche Fortschritt unter der erdrückenden Autorität der einzelnen Schulbehörden, die ohne die Leitung eines kompetenten Unterrichtsministeriums in ihrer Isolirung als kleine Herren um so strenger regieren und dem Lehrer und Gelehrten um so ungenierter mit allerlei Vielleitäten ins Handwerk pfuschen. Dies macht sich natürlich besonders auf dem Land in kleinen Dorfschulen fühlbar, wo die naive Nichtachtung fachmännischen

Urteils noch in voller Blüte steht. Von einem eigentlichen Lehrerstand ist da überhaupt noch nicht zu reden. Junge, vielfach ganz unerfahrene Bursche und Mädchen werden da von Jahr zu Jahr gemietet, und diese unterrichten solange drauf los, bis sie ihre Stelle verlieren oder etwas Besseres zu tun finden. Ein älterer, wirklicher Lehrer ist auf dem Lande ungefähr so selten wie ein toter Spatz. Besser schon steht es in den grösseren Städten. Da widmen sich nicht selten die tüchtigsten Bürger in selbstloser Weise den Pflichten der Schulverwaltung, und da wird denn auch vielfach dem Lehrer zwar immer noch nicht von Amtswegen, aber doch tatsächlich, dank der Einsicht der Behörden und durch Vermittlung eines kompetenten Superintenden—mehr Raum gelassen zu einer verständigen Ausübung seiner Lehrtätigkeit.

An den höheren Anstalten besteht der Aufsichtsrat meist aus einer Anzahl hervorragender Männer und Frauen, die über ein weiteres Gebiet, oft über mehrere Staaten hin, verstreut wohnen, und die daher nur ein paar mal im Jahre zusammenkommen, um die Geschäftsführung im grossen ganzen zu überwachen, während die eigentliche Leitung und alle Verantwortlichkeit für dieselbe dem auf unbestimmte Zeit gewählten Präsidenten überlassen bleibt. Den Anforderungen einer so wichtigen Stellung könnte natürlich nur ein ausserordentlich befähigter Mann gerecht werden, und wirklich gibt es unter den amerikanischen Universitätspräsidenten einige, die den besten Typus des amerikanischen, ja des modernen Menschentums überhaupt darstellen, hochsinnige Männer von gründlicher, vielseitiger Bildung, die gerecht und weise und mit heiligem Pflichteifer ihres hohen Amtes walten, ein leuchtendes Vorbild, nicht nur dem akademischen, sondern überhaupt dem besseren Teil des Volkes, und von segensreichem Einfluss auf das ganze nationale Leben. Unter dem erleuchteten Despotismus solcher Präsidenten sind einige unserer Universitäten in den letzten Jahren zu grossartigen Anstalten erblüht, die den Vergleich mit deutschen Universitäten nicht zu scheuen brauchen, ja die jetzt mancherlei vor ihren deutschen Mustern voraus haben. Die grosse Mehrzahl unserer

College-Präsidenten aber ist leider noch ganz minderwertige Ware, Leute, die zwar im Brustton der Überzeugung mit abgedroschenen Redensarten über den hohen Wert der Volksbildung den Leuten Sand in die Augen streuen und Geld aus der Tasche locken können, die aber selber herzlich ungebildet sind und für Erziehung und Wissenschaft ungefähr soviel Sinn haben, wie der Kassendirektor einer Theaterschmiere für Kunst und Poesie. Und diese Menschen regieren dann in ungeschlachter Weise an ihren Anstalten herum, bauen mit dem erbettelten Gelde kostspielige Schulpaläste, während für Bücher, Apparate und Lehrer blutwenig übrig bleibt. Und dann tun sie, als ob sie eine ganze Universität geschaffen hätten.

Dass unter so ungünstigen Umständen Tausende und Abertausende von Lehrern und Schulen, Colleges und sogenannten Universitäten pflichtgetreu, ja begeistert fortarbeiten, und das Niveau des ganzen geistigen Lebens mühevoll, aber stetig heben, ist mir immer als das schönste Zeugnis für den innerlich starken und schönen Charakter des amerikanischen Volkes erschienen.

## THE GERMAN UNIVERSITIES.\*

I SHOULD like today to give you an idea of German universities as compared with our own;—and the subject seems to me a rather appropriate one, for various reasons:

A great many of us are more or less directly affiliated with Germany; either we ourselves, or our parents or grandparents, or some near and dear relative or friend came from there. Indeed, if England is our mother country, then Germany may, in the same sense, be called our Fatherland, and through the personal influence of our German-American fellow-citizens as well as through our literary and general cultural relations with the old country it has come about that we owe to Germany much of the best in our lives.

That is quite particularly true in regard to our universities. Even our oldest institutions, patterned as they were after English colleges, nevertheless owe their recent scientific renaissance distinctly to German influence. There is nothing new in this statement, the fact is recognized everywhere by those who know.

It may be of interest, then, for us, to see, what these German universities are, how they are working in their own country, what we may yet learn from them, and whether we have not, in some respects, outgrown their leadership, and are ready to pay back in some measure, what we owe to them.

Moreover, some of you, or your friends, here or elsewhere, will probably, sooner or later, want to go to a German university yourselves, and it may be well for you to know what to look for; to judge by yourselves, whether and when and where to go. I have seen many a man go to Europe, when it would have been better for him to continue his studies at some American university.

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\*An address delivered at Bloomington, Indiana, date uncertain.



In comparing, then, the German universities with our own, we find at the outset that we have on the one hand, in Germany, a certain well-defined unit,—so that we really may speak of the German university rather than universities, while on the other hand, in our country, we have a large variety of institutions, all being called, or calling themselves, universities.

The German universities are all maintained and controlled directly by the Government; they are all state institutions and they all maintain the same standard and principles. To be sure, in reality, they cannot all be entirely alike; no two men and no two places are alike, and there are differences in size and in efficiency between the various universities—Berlin for instance has about 8,000 students, while some of the smaller universities have only a few hundred—; but these differences are not officially recognized. In rank and rights and duties, in purpose and methods, in the preparation and general character of students, no one university could or would claim to be different from the rest.

The purpose of the German university, as a state institution, is to train young men, and more recently also young women, for public service in the so-called learned professions, to supply the state with judges, administrative officials, preachers, physicians, with higher teachers, chemists, apothecaries, and the like.

The practice of all these and similar professions is in Germany regulated by law; nobody can be a preacher, a physician, or a druggist, any more than a teacher, without having passed certain prescribed state examinations, and to these examinations he is admitted only after having spent a certain number of years at the university;—for the druggist the required time is two years, for most of the other professions the minimum is three years, for the physician it is five years. You see, then, what an all important factor in the national life of Germany the university must be.

However, the university serves the public welfare not only in this strictly official capacity, as the commissioned nursery of state officials; but public opinion and long-established tradition also

demand that the university shall work for the progress of the country and of humanity by *extending* the realms of human knowledge, by what we call original research work.

Work of this kind, of course, must be done by someone, if humanity is to progress in any direction; work of this kind can be done successfully only under favorable conditions, by well-trained men, supplied with the necessary laboratories and libraries; and even then, work of this kind is necessarily slow, so far as results are concerned. After generations and generations of scholars have been devoting their lives to studying and thinking, and experimenting and calculating, it is not to be expected that we should keep on hitting upon new epoch-making results every day or every year or decade. The mines of truth are far from being exhausted; but the veins that contain the precious ore have been followed up to such an extent and to such a depth that the very passages leading to the unexplored regions form in themselves a complete labyrinth which it takes years and years to make oneself familiar with.

Yet the man who does not know and has no means of finding out what has been explored, is constantly in danger of undertaking work which has already been done by someone else. Such work is, of course, quite useful to the man who does it; it is *to him* original work and the educational value of such practice work is now well recognized; in college, school, and kindergarten we like to have our young people find things out by themselves, we want them to develop their own ears and eyes and minds. But for the ultimate progress of *science* we do not want duplication of work; there we want progressive continuity.

Now in this necessarily slow process it is but natural that many scholars must content themselves with the modest task of handling material which may seem or be insignificant in itself, of removing the rubbish that lies in the way of further progress, until the vein grows richer again, and in the fulness of time the master stroke of some ingenious or fortunate man opens up new wealth, new probabilities of blessing for mankind.

So it is in all departments of learning as in *all* professions; it is not the fitful effort of the individual, but the steady combined work of many men of the guild of scholars, which insures progress.

And even the tangible results of men of genius have not always an immediate market value which would make the workers financially independent.

Of the educational value of all research work we have already spoken; it is certain that the very teaching at a university is invigorated and vitalized by nothing so much as by the teacher's own earnest self-devotion to strenuous work. The very presence among us of such scientific workers is a source of inspiration to all the rest of us, and of much more value than all the neat clockwork regularity and the devices and red-tape of the humdrum pedagogue, or the supercilious brilliancy of the Chautauqua men and the extension wind-bag.

These facts are well understood in Germany; and they are coming to be more and more clearly understood in our country too. But we must admit that we are still far behind Germany in this respect. Productive scholarship is not yet sufficiently safeguarded and encouraged; consequently there is yet comparatively little of it. This is not the fault of our young scholars, and much less can it be said that our students are not yet ready for it. It is the fault of those who are shaping the destinies of our larger universities. Our governments are still much too parsimonious in matters of education. And when some multimillionaire gives millions to or for some institution, we see, with rarest exceptions, the old story repeating itself: a big undergraduate teaching establishment is founded, work is undertaken which is done and can be had just as well at a dozen good institutions in the immediate neighborhood, and by the time that is done the money is gone and practically nothing is left to build up the greatest work. However, it must also be said that during the last fifteen years enormous progress has been made in the right direction, and it is my opinion that in the near future our now developing American universities will surpass in usefulness



their German sister institutions, because they will be in some respects more rationally organized than their sister universities of the old world.

The German universities, in scientific respects so far ahead of us, may be called primarily associations of independent scholars at work, and of students who learn to work mainly by watching the older men work.

This, to be sure, would be a one-sided description; for the teaching, too, is fairly well organized. It is done by lectures and seminary work in the humanities, by lecture and laboratory work in the sciences; but the teaching is eminently the direct expression of the teacher's own work. Some fundamental introductory courses are given year after year; but the bulk and essence of the lecture work is dependent, from year to year, upon the field in which the teachers themselves are actively interested. And an equally extensive individual liberty is enjoyed by the student in the choice of his own work.

The teacher enjoys freedom in teaching—*Lehrfreiheit*—and the student enjoys freedom in learning—*Lernfreiheit*—these are the watchwords, and as there are a great many teachers at work and moreover the student can and does freely go from one place to the other, he can usually find the work he wants to do.

And this may lead us to another phase of our subject, to the life of the German student, in his relations to his teachers, to the state and to his fellow-students.

In order to be admitted to a university the German student must be a graduate of some one of the higher schools, the *Gymnasium* which emphasizes especially the humanities, or the *Realschule* which lays more stress on the sciences. These schools are not only preparatory schools for the university; they also prepare for the higher career in such professions as forestry, postal and railroad service, and other walks of life; but they, and they alone, also prepare for the university. Foreigners are admitted upon testimonials from similar institutes such as our colleges; on the whole, foreigners are readily admitted; not many embarrassing questions are asked, and some of our American universi-



ties have complained of late of too lax proceedings in this respect, and I read the other day that at Berlin testimonials from Russia will no longer be recognized at par.

The German preparatory schools of which I spoke, offer courses of eleven years, including the elementary courses. The German student, then, in entering the university has passed through eleven years of severe schooling. He has so far had little free choice of courses; and he has been under strict discipline and supervision. In *educational* matters, namely, it is believed in Germany, that a person must first be educated by others to some extent, that he must learn a certain amount about things, before he can decide for himself, what is really good for him. I am afraid we are growing a little too far away from this principle, when we extend free choice of courses into our high-schools and even into primary schools as advocated by the *Chicago School Review* some time ago. The German student after having passed through this compulsory educational training, now enters the free arena of individual work, and suddenly, I think too suddenly, everything, his whole evolution of life changes radically. With all his scholastic preparation he is still very young in years—perhaps eighteen years old, and he is much younger still in experience.

Like our high-schools and colleges, the German Gymnasien and Realschulen are scattered broadcast throughout the country, so that usually the student did not have to leave home in order to attend them; but of universities there are only one or two more than a dozen in the whole Empire; so the young student has now for the first time to leave his home; so far, he has been a pupil, now he is going to be considered a man among men, a member of a university, free from any control or supervision.

At the university *place*, there are no dormitories. He has, for the first time, to find his own room and make his own home; there are practically no boarding-houses; he has to take his meals in restaurants, now here now there, wherever he happens to drop in, until he gets acquainted and finds the best place to go to. And everywhere, in public restaurants, we would call

them saloons, he is expected to take beer or wine with his meals; so the young body is easily exposed to the dangers of alcoholism.

And then, he has to make new friends, to meet and fall in with strangers, preferably with fellow-students. No wonder then, if in this entirely new world, with so many new impressions crowding in from all sides, he is apt to forget for awhile, that he came to the university in order to *study*.

Now many of you may think: this is precisely what we had to go through. You are describing our own experience. Well, I know I am, and every teacher knows it and will make due allowance for it. But then, we have a president, and we have deans, and head-professors, whose business it is to look after the interests of their students, and *every* teacher is at any time ready to help any student to the best of his ability. The German student has no one to turn to for advice, while the change from discipline to freedom is more abrupt, and the temptations in his way are stronger. Here, as I see it, is the weakest spot in the German higher educational system. At the university he may shirk or entirely drop his work and still remain seemingly in good standing. Even residence at the university after personal immatriculation is expected rather than required or enforced. With the lecture system the professor does not know his hearers personally and never needs to meet or get acquainted with them. The student may go to the lecture or he may not, as he may or not go to the theatre or church; nobody cares.

There are no examinations held; no credits to be expected at the end of the term. He may go to one or to several universities and stay as long as he can pay his expenses. During his whole university time he is never called upon by anyone, to give an account of his work, or life, or progress. You see that the young man would have to be unusually provident and far-sighted, to realize at the outset that the day of reckoning must come, that in the end he will have to pass a searching state-examination, and that altogether this is the time for him to make or mar his life.

With our American system it may be said that it takes a naturally cheap boy to go to pieces, a boy without good home training, without sound blood and brains and without ambition; as Dr. Jordan used to say, you cannot fasten a thousand dollar education unto a ten-cent boy. But the average boy is quite safe and reasonably sure to find the right way.

In Germany, the University student's first year is the critical period of his life; then it takes a superior boy to stick to his right way; the average boy is in danger and the inferior boy in great danger of going astray during the very first year or months of his academic life; in that crucial test of his character when for the first time and suddenly he is free from the constraint of school and home life and has not yet undergone the uplifting influence of the true university life and work. These beneficial influences are all there; they are not forced upon him; but they are ready to take hold of him, and if only he has strength, or good luck, or both, enough to take care of himself for a little while, *then* he too is reasonably safe. The more promptly and completely he falls in with his fellow students, the sooner he identifies himself with the university, the better for him.

It is a matter of general observation that wherever legislation is wanting, public opinion and social customs rule in the place of law. So it is in German universities, as it is largely also with us. Free from any authoritative restrictions, the German students manage to take care of themselves and to maintain a high standard of life.

That is without a doubt due principally to the fact that the professors themselves are earnest workers who have given themselves up body and soul to the search after truth. They are not triflers; they mean business. Some of them may in their complete self-surrender to their line of work, develop some personal oddities; some may overrate their own line of work, or lack the proper sense of proportion and lose themselves in details; but the fact remains that they are serious men who mean business, and so they soon have the respect, the veneration of the student. The young student may not at first be attracted by them. The



subject seems remote and these men do not teach to please or even interest him. Some of them—I am speaking of extreme cases—have a way of talking as it were to themselves; they do not seem to see their hearers or to care for them, they explain their subjects to their own satisfaction, but they all mean business, and the student soon notices that there is some actual work going on and some intense human interest engaged; this appeals to him and after awhile he begins to look at his professor's troubles and tasks and his own problems, and they gradually fill his soul with that peculiar restless curiosity and uneasiness which is nowhere quite satisfied or at peace with itself, except when at work on the subject of its choice, and which is the making both of the ethical man and of the young scholar.

This interest follows him from the lecture room not only into his study, but into his daily intercourse with his fellow students, into his pleasures, into his very follies.

Soon then, at the smaller Universities, the faithful and attentive hearer will in one way or another, become personally acquainted with his teacher. The latter usually gathers about him a group of enthusiastic students and spends his leisure hours freely with them. Germans are fond of walking. The students will take long afternoon walks into the surrounding country, and often you can see some young or elderly professor walking out of the city, surrounded by a number of younger men, his students, his fellow students. His younger companions want no recommendations from him; they do not expect to be examined by him. He may not even belong to the examining board, or if he does, they may be at some other University by the time they will be ready for their examinations; so this professor probably will never have any official influence over their lives. It is their interest in his work, and his interest in their studies and work which draws these men together.

At Heidelberg, some of our professors, Professor Neumann especially, would have their lectures in the afternoon which was our favorite walking time. So often, on beautiful days, we would go to his house and as we grew better acquainted, we would not



even always go up to his room, but from the street we would call up to his window: "We come to tell you that there is not going to be any lecture this afternoon, because we want to go out walking and we should like to have you with us." Sometimes, then, he would answer: "No, I can't go with you today; I have only just time to give my lecture, and then I must go home to work again." Then, of course, we would drop our trip and go to hear his lecture. But often he would drop his lecture and come and spend the afternoon or perhaps the evening with us. There were James Morgan Hart, now of Cornell University, and Bright, now professor at Johns Hopkins University, and a dozen others, and we had a thoroughly good time together. Problems that had come up in our work or in the lectures would be discussed, the latest books and articles and numbers of periodicals had been read and noticed by the one or the other; new things were pouring in from all sides; people were as eager to report them as some are to report the latest jokes—which by the way were likewise told and enjoyed—it was difficult for anyone to avoid hearing all about what was going on in his field of work, with all that the frankest criticisms of everyone and everything; the unreserved intellectual honesty, the true teacher's spirit.

This whole atmosphere of genuine work appeals to the German student perhaps more than it would to his brother student elsewhere in Europe. He is intellectually prepared for further work and he comes almost entirely from the good stock of the modest middle classes in Germany. His parents are working in order that he may go to the University, and he himself must get ready to work for his living. The sons of the nobility prefer service in the army; the men of wealth usually send their children to a commercial school. Few go to the University for self-culture alone. This is regrettable, and German writers have often pointed with bitterness at England, where the sons of the highest nobility of birth and wealth go to the Universities, not to prepare for any professions, but just to develop into gentlemen of culture. Now I agree, that it may be well enough for a University to be graced by a certain number of these young

gentlemen, and especially it is a good thing for the latter to be at a University for awhile. But, as may be seen from Oxford, and also from some of our American Universities, the danger lies in that an undue proportion of very wealthy students, sent by their parents just to "graduate," may tend to substitute for the truly strenuous life, for the virility of hard work, the pseudo-strenuous life of sport and social dissipation, until the real student, he for whom the University was established, who comes to it for honest work, is snubbed and considered a disloyal or second class student, if he cannot or will not support a football team.

This is a danger which American colleges will have to face and suppress in the near future. I trust that this perverted college spirit will never prevail at our University.

And now, how do the German students live and enjoy themselves among each other *socially*? From what we have seen, it will be clear that there can be no college spirit and no class spirit in any sense of these words.

Few students spend all their time at one University, most attend two or more, attracted by various motives, beautiful scenery, persuasion of friends and later by the work offered. The student, therefore, does not form any particular attachment to any one University; he never thinks of the institution as such as a particular entity; they are all the same to him. They are all state institutions, they are all taken care of and flourishing, they are something quite impersonal to him. He may like one *place* better than another, but when he sings of Old Heidelberg it is not the University at Heidelberg he has in mind, but the quaint old city, and the glorious surroundings of Heidelberg. He thinks of the happy hours he has spent there with his fellow-students and his teachers; but certainly never of the institution as such. Nor is there any class spirit, because there are no classes. Each one studies where, what, and as long as he needs to study, and then goes to his province or where he may prefer to pass his state examinations.

Instead, however, there exists something similar to our college and class spirit, quite similar at least, in its effect upon the student. The college spirit there expands into a more general academic spirit. All students in the whole country form, as it were, a large guild of their own. It makes no difference where he is, the fact, that he is a student, a university man, fills him with enthusiasm and pride. This spirit often develops, in the *young* student especially, into a feeling of caste superiority which would be ridiculous entirely and only, if it did not also fill him with a keen sense of honor and responsibility. That is, of course, everywhere the redeeming feature of caste spirit, that it is apt to stiffen the moral backbone of the individual member of a class, or society or club or profession. So it is in our case: to the young student humanity consists of two kinds of people, student and non-students. The latter he calls Philistines and he looks at them with ill-concealed pity. This is, of course, right ridiculous; but it is useful too. That halo of poetry and glory and honor and idealism with which he surrounds his student life long before he enters upon it, is the main safe-guard of the young student during that first critical period we spoke of.

This pride in his profession also predisposes him to willingly submit to the severe training he is going to receive at the hands of his older fellow-students. Namely our class spirit narrows and individualizes itself there to the complete subordination of every younger student to any older student. Wherever two students meet in academic circles, they will at once find out how many semesters each one has spent at the University, and the one older in semesters immediately assumes a sort of spokesman and leadership. Even in later years this is in a way observed, though more humorously, as a matter of academic reminiscence. With the young student it is strictly enforced. Not by hazing or any such brutal means, but by tradition and social compulsion.

The young student is like a novice at first; he is first to be educated before he is received into the academic brotherhood as a full-fledged member, and he willingly accepts the training. After he has become acquainted with a number of older students



he will usually select one of them as his special patron and advisor. If he is accepted—and of course the sympathies are usually mutual—then there usually develops a really beautiful relation between the two, as between two brothers, and beneficial not only to the younger man whom it helps to keep straight, but also to the guiding comrade himself. For it is a beautiful feature in the character of humanity that no half-way decent man will wilfully mislead or soil and spoil the life or soul of a young trusting friend. Only the lowest of the low will do that. As a rule, a man is instinctively at his best, on his good behavior, in the sacred presence of youth.

The code of conduct which I have described is absent especially in the closer academic communities of the small Universities, and it is at its height at the various student societies, where almost military subordination and discipline is maintained. Some of these societies are of more social character, some are very exclusive; they intend to develop good social manners and also steadiness of character and self-reliance in their members. They do not interest us here. Other societies devote themselves to departmental work, like our own departmental clubs. One of these a foreigner should join by all means. Finally the students also form larger associations for mutual aid in case of sickness, for a small annual fee, a quarter or two, one is entitled in case of sickness to the fine service of the University physicians, of a nurse and if necessary to admittance and free full treatment in the University hospital. I have long wished to see a similar association organized here by our students also.

In conclusion I must not fail to speak again of one great drawback in German student life, namely the dangers and deteriorating effects of alcoholism. For this, of course, the Universities are not responsible; the people everywhere in Europe as in our own big cities freely use alcoholic drinks and many are the victims of this habit. Of late a temperance movement has arisen in Germany, advocated not so much by the clergy, as in our country, as by the physicians, and it is to be hoped that the results will soon make themselves felt. Of late also attempts



have been made to introduce athletic games into the German students' life, and whatever might be said about and against the excrescences of our athletic sports, certainly the German student would be vastly benefited, if instead of measuring his strength in beer-duels, he would take up track athletics, lawn tennis, baseball and, if necessary, even football.

## NOTES ON GOETHE'S FAUST.\*

THE question of the character of Mephisto and his relation to the Earth Spirit is perhaps the most far-reaching Faust problem. It involves not only the meaning of individual passages and scenes, but the artistic value, the unity of the whole play, and it cannot be separated from our ideas about the intellectual freedom of young Goethe, about the power of his poetic imagination and creative genius, and the seriousness of the author's attitude, in later years, toward matters of literary ethics.

In dealing with this question, then, the student must all the more carefully guard against being biassed by any personal desire, either to praise or to find fault with the great poet or his work.

Did Goethe originally plan his Mephisto to be, not an infernal demon, a devil, but a minion of the ethically neutral Earth Spirit? Was his Earth Spirit to appear a second time on the stage, and was he, not Mephisto to enter into some agreement with Faust whereby the latter received Mephisto as a companion? Did Goethe write nearly the whole of part 1 of his Faust—except verses 605 to 1770—with this Mephisto and with some such plan in his mind, and did he later—perhaps in 1797—throw his plan overboard and substitute for the minion of the Earth Spirit another Mephisto, the Christian Devil? Such questions were raised for the first time in 1837 by Weisse who devoted to the exposition of his double-plan theory a large portion of his excellent “*Kritik und Erläuterung des Goetheschen Faust.*” This theory seems, however, not to have attracted the attention of scholars until Kuno Fischer developed it more fully in his commentary and in the lectures on Faust which he gave for many years before an ever larger and more enthusiastic public at the University of Heidelberg. In 1873 Konstantin Roess-

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\*Written in January, 1908.

ler likewise detected in Mephisto two incompatible characters and in substance characterized the poet's procedure as a deception such as no poet had ever dared to practice upon an unsuspecting public. At present some of the foremost Faust scholars in Germany—men like Witkowski and Max Morris—have essentially adopted the views of Weisse-Fischer and—"was wir verstehen, das können wir nicht tadeln"—the change of plan, once recognized as inevitable, has gradually become to be regarded as comparatively immaterial so far as the intrinsic beauty and value of the whole play is concerned.

It was natural enough, then, that our latest American Faust editors, Thomas and Goebel, while differing with each other in various details should both have accepted the old and orthodox view; the one, Thomas, setting it forth as a matter of course, virtually in perfect accordance with Fischer, the other, Goebel, adding even some new material intended to show that young Goethe could not have conceived the plan which he developed in 1797 in the Prologue in Heaven.

Indeed both our editors evidently consider the double-plan theory so well established that they do not even mention the fact that a good deal has been said on the other side and that there are Faust scholars who consider Fischer's theory very much like a night-mare, of which we shall have to rid ourselves before we can come to a just appreciation of the play.

Their books are intended primarily for use in our college classes to be supplemented by the teacher. Goebel, to be sure, warns his readers from time to time by some such expressions as "it seems to me," "I am convinced," etc. Indeed he uses such qualifying terms in regard to a few points of which others have been convinced for some time, and altogether the atmosphere of rich, yet one-sidedly aggressive scholarship, of "dumpfes warmes Streben," which pervades Goebel's work, arouses in the serious student a sufficient amount of interest mixed with irritation to induce further study. Thomas on the other hand with clearcut and dispassioned style easily leaves the student under the impression that the editor's data exhaust the subject.

In any case, few students and even not all teachers have library facilities and leisure enough to go far into the critical study of literary problems, and a brief statement of the arguments on both sides of the question may therefore be welcome to many of our readers. Its publication in this Journal will not seem out of place, if in presenting our views we succeed in contributing to the sum total of Faust literature a few observations of some value for the better understanding of Goethe's great work. The chief arguments adduced in favor of the double-plan theory are the following:

Young Goethe, at the time when the plot was beginning to haunt him, had become deeply interested in Neo-Platonic speculations, in medieval witchcraft and the seventeenth century renewal of Mysticism. He had been studying and brooding over Iamblichos, Welling, Nostradamus, Agrippa of Nettesheim, Weigel, and perhaps first and most of all over Arnold's Kirchen- und Ketzergeschichte, and he had abandoned himself to their teachings; and besides, he had early identified himself with his hero, Faust, to such a degree that the introduction of a christian devil was out of the question for him. The Earth Spirit had become to him the most impressive manifestation of the Divine, more personally, more sympathetic than the all-powerful, but remote ruler of the universe. And the Earth-Spirit could send to his Faust only a minion of his own, a more or less mischievous spiritus familiaris or, according to Goebel, an evil genius, but by no means a devil, a tempter. Moreover, two passages, "Wald und Höhle" and "Trüber Tag" have found their way from the earlier version, the Fragment Urfaust, into the final text, which bear unmistakable evidence of the poet's conception of Mephisto as having been sent to Faust by the Earth Spirit. In "Wald und Höhle" Faust apparently addresses the Earth Spirit thus:

"Erhabner Geist, du gabst mir alles, warum ich bat—warum gabst du...mir den Gefährten mit, den ich nun schon nicht mehr entbehren kann?"

And in "Trüber Tag" Faust again appeals to the Earth Spirit thus:



"Grosser herrlicher Geist! der du mir zu erscheinen würdigtest, der du mein Herz kennest und meine Seele! (!!), warum an den Schandgesellen mich schmieden," etc.

Having once accepted these circumstances—proof of an earlier Mephisto, non-infernal, but belonging to the sphere of a terrestrial spirit,—Kuno Fischer found it possible also to show that Mephisto, including the Gretchen tragedy, does indeed not behave like a devil. This interpretation of Mephisto's character has been adopted by Thomas, while Goebel acknowledges that he is at the outset a rather wicked spirit, Faust's evil genius whom the good Earth Spirit has sent to Faust for some reasons which, owing to Goethe's subsequent modification of his plan we no longer can hope to discover. Altogether out of the study of Mephisto's character Goebel does not appear to derive much support for his theory. He even admits the early admixture of devilish traits, but on the strength of the other motives he too insists that the Mephisto of the early plan belongs into the sphere of the Earth Spirit and was sent by him.

What has been or can legitimately be said against the whole double-plan theory is this:

The fact that Goethe early identified himself with his hero has nothing to do with the character of Mephisto or the ultimate outcome of the drama. Indeed as man and as poet he naturally shows a tendency to intensify his personal experiences. Where he had been tempted his nerves succumb and cause or suffer ruin. His Faust could well contain a good deal of himself and yet be a "Teufelsbeschwörer" and, if need be, fall victim to the tempter.

And as to Alchemy and Neo-Platonism, there is nothing in Goethe's life to prove, and there is much that will disprove the assertion that these speculations ever gained control over him so completely as to crowd from his horizon the atmosphere of popular christianity and to make it impossible for him to introduce a common traditional devil into his play. In fact autobiographical motives and personal experiences were never allowed by Goethe to disturb his poetic plans; least of all in his youth when his literary ambitions and interests were especially strong. His

"confessions," even his autobiography, were always carefully shaped to suit his artistic purposes. This perfect control of Goethe, the artist, over Goethe, the naive confessor, is too often lost sight of.

Some unmistakable facts will prove the truth of these counter-assertions in the present case.

The only time when Neo-Platonic speculations could at all be thought to have gotten hold of Goethe's inner life was in 1769 during and after his illness. A few months later, in Strassburg, the many new impressions which he received with the eagerness of a Samuel Pepys, the influence of Herder's historical and critical habit of thought left no room or inclination for lonely brooding over theosophical problems. Here he studies his subject no longer with the naive curiosity and receptiveness of an overawed novice, but with the calm discrimination of a young scholar. And indeed this free or historical attitude toward his subject he did not owe entirely to Herder. He had even before leaving Frankfurt, studied not only Welling, the *Aurea Catena*, and such like mystifying treatises, but also Arnold, and he had found him the most congenial of all. So at Strassburg the Faust story must have haunted him. But no writing, no plan. His theosophical studies, however, made Faust's *character* and the milieu surrounding Faust more significant.

Perhaps the old puppet play story was also more or less unconsciously gaining a deeper significance to him. \* \* \*

Aus verschiedenen Gründen, die aber in Wirklichkeit alle nur geltend gemacht werden, um den wirklichen Pakt noch plausibler zu machen, und Faust Zeit zu lassen, sich an Mephisto zu gewöhnen, schliesst die Studierzimmerszene, ohne dass es zum Pakt kommt. Mephisto konnte als Gefangener gar keinen gültigen Vertrag schliessen, er hätte ja als Gefangener Fausts von diesem zur Annahme jeder Bedingung gezwungen werden können. Als "dummer Teufel" musste er sich einführen, um zunächst recht harmlos zu erscheinen, aber beim ersten Vertrag musste er frei und der Versucher sein. \* \* \*

Noch einmal spielt das Motiv des eigentlich gewünschten spiritus familiaris, die Erinnerung an die letzten Worte des Erdgeistes, herein: "Der grosse Geist hat mich verschmäht, in deinen Rang gehör' ich nur": Faust erblickt in Mephisto im kritischen Moment des Vertrags, den er dadurch noch weiter vor sich rechtfertigt, den Geist, den der Erdgeist, sein Erdengott, ihm zugewiesen hat. In trotzigem Selbstvertrauen—er fürchtet sich ja schon im ersten Monolog weder vor Hölle noch Teufel—nimmt er Mephisto zum Begleiter an. Diese Fiktion, eine Selbsttäuschung, die eben ein Motiv dramatischer Ironie ist, hält er auch später in kritischen Momenten aufrecht (in "Wald und Höhle" und "Trüber Tag"). Vielleicht spielt dies Motiv bei ihm auch in der Gretchen-Tragödie mit; er weiss, dass Mephisto ein Teufel ist; er liebt Gretchen, aber selbst durch ihre Liebe veredelt, scheut er sich nicht, Mephisto zu gebrauchen, weil er sich dazu vom Erdgeist, seinem Gott, ermutigt, genötigt glaubt.

Dass Mephisto von vornherein ein böser Geist ist, ein Versucher, wird von Fischer und anderen geleugnet. Er ist es ganz unleugbar (Gretchentragödie)! Goebel leugnet es nicht. Aber wie erklärt er es dann, dass der Erdgeist dem Faust einen bösen Geist schickt? Der Dämon, den die "Creatores" jedem Menschen zuschicken, ist doch der eigentliche Genius, die Verkörperung der Qualitäten gerade dieses Menschen, also genau dem Charakter des einzelnen Menschen entsprechend, und er gesellt sich seinem Menschen doch gewiss von Anfang an bei.

\* \* \* \*

Faust kann nicht absichtlos den Teufel beschwören. Er beschwört Geister, aber nicht böse Geister—dabei dann allmähliche Reduktion seines Titanismus: Der Weltgeist ist ihm selber zu weit ab. Der Erdgeist wird beschwört, erscheint aber nur, um Faust zu demütigen durch den offenbaren Abstand zwischen beiden. Er verweist Faust auf einen geringeren Geist. Diesen wäre Faust wohl zu beschwören bereit, doch könnte derselbe *nicht* ein böser Geist sein. "Du gleichst dem Geist, den du begreifst." Gleichet denn Faust irgendwie einem bösen Geist? Nun gilt es

aber, dem noch zu weiterem Geisterverstehn ermutigten und bereiten Faust Mephisto, den Teufel, vorzuführen. Faust *kann* ihn, wie gesagt, seiner ganzen Natur und Absicht nach, nicht beschwören wollen, auch kann der Teufel nicht wohl statt eines anderen, etwa heraufzubeschwörenden Geistes erscheinen: denn Faust ist ja ein beschwörungskundiger Mann, der den rechten Spruch wohl kennt. Also muss Mephisto zunächst *ohne* Beschwörung sich Faust nahen (als Pudel), ihn wohl eine Weile als solcher auf niedrige Weise unterhalten, sich einschmeicheln, dann sich im rechten Momente auffälligmachen, um sich beschwören zu lassen.

Faust vermutet in ihm zunächst einen ethisch neutralen (wie Erdgeist) Elementargeist; dann erkennt er in ihm das infernale Element, denkt zunächst gar nicht daran, sich mit ihm dauernd einzulassen. Nun will er ihn näher kennen lernen (natürlicher Teil der Beschwörung). Erst als Mephisto sich gefangen erklärt, auf "Gesetz" der Teufel hinweist, kommt Faust auf die Idee eines Pakts. (Dieser Gedanke möglichst plausibel gemacht; ins Garn gegangen, etc.)



## DIE SPRACHE ALS AUSDRUCK UND MITTHEILUNG.\*

**E**S HAT gewiss schon ein Jeder von uns die Beobachtung gemacht—wenn nicht an sich, so doch an anderen Personen,—dass der Mensch unter verschiedenen Verhältnissen mehr oder minder verschieden spricht. Je nach den Umständen gebrauchen wir für dieselben Gedanken und Gefühle bald diesen, bald jenen Ausdruck und selbst die alltäglichsten Dinge und die klarsten Begriffe benennen wir bald so bald anders.

Der Mann nennt seine Frau bei ihrem Vornamen, wenn er zu ihr allein spricht, und unter Umständen gebraucht er wohl eine intimere Koseform; in Gegenwart seiner Kinder aber nennt er sie Mama, zu Freunden spricht er von ihr als seiner Frau, und Fremden stellt er sie vor als Frau so und so.

Der Pfarrer auf der Kanzel sagt; “*verily, verily, I say unto you;*” Im Privatverkehr aber heisst es; “*indeed, Sir, I tell you.*” Sein Pfarrkind sagt zu ihm; “*I was unable to attend the meeting last night;*” sonst aber hören wir wohl; “*I didn’t get to go to meetin.*” Und nicht nur auf die Wahl der Worte erstreckt sich dieser Unterschied sondern auch auf die Aussprache. Der gewöhnliche Mann sagt überall: *I’m goin’ to do it;* bisweilen aber nimmt er sich zusammen und sagt: *I am going,* und da er nicht weiss, wie weit diese-ing=Aussprache des korrekten Englisch eigentlich reicht, so geht er auch wohl zu weit darin, und liefert gelegentlich ein *Bosting*, oder *eggs and baking* und ähnliche Formen.

Solche Beispiele liessen sich leicht haufenweise beibringen, doch wollen wir uns nicht bei Kuriositäten aufhalten, sondern lieber der Sache auf den Grund gehen. Jener Unterschied in der Sprache des einzelnen Menschen findet seine Begründung in dem Wesen der Sprache überhaupt. Bei der ursprünglichen Entstehung und der Entwicklung der Sprache sind nämlich besonders zwei mächtige Motive wirksam, die hier in Betracht kommen.

\*Public lecture given at the University of Indiana in 1893 or 1894.

Die Sprache ist einerseits der natürliche Ausdruck, der mechanische Reflex innerer Vorgänge, Eindrücke, Empfindungen. Als solcher ist sie in der einen oder der anderen Form allen Lebewesen gemein. Wenn der Mensch, bei plötzlichem Schreck, zusammenfährt mit einem "Ha," so ist dieser Laut zunächst nur das Resultat der instinctiven Spannung und Abspannung gewisser Muskeln, speciell derjenigen, welche die Lungentätigkeit und die Stimmbänder regulieren. Und dieser Laut ist seiner Natur nach nicht verschieden von demjenigen, den unter gleichen Umständen der Hund, oder irgend ein anderes Tier ausstösst. Ja, er ist andererseits nicht wesentlich verschieden von den übrigen Anzeichen des Schreckens, dem Verzerren der Gesichtsmuskeln, dem Zurückprallen, und anderen Begleiterscheinungen und Resultaten der Furcht, nur dass die letzteren unser Auge oder andere Sinne treffen, während der Laut von dem Ohr vernommen wird; und in diesem Sinne können wir sagen, dass jedes Lebewesen seine Sprache hat, in so fern es auf äussere Eindrücke in irgend einer Weise reagiert. Sodann wird aber bei den höheren Lebewesen, und vorzüglich bei dem Menschen, die Sprache das vornehmste Mittel zu gegenseitiger Verständigung, sie dient dem Zwecke beabsichtigter Mitteilung.

Dieses Zweckhafte, die Absicht der Mitteilung haben bedeutende Sprachphilosophen als das eigentliche Merkmal der *menschlichen* Sprache ansehen wollen, gegenüber den absichtslosen Naturlauten der Tiere. Doch lässt sich die Unterscheidung nicht durchführen, sie beruht nicht auf der Natur der Dinge. Man kann den Tieren nicht den Zweck der Mitteilung absprechen, und andererseits hat auch bei dem Menschen die Sprache nicht aufgehört, der absichtslose Ausfluss innerer Vorgänge zu sein, sowohl wie das Mittel zu beabsichtigter Mitteilung. Meist ist sie sowohl Ausdruckssprache wie Mitteilungssprache, und nach verschiedenen Umständen, und nach verschiedenen Arten und Abstufungen der Kultur überwiegt das eine oder das andere Motiv. Das Kind, der Gefühlsmensch, der Naturmensch plaudern und plappern vor sich und für sich hin, um sich auszusprechen, gleichgültig welchen Eindruck sie damit machen, und

auch dem gebildeten, erfahrenen Manne entschlüpft gar manches Wort, welches lediglich der absichtslose, unbedachte, ja unfreiwillige Ausdruck innerer Vorgänge ist. Doch spielt der Regel nach der andere Faktor, die Absicht der Mitteilung seine wichtige Rolle; und bei dem klugen, welterfahrenen Kulturmenschen überwiegt derselbe mehr und mehr. Der vollendete Diplomat spricht nicht, weil ihm so oder so zu Mute ist, sondern nur, auf den Hörer diesen oder jenen Eindruck zu machen. Von dieser "Eindruckssprache" der Diplomatie gilt denn auch in hohem Grade, was der schlaue Politiker Talleyrand von der Sprache überhaupt sagte: sie ist da, um unsere Gedanken zu verhehlen. Im übrigen ist natürlich Talleyrand's Ausdruck eine arge Übertreibung, die eben nur auf ihren eigenen Urheber das gehörige Licht wirft, nach dem alten Satz: *Judex judicio praedicatur*.

Ganz im Gegensatz dazu erkennt die schönere volkstümliche Auffassung in der Sprache den unmittelbaren Ausdruck der Gedanken, ja sie hält beides, Sprechen und Denken, für gleichbedeutend, und bezeichnet es häufig mit einem und demselben Worte. So zum Beispiel entspricht unserem Worte Rede das lateinische *ratio*, welches "Erwägung," "Grund" bedeutet; so steht das italienische Wort *discorso* zugleich für Rede, Discurs, und für Begründung; das griechische *λόγος* heisst zugleich Wort und Gedanke, Sinn. Wir sagen im Deutschen: er meinte, er könnte nicht kommen; wo "er meinte" eigentlich bedeutet; "er sagte." Es wird manchem unter Ihnen bekannt sein, dass Max Müller hierin einen Beweis dafür erblickt, dass Sprache und Gedanken in der Tat identisch seien. Das ist eben einer von den vielen Trugschlüssen Max Müllers. In Wirklichkeit deutet diese schöne volkstümliche Auffassung nur auf den Grundcharacter des Volkes selbst, wie bei Talleyrand. Sie beweist so wenig die Identität von Sprechen und Denken, wie Talleyrand's *bon mot* als Beweis für die Gegensätzlichkeit der beiden gelten darf. Wir sehen eben, die Sprache wird von den verschiedenen Menschen und Menschenklassen verschieden aufgefasst, wie sie verschieden gebraucht wird; in der Tat ist sie beides zugleich, Ausdruckssprache und Mitteilungssprache.



Fragen wir nun, wie diese beiden Motive unsere Sprache beeinflussen, so können wir kurz sagen, unsere Rede hängt einerseits von dem Sprecher, anderseits von dem Hörer ab. Als Ausdruckssprache, als Ausfluss innerer Vorgänge, hängt sie eben von diesen Vorgängen, also von dem Zustande des Sprechers ab. In der Tat wissen wir ja Alle, dass jede Gemütsstimmung, jede Leidenschaft, sich nicht nur in Worten, sondern auch, und ganz besonders, in der Tonart, im Rhythmus, in der Aussprache verrät. Auch wo wir gar keine Worte verstehen, können wir meist schon an der Sprechart erkennen, ob ein Mensch aufgeregt oder ruhig, ob er zornig oder freundlich ist, ob er befiehlt oder droht oder bittet oder fragt, ob er sich seiner Sache sicher fühlt oder nicht. Der physiologische Zusammenhang zwischen der inneren Erregung und der Sprechart ist noch lange nicht im Einzelnen aufgeheilt; aber dass er existiert, ist klar. Am deutlichsten tritt das wieder bei dem Kinde hervor, und bei dem an keine Selbstbeherrschung gewöhnten Naturmenschen; bei ihnen merken wir gewöhnlich, wie sie es meinen, selbst wenn sie es mit Worten zu verbergen suchen. Sogar in den Einzelheiten der Articulation der Laute macht sich die Stimmung des Sprechenden geltend.

Es ist bekannt, dass im Deutschen die weiche, lyrische Stimmung zu geschlossenen Vokalen neigt: "ich will nun gehn, auf Wiedersehen:" während das Heroische, das Harte, Feindliche mehr offene Laute hervorbringt; "Ich gehe nun, lebt wohl, auf Wiedersehen:" Wer erkennt in dem "Lebt wohl" nicht eine Drohung? Auch fällt uns hiebei die meisterhafte Verwertung dieses Motivs aus Richard Wagner's Nibelungen ein. Siegfried, der blühende, sonnige Held hat den Drachen Fafnir erschlagen und sich in seinen Blute gebadet. Wie er mit der noch blutigen Hand die Lippen berührt, wird er dadurch der Vogelsprache und aller Naturlaute kundig; und nun erkennt er in den Worten seines Feindes, des Zwerges, die Drohung und den Hohn, so sehr sich dieser auch bemüht, ihm zu schmeicheln. Er findet den rechten Ausdruck nicht; Siegfried versteht seine Worte in ihrer wahren Bedeutung; der Zwerg verrät sich wider Willen. Und



nun andererseits die Sprache als Mitteilung: Da kommt es vor allem darauf an, dass wir von dem Hörer vollkommen und ohne Zeitverlust verstanden werden, und daher eben richten wir unsere Rede nach unserem Hörer ein. Am Handgreiflichsten tritt das hervor zwischen Angehörigen verschiedener Nationalsprachen. Mit einem Engländer, der eben kein Deutsch versteht, müssen wir Englisch reden, mit einem Franzosen Französisch und sofort. Doch auch innerhalb derselben Nationalsprache spricht der Mensch immer bis zu einem gewissen Grade die Sprache seines Hörers. Wenn der Arzt mit seinen Kollegen einen gewissen Fall bespricht, so gebraucht er technische Ausdrücke der Medicin, denn die sind die exaktesten und den anderen geläufig; wendet er sich zu seinem Patienten, so spricht er die Sprache des Volkes. Der Gelehrte drückt sich über denselben Gegenstand anders aus in einer Fachzeitschrift, anders in der Gartenlaube, anders vor seinen Studenten. Und wie schon erwähnt, der Mann nennt seine Frau Mama, wenn er zu den Kindern spricht; er spricht ihre Sprache; ja, zu ganz kleinen Kindern spricht auch der würdigste Greis wohl mit der hohen Kopfstimme der Kindersprache; und in der Erziehung, beim Unterricht ist es eines der Grundgesetze, dass der Lehrer sich immer möglichst in den Anschauungskreis seiner Zöglinge hineinversetzen, dass er ihre Sprache reden soll. Ebenso geht es überall im Leben, wenn einer den anderen zu etwas überreden, wenn er auf ihn einen bestimmten Eindruck machen will. Natürlich geschieht es nicht immer in bewusster Weise, sondern, wie das Sprechen überhaupt, mehr unbewusst, aber gerade darum nur um so konsequenter. Es ist eine im Laufe der Jahrtausende angeerbte, und instinktiv gewordene Tendenz, die, wie wir sehen, in dem Zwecke, Zeitverlust und Missverständnis zu verhüten, ihre volle Begründung findet.

Und wohin führen nun diese beiden Einwirkungen, der Einfluss von innen und derjenige von aussen her? Als Ausdruckssprache nur vom Individuum, dem Sprecher selbst beeinflusst, neigt die Sprache natürlicher Weise zur Individualisierung, zur Differenzierung; denn jedes Individuum ist ein wenig anders

geartet als alle andern. Als Verkehrsmittel aber unterliegt unsere Sprache dem nivellierenden Einfluss von allen Seiten her. Nicht nur richtet sich der Sprecher nach seinen Hörern, sondern auch in dem Gehirne des Hörers werden die Lautbilder dem Gehörten angeglichen, und das Resultat dieses allgemeinen, gegenseitigen Sicheanpassens ist möglichste Gleichheit. Nun liegt aber, wie erwähnt, der Zweck der Mitteilung an bestimmte Personen beim gewöhnlichen Sprechen meistens vor; selbst wenn wir allein sind und an etwas denken, und die Lautbilder der betreffenden Wörter nacheinander in unserem Gehirn erregt werden, so haben wir häufig bestimmte Personen im Sinne, an die sich unsere stumme Rede richtet. Kein Wunder also, dass der Verkehr, die Sprachgemeinschaft, überall den eigentlich nachhaltigen Einfluss auf die menschliche Sprache ausübt. Nur wirkt die gegenseitige Beeinflussung nicht überall gleich stark. Je mehr Sprecher und Hörer von vorne herein einander gleich oder ähnlich sind, je mehr Beider Sprache von Natur dieselbe ist, um so mehr kann der Sprecher seinem eigenen Naturell folgen und doch dem Hörer gemäss reden. Unter Geschwistern oder Freunden, die zusammen aufgewachsen, zusammen zur Schule gegangen sind und mannigfache Erfahrungen mit einander gemein haben, herrscht natürlicher Weise die vollste Vertrautheit mit allen Eigentümlichkeiten des Einzelnen: daher dürfen auch in der Sprache diese Eigentümlichkeiten gebraucht werden. Dazu kommt, dass gerade im naiven, intimen Verkehr der freie Ausdruck innerer Vorgänge am meisten am Platze ist. Auch daher macht sich der individualisierende Charakter der Sprache als Ausdrucksmittel hier am meisten geltend. Anders bei dem Verkehr mit Fernerstehenden, mit Fremden. Da ist der Unterschied der natürlichen Redeweise ein grösserer, und um diese grössere Distance zu überbrücken, muss der Sprecher sowohl wie der Hörer mehr aus sich selbst heraustreten, müssen individuelle Eigentümlichkeiten zurücktreten; denn diese dürften unbekannt, unverständlich, irreführend sein. Ausserdem scheut sich der Mensch im öffentlichen Leben, seinen inneren Empfindungen Ausdruck zu verleihen, das Gemütsleben tritt in den Hinter-

grund, gegenüber dem Verstandesleben, und schon deswegen überwiegt beim öffentlichen Verkehr der nivellierende Charakter der Sprache als Mitteilungssprache. Natürlich kommen hier alle denkbaren Abstufungen vor; je vielseitiger und je formeller der Verkehr sich gestaltet, um so mehr wird die Sprache alles Zufälligen, Individuellen entkleidet, um so mehr gestaltet sie sich zur *Nationalsprache*. Und so sehen wir denn, wie sich gegenüber der naiven Umgangssprache des vertrauten Verkehrs, gegenüber der local begrenzten Volksmundart durch das Bedürfnis des öffentlichen, des literarischen Verkehrs, die Gemeinsprache, die Schriftsprache ausbildet.

Nachdem wir also die hauptsächlichsten, psychologischen Grundbedingungen dargelegt haben, können wir noch ein Mal zusammenfassend sagen, eine Schriftsprache bildet sich gegenüber der örtlichen Volksmundart überall da, wo der öffentliche Handel und Wandel die Angehörigen verschiedener Volksmundarten in regen Gedankenaustausch und sprachlichen Verkehr miteinander bringt. Dabei ist aber das Resultat nicht immer ein Gemisch aus allen Einzelmundarten, eine Art Kollektivbild derselben. Eine solche Mischung tritt ein bei dem Entstehen einer höheren Umgangssprache innerhalb eines beschränkteren Sprachgebietes: und selbst hier überwiegt natürlich der Einfluss der höheren gebildeten Stände. Dann aber, bei der weiteren Ausbreitung dieser Normalsprache, bei ihrem Eindringen in andere Dialektgebiete geht die Sache anders zu: wie überall, wo ein grösseres, einheitlich Geordnetes, einem Geringeren, Regellosten, Zersplitterten gegenüber tritt, muss das letztere weichen; die nach festen, wohlbekannten Gesetzen geregelte Schriftsprache dringt einfach in andere Gebiete über, ohne durch die dort heimischen Mundarten *wesentlich* verändert zu werden. Ganz ohne gegenseitige Beeinflussung geht es allerdings auch nicht zu, und wiederum sind allerlei Abstufungen möglich.

In Belgien herrscht das Französische als Schriftsprache, während die Volksmundart, das Flämische, dem germanischen niederdeutschen Sprachstamme angehört. So war auch in Elsass-Lothringen, nachdem es durch Ludwig XIV. und seine Reunions-



Kammern dem Deutschtum entrissen, das Französische als Schriftsprache eingeführt worden, und hatte sich festgesetzt und verbreitet gegenüber den heimischen Mundarten deutscher Zunge. So besteht in den polnischen Provinzen Preussens, in Posen und zum grossen Teil in West-Preussen das Polnische noch als die Sprache des niederen Volkes und der wenigen Adelsfamilien, die noch dort wohnen, während das Deutsche sich als Schriftsprache, als Amtssprache, als Sprache des höheren Verkehrs eingebürgert hat.

Von Sprachmischung kann da nur in geringem Masse die Rede sein, und jedenfalls ist es nicht sowohl die Schriftsprache als die Volksmundart, welche die stärkere Beeinflussung erfährt. Es wird manchem unter Ihnen persönlich bekannt sein, dass das Alemannische in Strassburg, das im Mittelalter die edelsten Blüten deutscher Dichtung zeitigte, heutzutage recht stark mit französischen Brocken durchsetzt ist.

Und wir dürfen gar nicht so weit gehen, um treffende Beispiele der Art zu finden. Wir bemerken denselben Vorgang hierzulande innerhalb der deutschen Sprachinseln. Überall, wo breitere Volksmassen sich niedergelassen haben, und wo deutsche Schulbildung und Erziehung vernachlässigt wird, wo also das Englische nicht der deutschen Schriftsprache, sondern einzelnen deutschen Mundarten gegenübersteht, da entwickelt sich bei dem Volke leicht eine Mischsprache, von der sich schwer sagen lässt, ob sie überhaupt Deutsch oder Englisch ist. Das Englische dagegen, das heisst, die gesammte englische Schriftsprache wird dadurch kaum merklich afficiert. Nur sehr wenige Germanismen haben bisher auf diesem Wege in das Englische Eingang gefunden. Ja, die Schriftsprache wird gerade auf solchen kolonisierten Gebieten mit besonderer Reinheit gesprochen. Es ist nämlich ein allgemeiner Erfahrungssatz und eine Tatsache, die sich ja auch leicht begreifen lässt, dass die Schriftsprache um so korrekter gesprochen wird, je mehr sie von der Volksmundart verschieden ist. Wir bemerken das in grossem Massstabe besonders in Frankreich und in Deutschland. Beide Länder sind ja von Hause aus doppelsprachig. Im Süden von Frankreich ist



das Provenzalische heimisch, welches dem Italienischen wenigstens ebenso nahe steht wie dem eigentlichen Französischen. Im 11ten und 12ten Jahrhundert war es durch die Dichtungen der Troubadours in Nordfrankreich, Italien, Spanien als die eigentliche Sprache der höfischen Lyrik zu ungemeiner Beliebtheit gelangt. Durch die unglücklichen Albigenser kriege (1209-29) wurde diese Blüte jäh abgebrochen; das Provenzalische hört auf, als Schriftsprache gebraucht zu werden. Das Nordfranzösische dringt allmählich ein; und heutzutage rühmt sich der Süden Frankreichs einer grammatisch richtigeren französischen Sprache, als der Norden, aus dem diese Sprache doch stammt.

Ahnlich in Deutschland. Der Norden ist von Hause aus niederdeutsch, das Hochdeutsche bricht sich erst durch und nach Luther allmählich Bahn; und noch jetzt gibt es Gegenden, in denen auch die Gebildeten sich gerne in ihrer eigentlichen Muttersprache, dem Niederdeutschen, unterhalten. Daneben aber wird gerade auf diesem Kolonisationsgebiete das buchstäblich genaueste Hochdeutsch gesprochen. Der Grund dieser Erscheinung liegt auf der Hand. Es ist leichter, sehr verschiedene Dinge auseinander zu halten, als sehr ähnliche. Im südlichen und mittleren Deutschland, wo die Schriftsprache wesentlich erwachsen ist, sind die Volksdialekte immer noch der Gemeinsprache so nahe stehend, dass gar leicht, und ohne bei dem ungeübten Ohr Anstoss zu erregen, einzelne Dialekteigentümlichkeiten sich in die gebildete Umgangssprache einschleichen können. Bei dem Norddeutschen ist das nicht der Fall; er spricht entweder plattdeutsch oder hochdeutsch; sein Plattdeutsch lässt sich nicht so leicht ins Hochdeutsche hineinarbeiten. Noch weiter geht die mechanisch reine Aussprache bei den Deutsch-Russen, in den russischen Ostsee-Provinzen. Da steht überhaupt keine deutsche Mundart dem Hochdeutschen zur Seite. Nur die Gebildeteren sprechen deutsch, und so richtet sich denn auch dort mehr als anderswo die Sprache nach dem Buchstaben der Schrift. Man unterscheidet da z.B. zwischen Haide-heath, und Heide-heathen, zwischen dem ai in Kaiser und dem ei in

heiser; man spricht Doppelkonsonanten wo dieselben geschrieben werden: "bitte reichen Sie mir die Butter." Alles gegen die lebendige, geschichtliche Entwicklung der Deutschen Sprache. Das führt uns dazu, die Lebensbedingungen und etwaigen Veränderungen einer Schriftsprache an sich zu betrachten.

Ihrem Princip nach ist die Schriftsprache zur Stabilität geneigt. Auf beschränktem Gebiete durch den mündlichen und literarischen Verkehr der Gebildeteren entstanden, ist sie in ihrer Ausbreitung im Allgemeinen etwas Fremdes, durch den Schulunterricht und andere Faktoren Eingeführtes, sie ist nach festen Gesetzen und Normen geregelt, und doch ist auch sie, wie alles Menschliche, dem Wechsel untertan; sie ist nicht ganz unveränderlich, obwohl weit konservativer als die Volksmundart und sie ist nicht überall ganz dieselbe.

Was zunächst die Aussprache betrifft, so ist es schwer, dieselbe überhaupt zu regeln. Sie lässt sich nicht leicht schriftlich fixieren, beschreiben, und so aus Büchern lehren und lernen. Nach der blossen Beschreibung von Lauten kann kaum der Fachgelehrte sich die Aussprache eines fremden Idioms aneignen, viel weniger der Laie. Die Aussprache muss man persönlich, durch das Gehör, lernen. Es stehen also die einzelnen Landesteile nicht unter genügender Kontrolle; und von Natur neigt natürlich ein Jeder dazu, eine jede Sprache mit den vertrauten Lauten seiner heimatlichen Mundart auszusprechen. Im südlichen Baden, und mehr noch in der Schweiz, auf dem ganzen alemannischen Gebiete, sind die rauhen, hinteren Kehllaute heimisch. Da sagt man *icch*, *denkche*, *auech*, die *Kehilkche*; *Kchind*, und so wird dieser *ch*-Laut auch in das Schriftdeutsch übertragen. Dagegen sind dem nordöstlichen Deutschen die ganz vorderen Palatallaute eigen: *ich*, *Kind*, *kein*. Und schon an dieser Eigentümlichkeit erkennt man leicht den West- und Ost-Preussen. Beide, der *Allemanne* und der *Preusse*, entfernen sich also in entgegengesetzten Richtungen unwillkürlich von der Norm *kein*, *Kind*; und der Unterschied zwischen diesen äussersten Gegensätzen ist schon ein ganz beträchtlicher. Beispiele liessen sich wieder aus allen Gegenden massenweise beibringen;

doch gehen wir weiter: In dem *Wortschatz* ist ein Eindringen fremder Bestandteile nicht ganz so leicht; denn Literatur, Grammatik, Wörterbuch wirken hier mit grösserem Erfolge normalisierend. Und doch bürgern sich vereinzelt Dialektausdrücke in der Schriftsprache ein. Von vielgelesenen Schriftstellern gebraucht, oder auf dem Wege des Handelsverkehrs, oder als technische Spezialausdrücke eingeführt, tragen sie fortwährend zur Bereicherung und Auffrischung der Schriftsprache bei. Aus dem Niederdeutschen haben wir z. B. echt, Schlucht, lichten, Tau, Boot, lecken; aus dem Oberdeutschen Senne, Lawine. Sobald aus irgend welchen Gründen dieser natürliche Quell, der Zufluss aus den Volksmundarten vertrocknet, sobald die Schriftsprache nicht mehr aus der echten natürlichen, lebendigen Rede des Volks schöpfen kann, hört sie selber auf lebensfähig zu sein; sie mag dann, durch ausserordentliche Umstände begünstigt, noch lange ihr Dasein fristen, aber sie kann ihren Zweck nicht mehr ganz erfüllen, und muss schliesslich absterben. So verlor das Lateinische allmählich seine Herrschaft als Weltsprache, da es, durch keine Mundart neu belebt, immer mehr schulmässig erstarrte und den neuen Lebensbedürfnissen nicht Genüge tun konnte.

Es dürfte von Interesse sein, einen Blick zu werfen auf den Charakter, auf die verhältnissmässigen Vorzüge und Schwächen von Schriftsprache und Volksmundart. Allgemein dürfen wir sagen, eine jede gehört mit gutem Rechte in den Bereich, in dem sie entstanden ist. Die Schriftsprache entspringt dem öffentlichen nationalen Verkehr, sie dient den Bedürfnissen desselben, sie ist ihm unentbehrlich. Die Mundart genügt dem intimeren lokalen Verkehr, sie steht der natürlichen Ausdruckssprache näher, und daher hat sie Vorzüge und Schönheiten, die der eigentlichen Gemeinsprache fehlen. Sie ist die Sprache der innigen Empfindungen, der Poesie. Die naive Volksmundart kommt von Herzen und geht uns zu Herzen. Eine Reihe der liebsten Dinge, der trauesten Beziehungen lernen wir zuerst in ihr kennen und benennen. Sie ist am meisten ein Teil von uns selbst: Was Wunder, dass wir gerne und unbewusst zu ihr



zurückkehren, wenn wir im Grunde unseres Herzens erregt und bewegt sind! Eine fremde Sprache und Literatur mögen wir bewundern, uns an ihrer Schönheit weiden, und aus ihrem Adel mag ein segensreicher Einfluss auf uns überströmen, aber am tiefsten und ergreifendsten berührt und rührt uns immer doch der Mutterlaut. So wählen echte Dichter häufig ihre heimische Mundart und drücken sich lieber darin aus als in der Schriftsprache, obwohl die Letztere viel grössere Verbreitung, viel weiteren Ruhm, viel mehr praktischen Erfolg verspricht! Es ist das nicht blosse Laune, nicht unverständige Willkür, sondern tief im Wesen der Volkssprache, als Ausdruckssprache, begründet. Welcher Norddeutsche möchte seinen Fritz Reuter entbehren, welcher Alemanne seinen Hebel, welcher Schotte seinen Burns, welcher Hoosier seinen Riley!

Ja, in der Poesie nähert sich die Schriftsprache dem Volkstone, sie entleiht gern der Mundart ihre herzigen, innigen Weisen und Worte. Das sicherste Zeichen des wahren Dichters ist immer das Einfache, Edle, das Natürliche, das Volkstümliche. Ganz besonders volkstümlich ist stets das Epos und echte Lyrik, bei dem Drama kommt es auf die allgemeine Sphäre an, in der das Stück spielt. Wir erwarten und finden in dem zweiten Teile von Goethes Faust weniger volkstümliche Elemente als in dem ersten. Überaus lehrreich ist ein Vergleich der herrlichen Liebesszenen, der Gretchentragödie im ersten Teil, der Helenaepisode im zweiten. In beiden ist die Liebe, und die Sprache derselben gleich wahr. Im ersten Teile haben wir *die innigsten Empfindungen vom Sonnenlicht der jungen Liebe zuerst wachgeküsst*; im zweiten *die reichste vollendetste Bildung von seliger Leidenschaft durchglüht*.

Es ist interessant zu beobachten, wie die relativen Eigenschaften der Mundart und der Schriftsprache von dem Volke selbst und von verschiedenen Dichtern abgeschätzt, und wie beide zum Teil humoristisch, zum Teil in recht gehässiger Weise nebeneinander verwertet werden. Der hochdeutsche Dichter gebraucht Dialekte gelegentlich, um Personen aus dem Volke zu schildern, und es haftet da den einzelnen Dialekten einerseits et-



was Rührendes, andererseits aber auch etwas durchaus Komisches an. So macht sich ganz Deutschland gerne über den singenden Ton des Sächsischen und über die sächsische Gemütlichkeit lustig. Daher kommt es wahrscheinlich, dass der Sachse mehr wie irgend ein anderer Deutscher jede Bezugnahme auf seine Aussprache empfindlich ablehnt. Einen köstlichen, echt humoristischen Eindruck macht der Mensch, der nicht seine natürliche, sondern die andere Sprache zu reden versucht! Ich erinnere nur an Fritz Reuter's Onkel Bräsig. Ein gelungenes Pendant dazu auf dem Gebiete der Malerei ist Defregger's Salontyroler. Auch der Volksmund berichtet manch hübschen Scherz, in dem Mundart und Schriftsprache in humorvoller Weise einander entgegentreten. Bisweilen spielt in der Volksdichtung der Hochdeutsche eine recht üble Rolle, so besonders in der bekannten Darmstädter Lokalposse, dem Datterich.

In anderen, mehr praktischen Beziehungen hat die Volkssprache ihre Vorzüge, die wir ungern vermissen würden. In ihr ist uns der ganze Schatz echter Volkspoesie aufbewahrt; alle die Lieder und Sprüche und Märchen und Erzählungen, die, von grauer Urzeit von unseren Vätern ererbt, einen beträchtlichen Teil unserer Nationalliteratur ausmachen und viel zur Aufhellung alter vaterländischer Geschichte und Mythologie beitragen. Auch rein sprachlich sind die Dialekte von Wichtigkeit. Die ungestörte Natürlichkeit ihres Wachstums macht sie dem Philologen wertvoll, nicht nur wo es sich um die Einzelgeschichte unserer Muttersprache handelt, sondern auch bei der Gewinnung richtiger sprachgeschichtlicher Anschauungen und philologischer Methodik. Die vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft verdankt ihre gesunden Prinzipien und ihren gewaltigen Aufschwung ganz besonders der Beobachtung und dem liebevollen Studium lebender Mundarten. Sie sind der naturwüchsige Baum des Waldes, während die Schriftsprache mehr dem zugestutzten und künstlich gepflegten Gartenbaum entspricht. Der letztere ist nützlicher, der erstere aber sowohl poetischer als auch dem Botaniker wichtiger. Es liessen sich hier viele Beispiele anführen, welche diese Bemerkungen beleuchten und be-

weisen würden. Hier nur noch eine Bemerkung zu Gunsten der Schriftsprache, die wir nicht unterdrücken dürfen. Wir wissen, dass die Normalsprache, ein wohlorganisiertes einheitliches Ganzes, weit mächtiger ist als die vereinzelte Mundart und daher im Kampfe um neues Gebiet stets den Sieg davonträgt. Als Beispiele mögen die Schweiz und auch Tyrol dienen; das Deutsche weicht zurück gegenüber dem Französischen in der Schweiz, dem Italienischen in Tyrol. Das kommt natürlich nicht daher, dass jene Sprachen kräftiger, lebensfähiger, überlegen sind; sondern es liegt daran, dass die deutschen Bewohner, teils aus kleinlichem Partikularismus, teils aus Unwissenheit die deutsche Schriftsprache nicht hinlänglich pflegen, während die fremden importierten Sprachen korrekter gesprochen werden. Ähnlich geht es auch in Pennsylvania zu. Dort wohnen Deutsche in grosser Anzahl, die noch Jahrhunderte lang alle Vorteile deutscher Kultur sich erhalten könnten, neben denen, die ihnen durch das Englische von selbst zufließen, wenn sie sich der korrekten deutschen Sprache befeissigen wollten. Und deren brauchten sie sich nicht zu schämen, wenn sie nicht ungebildete Dutchmen, sondern gebildete Amerikaner deutscher Art wären. Überall, wo es gilt, den Zusammenhang mit der Blüte deutschen Lebens, deutscher Kunst, deutscher Literatur zu wahren, da ist es von höchster Wichtigkeit, den Adel, die Reinheit der Schriftsprache mit Würde zu pflegen, zur Einheit zu streben, sich vor kleinlicher Zersplitterung zu wahren, denn hier wie überall gilt das Wort: Friede ernährt, Unfriede verzehrt.

## FOLKLORE AND PATRIOTISM.\*

IN the year 1874, when the new German University of Strassburg was inaugurated, the Faculty of that institution sent to the Imperial Chancellor, Prince Bismarck, the following dedicatory message: *Literis et Patriæ*. Bismarck at once replied: *Patriæ et Literis*. It was natural that he, the ever faithful statesman, should at all times consider the welfare of the State above anything else. Whether the emphasis which he placed on Patriotism was intended to indicate only his own point of view, or whether he meant also to imply a criticism of the University professors, may be of no consequence to us; but the question in what manner and measure a scholar should, or can at all, practice patriotism, is one of real interest to us in America, and especially to American professors and teachers. The question is, indeed, frequently dealt with in newspapers and club meetings, in public speeches and private conversations; and we find that, on the one hand, professors are given to understand in no uncertain voice that they had better limit their attention to their chosen calling, and only too frequently men who did not heed this warning have become the victims of their zeal for reform. But, on the other hand, the voice of public conscience has nothing but scorn and censure for the apathy and indifference and self-effacing modesty or timidity of those who by reason of their mental training ought to be the leaders of national thought. For patriotism is not only a legitimate instinct of every healthy human being; it is the sacred duty of every citizen. And it is clear that, as a man and a citizen, the scholar has the right and the moral obligation, as much as any other man, to take a keen, active interest in questions of public welfare. But the question may be: how can he, as a student and a teacher, manifest any

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special patriotism in his own daily work? Science means knowledge, knowledge of the truth; the search for truth is the one object of all scientific endeavour, and truth must rule supreme in the class-room. No motive or purpose, however praiseworthy in itself, can be admitted into research or teaching that would cause a deviation from truth. The historian, for instance, ceases to be a historian and becomes a story-teller, if, contrary to his own best knowledge, he tells us anything but the plain truth about our own country. To be sure, that may be a very difficult thing to do. The element of personal equation, of patriotic bias, is hard to eliminate; indeed, one of our foremost historians, Morse Stephens, says that it is impossible, and that, therefore, no man ought to undertake to write the history of his own people. This may be—I think it is—an exaggerated statement; we might as well say that parents can never know their children or that friends cannot form a correct opinion of each other. The temptation to distorted, partisan treatment may be strong; but a man of natural honesty and of good historical training should, nevertheless, be able to explore and to teach the history of his own country truthfully. In any case, that and that alone, is his duty as a scholar. And the same holds good, *mutatis mutandis*, in every department of scientific endeavor.

Is there, then, in scholarly work, no room at all for the manifestation of patriotism? Indeed, there is. Only it depends upon what we call patriotism. Is it the barbarous, destructive desire to hurt someone else, or is it the ill-directed attempt to help one's own party by trickery and fraudulent procedure, which has found its classical expression in that famous, infamous saying: "Our country right or wrong?" Scholarship can have nothing to do with that spurious patriotism which indulges and easily exhausts itself in vicious destructiveness or in dishonesty, private or public. But if patriotism means honest, productive work for the uplifting and the happiness of the race, if he is a good patriot who does his own appointed work and duty conscientiously and efficiently, be it whatever it may, in peace or war, in commerce, trade, profession or handiwork then the true scholar's



work is public service indeed. And we may even say that, while from an ethical point of view his work stands no higher than that of any other man who does his duty well, it is probably true that, as a matter of real value to the nation, the scholar's work stands supreme, for all success, all progress of the race, depends upon the acquisition of new facts and true principles.

But, it has been asked, are there really all the new results which a scholar may bring to light, of actual value to any one? Do not some investigators waste time and energy on the exploration of matters so remote or nugatory that no human being will ever be benefited by their work?

This question, it seems to me, is legitimate; no branch of human endeavor should, in the long run, engage the attention of sane and serious men, that is not going to bear some good fruit for mankind. And it is also true that an outsider may well be pardoned if at times he finds it difficult to detect the remotest promise of fertility in the field which some men choose to cultivate.

However, when we think of the wonderful results which the study of physics and chemistry and entomology, of Oriental and Germanic philology has been yielding in recent years, no just-minded man will be inclined to smile at the scholar who spends his life on the study of a mosquito, or on the deciphering of an Assyrian or Babylonian epitaph, or on the Indo-European verse rhythm. We must realize the fact that even the most hopelessly disconnected and seemingly most insignificant details may in time and in their true light group themselves into important evidence for far-reaching conclusions.

And thus, even if he himself can, at the moment, see no such promise in his subject, the student of Chemistry and Physics may at all times rejoice in the idea that by his work the life of man will be made safer and more enjoyable, while the student of the humanities, of history and literature, of ethics or esthetics, may feel that even when he does have to spend considerable time on the history of a short vowel in Etruscan, or if, in a psychological laboratory, he tries to discern a sensation of rhythm in

the ticking of a clock, in one way or another his work will help to make life more worth living, to give it its own specific value as human life, distinct from mere animal existence.

It is, then, with full recognition of the verdict of the learned profession, which has always insisted on the intrinsic value of truth regardless of its immediate applicability, and with only the common sense observation that naturally some subjects bear a more immediate, vital relation to important questions of life, that I should like to speak to you of the study of Folklore as one which happily would appeal both to the scholar and to the patriot.

Folklore is a part of ethnology, the study of nations and races. The word was coined in England, some fifty years ago, to designate what had so far been called popular or vulgar antiquities, popular traditions, popular poetry, and the like. It had then, and it still has, much of the vagueness and suggestiveness of the word *lore* itself. It means the lore, the wisdom of the people, as it expresses itself in their habitual daily life. It has been used on the one hand, especially in Germany, in a broader sense, like the German *Volkskunde*, as referring to the more external features of life as well, to the daily doings of the people, to their trades and tools, their houses and clothing and ornaments, their eating and drinking—to what we call the realities. But more recently, and in England from the outset, there has been a tendency to limit it more especially to the emotional and ethical life, as it crops out in popular beliefs and superstitions, in customs and plays, in the celebration of home and public festivals throughout the year and throughout life, from the cradle to the grave, in proverbs and legends, in tales and in song.

This limitation is simply a matter of convenient and necessary division of labor. For the man who studies the various types of house and village structure, of plows and wagons and other implements cannot easily record and classify and judge competently all the motives and elements of old traditions and legends and folksongs.

Yet the modern folklorist, while he may be a specialist only in some lines of study, must gather the results of the various disciplines which throw light on the life of the people, just as the philosopher must be familiar with the results of many branches of research.

Folklore, in this comprehensive sense, as the gathering up of all rays from different quarters, all focussed on the life of the people, developed fully only in recent years, among men of hardly more than a generation ago, notably among men like the brothers Grimm and Mannhardt and, later on, Reinhardt Köhler and Sophus Bugge and Schrader. Incidental contributions to the study of their own and of foreign folk had, of course, been made, centuries ago, by travelers and historians, as, for instance, among the ancients, by Herodotus and Tacitus, and by many medieval and later compilers of proverbs and chap-books and ballads.

But the intense and systematic study began in the second half of the eighteenth century in Germany, and it was devoted more especially to the Folksong. To be sure, Germany really took up and developed scientifically what had been practised more as a pastime and in a somewhat amateurish fashion in England.

In England, Addison in his *Spectator* had called attention to the beauty and poetic value of some of the old English ballads, particularly the ballad of the Chevy Chase, and soon a number of collections of such ballads appeared. The most important of them all was that published by Thomas Percy under the title of *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, consisting of old heroic ballads, songs and other pieces of our earlier poets, chiefly of the lyric kind, together with some few of later date. Percy lived from 1729 to 1811, belonged to a tradesman's family, studied at Cambridge, became Dean of Carlisle in 1778 and Bishop of Dromore in 1782.

Bishop Percy—so he is now commonly quoted—but in reality many years before he became Bishop, Percy had got hold of an old folio manuscript containing some 200 ballads in the handwriting of the first half of the 17th century, and in 1765 he



printed it together with a large number of other songs, partly taken from the Samuel Pepys collection at Cambridge, and partly gathered by himself with the help of friends all over England.

Percy has been severely criticized by later scholars, such as Professors Child, Kittredge, Hales, and Furnivall, for the liberty which he took with his material, and his texts are indeed quite unreliable, as is shown by a comparison with the folio which he found and which was published in 1867 (in 3 vols.) by Hales and Furnivall.

But it should not be forgotten that for his time Percy's edition with all its inaccuracies, its alterations, and adaptations, was probably more useful than an exact reprint would have been. It became very popular in England. There are four editions of the book during Percy's lifetime, and eight new prints appeared later.

As Percy kept leaving out some of the old and adding some new material in every subsequent edition, it was a very meritorious piece of work which Professor Schrader, then at the University of Freiburg, did some fifteen years ago, 1899-1893, when he gave us a collective edition of all the material contained in the various Percy prints.

However, great as the popularity of Bishop Percy's *Reliques* was in England, it was nothing as compared with the enormous influence which the book immediately began, and for a quarter of a century, indeed until recent times, continued to exercise in Germany.

German literature, as you are aware, was then entering upon its second period of efflorescence. Klopstock, Wieland, Lessing, were already at the height of their fame; young Goethe was soon to experience the first deepening of his nature at Strassburg; Herder was publishing his *Fragmente über die neuere deutsche Literatur*. The period is justly called classical because of the intrinsic excellence of its productions. One should not, as some writers do, understand the word classical as referring to a strong preponderance of classical antiquity. It is true that in



the eighteenth century, especially with and through Winckelmann and Lessing, the Greek became a strong factor in the consciousness of every German man of letters; but classical antiquity was only one of many factors and sources of inspiration. It was scarcely the primary one; else, national folklore would hardly have become a favorite topic of the period. The fact is that the life of a cultivated German of the 18th century was very complete; it was teeming with important political and literary issues and interests.

In philosophy and literature, English influence was paramount. English philosophy came to the Continent by way of France whose scholars and writers, Maupertuis, D'Alembert, Diderot, Voltaire, and Rousseau, developed with characteristic frankness the theories of Deism, and, especially Maupertuis, of evolution. Maupertuis was almost the earliest genuine forerunner of Darwin, as Professor Lovejoy seems to me to have shown in an essay on "Some 18th Century Evolutionists," in *Popular Science Monthly*, July-August, 1904.

But the Germans were also getting more and more familiar with the English authors themselves, and also with Northern, Scandinavian, literature. They felt with deep satisfaction the pulse beat of a kindred blood in the elemental vigor of Shakespeare, and in the impassioned and so congenially vague and hazy songs of Macpherson, in the Edda and the Sagas and the Kœmpe-Viser telling of the Teutonic gods and of adventures on the shores and storm-lashed waters of their own North Sea and Baltic. English seemed like a German dialect, especially to the North Germans, and German itself a provincial outgrowth of the Scandinavian tongues; Shakespeare, the Edda, everything Germanic, in fact, everything Northern, including the Celtic, was considered a part of the national pan-Germanic literature. Milton was translated by Bodmer and imitated by Klopstock; Dryden, Pope, Addison and Steele, Sterne, strangely enough a favorite of Lessing's, along with Richardson, Fielding, Goldsmith, Collins, Locke, and Hume. Blair and quite especially Young were read and partly translated and very much discussed

in Germany, not only in the printed literature, but also in the private correspondence of the time.

And besides all these literary influences we must think of the stirring political events and the vital social problems of that eighteenth century: Frederick's victory over Austria; the disintegration of the old German empire, and the violent shifting of interest to the North; countries, communities, families, divided in their sympathies between the old and the new, as many of you remember from your study of Goethe's *Dichtung und Wahrheit*; the awakening of a new national spirit; and the painful sight of German princes selling their own people to England to be deported as soldiers far across the ocean; the anxiety with which the events of the American Revolution were watched, the government's frowning on any expression of sympathy with the rebellious colonists, for fear of arousing the ill-will of England, yet many of the people siding bravely with the cause of liberty, while trembling, at the same time, for the fate of their deported children;—and then the general unrest in France, culminating in the Revolution, the enthusiasm for that movement, and later the war with France. Truly, those were momentous events.

And yet in that age of enlightened despotism there was no room for the realization of all that inner life of the individual citizen, or rather, subject. The weight of State authority, personified in the monarch, lay heavily on every mind and crushed any idea of active initiative or independent participation in the conduct of public affairs. It was natural, then, that under this unbearable repression, many of the best minds in Germany gave themselves up to morbid introspectiveness and to hypersensitive individualism and subjectivism on the one hand, and to an equally sentimental national feeling of panteutonic blood relationship, and of racial and universal brotherhood. It is well known how skillfully Napoleon later used and abused this newly awakened spirit of nationality against statehood.

Thus a book like Bishop Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* found just the right soil in Germany; and the right time

brought forth, as it so often does, the right man to serve as its mouthpiece.

This man—we have already mentioned him—was Johann Gottfried Herder, 1744-1803. As a matter of literary tradition that still survives in our histories of literature, Herder is considered one of the classical poets of Germany. This is not correct. As a poet or prose writer, Herder is not the equal of many a man who is not called a classical author. But as a manysided scholar, as a profound thinker, as an inspiring teacher of Germany, and of mankind, Herder must indeed be counted among the greatest. Without going too far into details, it may be of interest to see how this man whose vast horizon embraced the whole history of the human mind, came to devote so much loving attention to folklore, and in particular, how he came to give us his epoch making collection of popular songs. First we mention two motives of personal and emotional experience.

Herder's father was a school teacher and organist in a little town, Mohrungen, far out in Eastern Prussia. The atmosphere was quite uninspiring; but the boy received, from early childhood on, instruction in music, especially in church music, and every evening the whole family would gather in the sitting room, to close the day with a choral song, a hymn. Now it is a fact which is not yet sufficiently realized in our hand-books of literature that the German church hymn, in its austere simplicity and its true-heartedness, forms a most important part of the best popular literature of the land. Young Herder soon knew all these hymns by heart, texts and melodies. He loved them; there was in his own nature that same tendency toward the serious, the sublime, rather than the light or graceful. There is but little humor, and as Haym rightly says, there is not a drop of frivolity in the man. The other, more direct impulse came from the girl whom he loved and married, from Caroline Flachsland, his faithful helpmeet in all his work throughout his life and even beyond. Here, as often, a large share of what the man has done should really be credited to his wife. Herder had met Caroline at Darmstadt, on his way to Strassburg, in 1770, and in his let-



ters to her from Strassburg he liked to send her some bits of poetry, preferably love poetry of course, not of his own, usually, but any poems that seemed to him to express his own sentiments or mood. This, as Haym also points out, is quite characteristic of the man. Goethe, in similar circumstances, produced the most charming love poems of his own; Herder, with his deeper, truer love, and with all his fine sensitiveness and poetic receptiveness, was yet not poet enough thus to give utterance to his own feelings. So he read and revelled in the poetry of other men, and he would copy and send to his love, or call her attention to, whatever appealed to him especially.

These poems, together with some others of her own choice, Caroline copied neatly into a plain copy-book. From the color of its cover it has been called the silver book, *das silberne Buch*, and it became the foundation of Herder's great collection, the *Volkslieder*. Constantly enlarged and repeatedly modified in character, the collection was first prepared for publication in 1773; the printing, however, proceeded but slowly, and in 1775 Herder withdrew the manuscript from the press again, because the views on popular poetry which he had in the meantime expressed in his *Fragmente* and *Kritische Waelder* had been fiercely attacked by Nicolai and others, and because other interests were now engaging his attention. In 1778 and 1779, after more material had been added, the collection was finally published, in two volumes, and after Herder's death a new edition was prepared, chiefly by Caroline (1807) under the title *Stimmen der Voelker in Liedern* (Voices of the Nations in Song). The work is, however, usually quoted under its first and more appropriate name, though it should be said, in justice to Caroline, that Herder himself had apparently wanted to change the name, as may be seen from notes and directions left by him.

But even more important, perhaps, in the long run was the fact that Herder approached the whole subject in a new spirit. The English had not troubled themselves at all about the spirit, the point of view, or with theories on folksong. With the practical common sense of the Anglo-Saxon they had simply col-



lected and published whatever they got hold of, and their collections had been read and enjoyed naïvely, as old and new curiosities with which even a cultivated man might well spend a pleasant hour of idleness. Some of the old ballads had been highly praised by Addison in his *Spectator*; but on the whole the collectors themselves had hardly known what to think or say of them. Even Bishop Percy, in the later editions of his *Reliques*, lost faith in his old ballads; he left out some of the interesting ones, as being too crude, and instead added some indifferent poems of later writers; so had also Ambrose Philipps done before him, while Dodsley's large collection, in 6 volumes, was a very promiscuous, indifferent affair at the outset.

The Germans, on the other hand, regarded these collections not as *popular* poetry, but as a part of English national literature, similar to their minnesongs. Lessing, to be sure, like Addison in England, knew very well the value of popular literature; but he was busy with other things, and only incidentally commented on the poetic qualities of "common songs" and of "chap-books." It was Herder who took the motive up systematically, and it is interesting to watch the evolution of his views. It is, however, not easy to follow him closely. Herder does not, like Lessing, proceed deliberately, step by step, from argument to argument, in unbroken continuity of thought. Herder rushes forward, a passionate, revolutionary reformer; he sees intuitively, he states dogmatically, he *demand*s assent, and not unlike the *Volkslied* itself, he likes to dwell on the salient points only, jumping abruptly from one to the other, and the rich imagery of his diction often obfuscates, obscures, rather than illumines his thought. One has to read Herder much and carefully, in order to be able to translate his poetical style into plain modern terms of history and psychology. Besides Herder was very sensitive to criticism, and a number of statements in his later work and in his second editions are either ironical altogether, or reluctant concessions to his critics.

And, moreover, the subject itself is a complex one. Even at the present day no one definition of a *Volkslied* is generally ac-

cepted; the most diverging views have been and are still held to-day by the various writers. Some people say that the true folksong is the product of the collective poetic genius of a people; there is not, there never was any one author, one poet who composed it; it just grew among the people, as the trees grow in the woods. And, they will say, this certain or uncertain something, the *Volksgeist*, the popular spirit, has a fine, an unerring sense of poetry; only the genuine, the true, appeals to it and is allowed to find expression in the people's own literature. Consequently, every genuine folksong is necessarily a poetic gem.

Others, on the contrary, say there is no such thing as a collective poetic production, that every poem is necessarily the work of some one author. We may not know his name, or he may be an otherwise obscure person, but whether he is known or unknown to a few students of literature, makes no difference—the people at large never care for the author's name. The naïve reader does not look at the name of the author of his book; he looks at the title, and he just reads his book and enjoys its contents as a reality. So it is also with a song; if the people like it, they will sing it, without asking for the name of the author. A folksong, *Volkslied*, then, is simply a song which has become popular, *volkstümlich*, and as there are good, bad and indifferent people, so also good, bad and indifferent songs may become popular; the so-called popular spirit (*Volksgeist*) is a non-entity, for after all a people consists simply of a number of individuals; it is not a unit. You will agree that this second view of folksong is a good deal more plausible; only, as still others have pointed out, collective poetic production, or rather a sort of joint authorship under a common impulse is not an impossibility, as we see from the Schnadahüpfel, in Tyrol and Bavaria, which the peasants improvise together on festive occasions, each contributing what the spirit may move him to furnish on the spur of the moment. Also social psychology tells us that a people is indeed more than just a number of individuals, that a crowd, a community, has its own collective mind, apart from the individual minds of its constituents, though, of course, it can

manifest itself only through the latter, the individuals. And as to the *taste* of the people, we may agree with Goethe, when in a letter of 1797, I think, he says, in substance: In matters of art the people will easily be satisfied with whatever they get; but they will invariably choose the better, if they can have it. Such and similar questions are still under consideration, when a definition of the *Volkslied* is attempted. What, then, were Herder's views on this matter?

Herder's starting point is not a philanthropic or democratic interest in the common people; and indeed it is not at all the popular, the common folk's common song that is most essential to him; but in his studies as a literary historian and critic he comes to the conclusion that true poetry could arise and flourish only under the most archaic, primitive conditions. It is the old, the prehistoric, the primeval that appeals to him.

At this point, his views on literature are closely interwoven with his explanation of the origin of language, as set forth in his prize essay, *Ueber den Ursprung der Sprache*, and indicated earlier in his *Fragmente*. In the golden youthful age of humanity, he says, in substance, when human language was only just evolving, every utterance was the echo of reality in the mind of primitive man; it was his direct reaction by way of sound, upon the impressions from without; it was therefore the organic, true reflex of nature. And, like all nature, like the whole universe, it was rhythmical; it easily became melodious and rose to a real song. Thus poetry is the mother tongue of humanity.\*

But, says Herder, after this first golden age of poetry, there came, with the gradual development of articulate speech, less rhythmical and less melodious, the age of prose, and finally that of philosophy. The power of direct *organic* utterance vanished away more and more; it *may* still be found in modern times; but it is no longer common, it is rare, as man has been forced away from Nature by the conditions of civilized life. In the main, the so-called poetry of to-day is something artificial, spurious; it

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\*This was originally an *aperçu* of Hamann's; it has since been repeated misunderstandingly by many a writer on the history of literature.



lacks the organic truth, the firm directness of the utterance of olden times and of uncivilized nations.

This view is, as you see, a mixture of biological, anthropological and psychological speculations which are rather plausible—and of a poetic fancy that is somewhat unhistorical. The illusion is, that the oldest peoples of whom we have literary records left, are also the most primitive, and that the *inner* life of the less civilized peoples of to-day is tangibly or at all necessarily in more true accord with Nature than that of civilized people. In reality, in any investigation on primeval man, even the most savage peoples of to-day should be quoted with much caution, and Herder's jump from prehistoric man into the poetry of the Hebrews, the Greeks and Romans, or even the old Teutons, Slavs or Finns, was decidedly a *salto mortale*; but it finally landed him among the uncivilized peoples and the common folk of to-day, and so it explained the curious fact—which had puzzled the English collectors—that some good poetry should be found circulating among the peasants, the uneducated classes.

In 1771, when he wrote his *Kritische Waelder*, he himself had experienced more of the realities of life as well as of literature. On his journey from Riga to Nantes, so he tells us, he had read Ossian on board the ship, in a storm and shipwreck, in the midst of the great Northland scenery itself. This, at least, is Herder's own version of the story; it is probably not quite correct; the book which he may have read was not Ossian; but the very fact that he afterwards liked to remember and to relate his experience in this way, is none the less interesting and it again is quite characteristic of the man. Young Goethe, in a storm at sea, would have shouted with joy, or if the thing became too violent, he would have stood in reverential awe before the elements, and the result would have been a mighty song to old Father Ocean. Herder, the literary enthusiast, holds fast to his book; he reads Ossian, and his vivid realization of the harmony between song and scenery broadens his conception of the range of poetry.

In 1771 he had also read Percy's *Reliques*, and he had been gathering more and more folksong material himself. And now



he speaks less of the primeval origin and more of the actual character of poetry; it must be a true, direct expression of self under any given condition, primitive or highly developed; his folksong, then, from being the organic reflex of things in primitive humanity becomes the expression of the individual as shaped by his time and his nationality.

We see then how with Herder the idea of the *popular*, the folksong element develops incidentally, but naturally, out of the true, the genuine, be it primeval or national. That which comes from the heart of the people and voices its throbs and longings, will naturally again appeal to the whole people; it will be understood and loved by all, and on the wings of song it will spread all over the land.

Through Bishop Percy and Herder, both clergymen, the interest in popular poetry became well nigh universal in Germany.

The Storm and Stress group and the Sentimentalists both began to glorify the Volk, the genuine Volk; the former saw in it the source of all sound strength and originality; the latter liked to appeal to it, in their prefaces, as their highest *arbiter elegantiarum*.

At the beginning of the 19th century the Romanticists, Arnim and Brentano, published their beautiful collection, *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, and in the wake of the Romantic movement the Brothers Grimm, the founders of Germanic Philology, laid a broader foundation for the study of folklore in the modern sense, by their collection of fairy tales and by their study of Germanic Mythology, Germanic legends and German customary laws.

Gradually, about the middle of the century, all the other European nations began likewise to develop the study of folklore as a special discipline. A Folklore Society was organized in England in 1867 and a special periodical was devoted to its purposes, now published under the name of the *Folklore Journal*.

In France, also, the study was organized and carried on vigorously under the leadership of a special journal *Mélusine*. In fact everywhere, in Italy, Spain, in the Northern countries, in

Russia, Finland, in Greece and Roumania, the life of the common people is being studied industriously; publications of *tradizioni popolari*, of *Contes populaires*, of *Volkviser* and so forth forming a large part of the annual philological output. I notice that the last report on Germanic Philology, the *Germanistische Jahresbericht* for 1903, mentions no less than 175 publications on *Volksdichtung*, 131 on *Sagenkunde*, 212 under *Volkskunde*; that is, 518 publications, many of them of several volumes each, for one year, besides a number of publications under Mythology, Law, Antiquities, and Dialects, which might as well have been quoted under *Volkskunde*, Folklore.

Now, in conclusion, we may ask of what consequence, of what real use is all this study of Folklore? We cannot enumerate in detail all its evident advantages; nor shall we have time to vitalize our statements, as it were, by concrete illustrations. But it is easy to see that all the various branches of study which help to throw light on the life of the people,—the study of art and architecture, of literature, of law, religion, ethics,—would be quite incomplete, if they were to ignore the life and work of the people, that from its study they all derive many helpful suggestions in regard to their deepest problems.

It is evident that wise, economic and political administration and legislation will not pass by the organic growth of old inbred popular customs, views, and preferences.

Let us just consider for a few moments longer the one branch of Folklore with which the whole movement began, the study of the folksong, seemingly one of the fields from which a practical man, so called, would not expect rich returns.

In what way has England, or Germany,—of Germany here I, of course, can speak with more positiveness,—been benefited by the study of the Folksong?

In the first place, it is clear that through it a great deal of truly beautiful literature has been unearthed and placed at the disposal of everyone,—poetry which would otherwise have been known within certain provinces only and might soon have been lost entirely. For, after all, oral tradition alone is an unsafe means of transmission, and many a good folksong is gradually

forgotten, like any unwritten knowledge. And, indeed, the acquaintance with these newly discovered treasures has already brought, and is sure still further to bring incalculable blessings to the whole nation.

The Folksong has found its way into the hearts of English and German poets and has vivified and deepened and enriched the national literature. Robert Burns, the nature poet, did not owe all his inspiration to his own daily life and to living nature. It is now sure that he as well as men like Wordsworth owed a great deal to literary suggestions, and Robert Burns is unthinkable without the Folksong.

The influence of Percy's *Reliques* on German Literature has recently been followed up somewhat in detail by Mr. E. M. Boyd, in the *Modern Language Quarterly*. Boyd records twenty-one ballads of Percy's that have been translated into or closely imitated in German, some of them two, three and four times. Yet even Mr. Boyd's list is not yet complete, and moreover he speaks of the most direct influence only. The indirect influence reaches very much farther. Many of our best poets, Bürger, the Romantics, Heine, Uhland, Müller, owe their best to the folksong, and a large number of our finest church hymns are based directly upon German popular songs. But not only in literature, but also in the practical life of the nation this study of folklore has proved and is proving very beneficial.

The knowledge that the common people possess so much true wisdom of every kind, and such beautiful poetry, full of sound simplicity and strength and nobility of feeling, this knowledge certainly will make the educated man of to-day think with more respect of his fellow-men among the common people, and new feelings of subtler sympathy, the finest blossom of civilization, are at work for the common welfare of us all.

And last, not least, the people themselves, those whose lore is thus being brought to light, can be and should be benefited by this work, though to our shame we must confess that not nearly enough has yet been done in this respect. This ought to be of particular interest to us in America, where a new unit, a new nation, is evolving out of the most diversified elements, that



ever so far as history shows, lived together in one self-governing commonwealth, and where it is of the greatest importance that we should all know each other well, so that the best and only the best that is in us, may be utilized and encouraged and made to form a constituent part of our new nationality.

So far, the material gathered from among the people has been published in journals and in books loaded down with learned treatises and critical apparatus and historical notes. That is necessary and well enough for the study of folklore; but it makes all this precious lore quite unavailable for the people themselves. A number of handy collections of the best folk-songs are now to be had in Germany, some in France, very few in England, so far as I know, and none in America.

Altogether, our American people do not yet sing enough, and what they sing is not the good, old, hearty and wholesome folksong, but rather the pernicious catches which an unscrupulous trade is constantly throwing out upon the market, and which with their brazen hardness, their desolate smartness, their insinuating, lowering influence, work an incalculable amount of harm with the character, the very backbone of the people. For we must remember that it is the vague, unconscious, subtle influences surrounding us which shape our lives most powerfully. The influence of music upon our nerve-brain apparatus is being studied in our psychological laboratories and is only gradually coming to be understood; but we all can see that it is a matter of no small consequence whether a man has his nature, his whole being and rhythm of life, tuned to the measure of some strong, virile, elevating ennobling melody, or whether he is made to respond to the beat of some tavern catch, a "Hot Time in the Old Town," or similar sickening vulgarities, against which every nerve, every fibre, at first protests, but which will have their way in the end, when forced upon us constantly, and which will, of course, all the more easily get the better of the poor, unresisting masses whose attention and strength are engaged in hard work for their daily bread, and who therefore are more open to all outside influences than the calm, strong, self-possessed and watchful man of culture.



## Rede am deutschen Tag in Chicago, den 6. Okt. 1907.

Als ich das letzte Mal in diesem Saale war, da feierten wir das Andenken an einen edlen deutschen Mann, den uns der Tod entriß, an unseren lieben Carl Schurz. Mehrere unserer angesehensten Bürger gaben, ein jeder in seiner Weise, ihrer — unserer — Trauer und Verehrung Ausdruck in Worten von wahrhaft ergreifender Aufrichtigkeit, in Worten, die von Herzen kamen und zu Herzen drangen.

Und wir saßen da, erschüttert von Leid um den teuren Toten und doch zugleich weisevoll gehoben in dem Gefühle, daß er der Unsere war, unser Blutsverwandter, der Vertreter unserer eigenen besten Bestrebungen.

Und mit uns trauerte da ganz Amerika, die Westen jeder Abkunft und aller Parteien. Dieser Gerechtigkeitsfönn und diese Sympathie unserer amerikanischen Mitbürger taten uns wohl; sie waren uns tröstlich, versöhnend, ermutigend, und ich wenigstens habe mich seitdem noch um so enger mit meinem neuen Vaterlande verknüpft geföhlt. Im Leben mochte Carl Schurz, wie jeder charaktervolle Mensch, Anfechtungen und Anfeindungen erfahren haben: bei der letzten großen Abrechnung beugte sich Alles in Dank und Ehrfurcht vor dem treuen Manne, und überall erklang die bange Frage: wer soll nun unser Föhler sein? Was soll nun aus dem Deutschtum in Amerika werden? Soll es in Kleinlicher, lokaler Zersplitterung und in Parteizwistigkeiten seine Kraft verzetteln und vergeuden? Soll es hinfort dem neuen Lande nichts bieten, als einige Millionen mindertwertiger Menschen, die spurlos im amerikanischen Leben aufgehen oder ihm gar schädlich werden?

Meine Freunde, verhehlen wir es uns nicht, die Gefahr dazu ist vorhanden, und — sie ist uns Deutschen keine Schande. Denn die Gefahr der Versumpfung, die Gefahr, sich in materiellen Sorgen und Erfolgen zu verlieren, ist ein unvermeidlicher Fluch der Auswanderung. Diese Gefahr ist immer da, wo Menschen ihr Heimatland verlassen. Da verlieren sie nur zu leicht den Zusammenhang mit der Kultur des alten Vaterlandes und stehen zugleich dem neuen Leben fremd und teilnahmslos gegenüber; da werden sie im schlimmsten Sinne heimatlos: kulturlos. Meine Freunde,

soll nun das ein Bild von Zukunft sein? Sollen wir uns und unsere Kinder diesem Schicksale, dieser Schuld überantworten? Nein, das dürfen wir nicht. Es ist eine leere Frage, Sie Alle stimmen mit mir überein: das dürfen wir nicht!

Unser edler, deutscher Volksstamm hat dem neuen Lande unzählige tüchtige Männer geliefert, er hat bei allen wichtigen Ereignissen rühmlich mitgewirkt; er soll sich auch fernerhin kräftig betätigen, er hat das Recht und die Pflicht dazu, und nur um das Wie kann sich's handeln.

Und da drängt sich denn in der That zunächst die Frage auf: Wer soll nun unser Führer sein?

Vor etwa anderthalb Jahren besprach ich die Lage der Dinge mit einem Manne von klarem Blick und ernstem Interesse an der Sache. Und auch er fragte mich bald: Wer ist jetzt eigentlich der einflußreichste Deutsch-Amerikaner, der wirklich maßgebende Führer? Darauf konnte ich ihm wohl ein halbes Duzend Männer erwähnen, deren Wirksamkeit eine überaus heilsame ist, aber einen maßgebenden Führer konnte ich ihm nicht nennen. Und das mag auf den ersten Blick bedenklich erscheinen. Aber, meine Freunde, ich glaube, einen maßgebenden Führer brauchen und wollen wir gar nicht. Ein maßgebender Führer war selbst Carl Schurz uns nicht. Wir Deutsche messen gerne nach eigenem Maß. Wir denken und urteilen gern selber und handeln nach eigenem bestem Wissen und Gewissen. Vom politischen Parteistandpunkte mag das eine Schwäche sein, kulturell und rein menschlich ist es ein hoher Vorzug. Ein gebildetes Volk kann überhaupt nicht anders, und uns Germanen liegt es von alters her im Blute, wir ehren in Andern das Recht der Persönlichkeit und lassen es auch uns selber nicht verkümmern.

Unser Führer soll daher kein Diktator sein, der uns von oben herab angibt, was wir zu tun und zu lassen haben; er soll unser Freund sein, uneigennützig, ja opferwillig der guten Sache zugewandt; er soll unser Berater sein, der die Verhältnisse klar durchschaut und sie uns ehrlich beschreibt. Wir, die wir an des Tages Arbeit gebunden sind, können unmöglich alle Vorgänge, die uns angehen, mit gleichem Verständnis verfolgen. Wir brauchen

Leute, die uns über Charakter und Folgen derselben aufklären, damit wir dann verständig und frei unseren Standpunkt wählen können. Und wo finden wir den ehrlichen Berater? Meine Freunde, damit hat's keine Not. Noch leben uns zahlreiche kluge und treue Männer, deren Auge, von Parteiungen unbeirrt, auf das Wohl unseres Volksstammes gerichtet ist. In jeder Stadt finden wir Männer der Art; von den geschäftsmäßigen Politikern sind sie leicht zu unterscheiden; und gewiß, bei Angelegenheiten von nationaler Bedeutung erhebt uns auch der rechte nationale Führer.

Biel wichtiger aber als diese ganze Frage der Führerschaft ist unser eigenes Verhalten! Wir selber, ein Jeder für sich und Alle miteinander, müssen tagtäglich unsere Pflicht tun als amerikanische Bürger deutscher Art. Das auf's neue uns zu geloben, sind wir heute hier versammelt.

Ich glaube, die deutsche sowie die amerikanische Geschichte berechtigen uns dazu, auf unser Blut stolz zu sein, wie kaum ein anderer Amerikaner. Aber, meine Freunde, mit dem Stolz allein ist's nicht getan. Die Verdienste unserer Vorfahren, der jetzige Glanz und die reiche Kultur unseres alten Vaterlandes erwecken in dem gebildeten Amerikaner hohe Erwartungen auch in Bezug auf uns selber, auf unsere eigne Tüchtigkeit, und wir müssen uns unserer Herkunft würdig zeigen. Das sind wir Deutschland, das sind wir dem gastfreien Amerika schuldig, und das schulden wir auch unseren eigenen Kindern, die hier aufwachsen als Bürger dieses Landes, und die hier glücklich oder unglücklich, geehrt oder mißachtet, erfolgreich oder armselig sein werden, je nachdem wir dem deutschen Namen Ehre machen oder nicht, je nachdem wir das amerikanische Leben kräftig mit deutschen Kulturkeimen befruchten, oder ihm wohl gar als ungebildete Fremdlinge zur Last fallen. Gewiß, wir wollen unserem neuen Vaterlande das Beste überbringen, was Deutschland bieten kann. Ein Bringer so edler Gaben aber darf seinen Auftrag nicht unterwegs vergessen, nicht das ihm anvertraute Gut verlieren. Wir müssen daher vor Allem die besten deutschen Charakterzüge in uns selber hegen und pflegen und im täglichen Leben betätigen. Wir müssen uns sel-



ber vertraut halten, nicht nur mit der deutschen Sprache, — die genügt bei Weitem nicht, ja sie ist im Grunde nur ein wichtiges Mittel zum Zweck, — sondern auch mit deutscher Art, mit deutscher Literatur, Geschichte, Kunst, Bildung. Wir müssen ferner die Bekanntschaft damit überall im Lande fördern helfen, wo und wie wir nur können, und wir müssen natürlich unseren Kindern dieses geistige Erbe überliefern.

Dieser schönen, hohen Pflicht, meine Freunde, weihen wir uns heute!

Und wahrlich, die Erfüllung derselben wird uns hier nicht gar zu schwer gemacht. Amerika selbst bietet uns reichliche Gelegenheit dazu. Das amerikanische Erziehungssystem erkennt längst in dem deutschen Unterricht einen seiner wichtigsten Zweige, nicht etwa aus sentimentaler Liebe zu Deutschland, sondern zum Nutzen der eigenen Landeskinder, wegen des hohen Wertes deutscher Kultur. Heutzutage wird auf allen besseren Bürgerschulen Deutsch gelehrt. Wo das nicht hinreichend der Fall ist, wo eine kurzsichtige Schulverwaltung zeitweise andere fremde Sprachen in den Vordergrund schiebt, da ist das meistens unsere eigene Schuld. Und unsere amerikanischen Universitäten sind jetzt die eigentlichen Pflegestätten deutscher Studien in Amerika. An der Staatsuniversität von Illinois widmen sich nicht weniger als zehn Lehrer ausschließlich dem deutschen Unterrichte, und mehr als siebenhundert und vierzig junge Leute nehmen an diesem Unterrichte teil; darunter etwa 160 deutscher Abstammung, soweit wir nach den Namen urteilen dürfen. Dazu kommen noch die Lehrkurse in deutscher Geschichte, deutscher Kunst und Philosophie, die gleichfalls alljährlich Hunderten von jungen Amerikanern die Bekanntschaft mit deutschem Wesen vermitteln. Wie segensreich die Arbeit einer einzigen solchen Anstalt im Laufe der Zeit sein muß, ist ganz unberechenbar. Und ähnlich geht es auf allen amerikanischen Universitäten zu. Als Lehrer des Deutschen wirken da neben Männern deutscher Abkunft auch Anglo-Amerikaner mit gleichem Pflichteifer und gleicher Liebe zur Sache. Ja, Lehrer wie Curme, Cutting, Hatfield, Learned, haben sich die allerhöchsten Verdienste als Vermittler deutscher Kultur hierzulande erworben. So reicht jetzt



Amerika vielfach über die Köpfe der Deutsch-Amerikaner hinweg nach Deutschland selbst hinein, um seinen Landeskindern die Schätze echter deutscher Bildung zu verschaffen. Ist es nicht unsere Pflicht, hier energisch mitzuwirken, kräftiger als es bisher geschehen ist? Und sollen wir selber uns und unsere Kinder nicht mit deutscher Kultur vertraut halten?

Sollen wir nicht vor Allem unsere Kinder gründlichen deutschen Unterricht genießen lassen?

Dazu kommen als fernere Bildungsmittel, die wir uns nicht entgehen lassen dürfen, unsere deutschen und deutsch-amerikanischen Zeitungen. Natürlich sind sie nicht alle gleich gut; aber an ethischem Gehalt stehen sie meiner Ueberzeugung nach meist über dem Durchschnittsniveau der englischen; und ich habe unter unsern deutschen Journalisten so manchen kennen gelernt, der seinen englischen Kollegen an Bildung und Geschick weit überlegen war. Sie, geehrte Anwesende, haben speziell in Chicago einige ausgezeichnete Zeitungen und auch eine Monatschrift, die „Glocke“, die sich als wirkliche Kulturträgerin bewährt hat. Natürlich aber brauchen Zeitungen ihr Publikum, von dem sie gelesen und bezahlt werden. Ist es nicht unsere Pflicht, unsern Familien das eine oder das andere deutsche Blatt zugänglich zu machen?

Und schließlich lassen Sie mich noch einen dritten Faktor erwähnen, den wir nicht entbehren können, so sehr man auch von Zeit zu Zeit dagegen spricht und schreibt, ich meine unsere deutschen Vereine. Wer uns rät, unsere Vereine aufzugeben, der ist unser Freund nicht; der redet wie ein Soldat, der die Auflösung seines Regiments verlangt. Allerdings sind leider nicht alle unsere Vereine, was sie sein sollten und könnten. In einigen beschränkt sich vielleicht zur Zeit ihr ganzes Deutschtum, oder richtiger ihr Deutsch-tum auf rohen Biergenuß. Die tun ihre Schuldigkeit nicht; sie sollten auf verständiger würdiger Grundlage umgebaut werden. Andere aber leisten ganz Ausgezeichnetes. Ihre historische Gesellschaft zum Beispiel macht sich um die Geschichte unseres Deutschtums und damit um dieses selber durch Arbeiten verdient, die überall, auch von Anglo-Amerikanern und in Europa hochgeschätzt werden. Einem solchen Verein sollten wir Alle uns anschließen.

Und wer wollte wohl den Wert unserer Musikvereine bestreiten! Das deutsche Lied ist einer unserer treuesten und besten Bundesgenossen. Wo das noch gepflegt wird, da wirkt auch das Deutschtum noch segensreich. Heil und Gedeihen unsern deutschen Sängern!

Daß wir politische Vereine brauchen, ist auch selbstverständlich; und schließlich haben auch die reingeseßlichen Vereine natürlich ihr Gutes, so lange sie die Geselligkeit in schöner Weise pflegen und nicht in Kraft-, Zeit- und Geldvergeudung ausarten.

Kurzum, meine Freunde, halten wir an unsern Vereinen fest, und an der Krone unserer Vereinigungen, dem Deutsch-Amerikanischen Nationalbund! Seien wir einig und stark zum Besten unseres Volksstammes und unseres neuen Vaterlandes! Mögen solche Gedanken und möge die Weihe dieses Tages uns zur Erfüllung unserer Pflichten bewegen!

## BISMARCK.\*

IT has been said—and Bismarck himself has been credited with the saying—that men who make history seldom write it; however, even before the personal memoirs of the great hermit have become accessible to us, it may be safely said, that,—like the shrewd old Roman general and emperor, Julius Cæsar,—the German Chancellor was great in the world of letters as well as in that of action, and more than probably, in the future, his *works* will be read by many a man and child who knows little or nothing of his gigantic *work*. Even at present, there are some who make it their chief object to study Bismarck, the author, and selections from his writings are being prepared as text books for school and college purposes; and the more objectively he will be read, the more will the purely literary value of his works be recognized.

The official documents, issued by him are, indeed, models of a terse, forceful style, such as we might expect to find in English rather than in the usually more suggestive, subtle, complex German manner of expression.

His parliamentary speeches also show a plain directness, always supported by an austere sense of duty, a feeling of grave responsibilities, hurling at the opponent the whole weight of his crushing contempt, or else covering him with aspersions of bitter irony, and often lifting the subject above the sphere of ordinary political opportunism by an epigrammatic utterance of a general maxim, or by a magnificent appeal to the best impulses of his German people; thus, when against the uncompromising, centrifugal tendencies of the various party leaders, he insists that the necessary basis of all constitutional life is the compromise; when with all his old Prussian antipathy against a free pass, he frankly confesses that the strongest safe-guard against corruption is the element of publicity in the administra-

\*An address delivered at Bloomington, Indiana, soon after Bismarck's death, (July 31, 1898.)

tion of State affairs; when in answer to his opponents' petty fear or threat of popular displeasure, he says, in substance, that you can safely count on winning a German over to the highest sacrifice by a just appeal to his sense of duty; or when in the midst of a critical situation he exclaims, "We Germans fear God and nothing else in the world," and "it is love of God which prompts us to pursue a policy of peace and reconciliation."

Such and many other expressions found their way in every peasant's house, they touch every German's heart and they, more even than his real work as the Iron Chancellor, have made Bismarck a truly popular hero.

Almost everywhere we find in his speeches the passionate expression of the whole man; if the subject seemed at all worth his interest; else we see him in calm repose and indifference. Once, during a stormy session of the Prussian parliament, when he had just succeeded in frustrating Austria's attempt to interfere with a treaty on the Zollverein, between Prussia and France,—in the midst of the heated discussion raging in the house,—Bismarck quietly sat at his ministerial desk and wrote, in English, a little private letter to his old friend, the American historian John Lathrop Motley,—he used to call him "Jack, my dear." This letter, as indeed the whole correspondence, is very interesting.

"I hate politics," he writes, "but as you say truly, like the grocer hating figs. I am none the less obliged to keep my thoughts increasingly occupied with those figs. Even at this moment, while I am writing to you, my ears are full of it. I am obliged to listen to particularly tasteless speeches out of the mouths of uncommonly childish and excited politicians, and I have therefore a moment of unwilling leisure, which I cannot use better than in giving you news of my welfare. I never thought that in my riper years I should be obliged to carry on such an unworthy trade as that of a Parliamentary Minister. As Envoy, although only an official, I still had the feeling of being a Gentleman; as Parliamentary Minister one is a helot. I have come down in the world and hardly know how—I am



sitting again in the House of Phrases where people talk nonsense, and end my letter. All these people have agreed to approve our treaties with Belgium, in spite of which twenty speakers scold each other with the greatest vehemence, as if each wished to make an end of the other; they are not agreed about the motives which make them unanimous; hence, alas! a regular German squabble about the Emperor's beard—querelle d'Allemand!"

And this may lead us to just a few more remarks about his *private* letters. Here he throws off the official garb entirely. This is but natural; but what characterizes Bismarck is the perfect ease with which he keeps his private circle intact and quite apart from his public life, with which he saves his own private self for himself, his family and his friends.

When public affairs are referred to, it is done in a tone of good-natured humor as in the letter to "Jack, my dear," to Motley, an admixture of self-irony is frequent. It all is in a nature of a good after dinner talk or rather an after battle talk, and that even in the midst of most trying situations, of struggles, which would have completely absorbed the energies of a dozen other men. Nor did he tolerate any meddling with his private life. When the present Emperor, William II, undertook to dictate to him what persons he was at liberty to receive in his house, he replied: "Your Majesty's authority ends at the door of my wife's drawing room." In most of his private letters a sort of rough and ready humor prevails, and at times, indeed, his phraseology is a bit startling. A few specimens may perhaps be given: first, one of the milder type. In one of his earlier letters to his sister who had just gotten married, he writes:

"After you had left I naturally found the house very dull. I sat me down by the fireside, and smoking, pondered how very unnatural and selfish it is that girls who have brothers, and above all, unmarried brothers, should recklessly plunge into matrimony and behave as if they were only in the world for the purpose of fulfilling their own wonderful inclinations, a selfishness from which our sex, and myself in particular, I know to be hap-

pily free. After I had confessed to myself the uselessness of these reflections I rose from the green leather chair and plunged at once head long into the election contest, from which I emerged with the certainty that four voters were inclined to go in for me for life or death and two more with a certain amount of lukewarmness. Then there are four voters for Krug, 16 to 18 for Arnim, and from 12 to 15 for Alvensleben. I thought, therefore, on the whole that I had better retire."

And later he writes, again to his sister:

"I must marry, the devil take me. I feel lonely and forsaken, and this mild damp weather makes me melancholy and longingly prone to love. It is no use of my struggling. I shall have to marry; \* \* \* \* She makes no impression upon me, it is true; but that is the case with all of them; still, unfortunate are those, who cannot change their inclinations with their linen, however seldom the latter event may occur."

This letter is characteristic for Bismarck in more than one way. We observe the superb unbroken strength of the man who holds as in a lover's embrace the mighty waters of the North Sea, this most terrific, most vicious body of water on the face of the earth.

In writing to his wife, Bismarck speaks in tones of reverent love and tender delicacy and often he rises to the height of a truly poetic inspiration. For her he draws the most vivid pictures of the natural scenery through which he travels, to her he sends the most brilliant descriptions of the persons he has to deal with. When ever he comes to a place, which they have visited together on their wedding trip, he spends his leisure time wandering over the ground again, thinking of her; in fact, next to Goethe's letters to Frau von Stein and in a more distinctly German way Bismarck's letters to his wife are the finest love letters published. They do not speak of love so much as they are permeated with it, dictated by it.

I have dwelt on this phase of my subject at some length, partly because it is, so far, least known, and partly because we

thus secure at the offset a nearer, more intimate view of the man than all his public acts can well afford us.

And yet the time at our disposal is short, and it would be absurd not to consider mainly his world mission and himself in the light of the momentous events which he was chiefly instrumental in bringing about.

To be sure in our attempt to speak correctly of Bismarck the Statesman, we are facing a difficult condition. As yet, many documents will have to be unearthed and studied by trained historians, before even a complete record of the facts is gained.

And, moreover, as yet no centuries have passed by to show definitely just how far he was right or wrong, how far his views were wise or unwise, his plans possible or visionary. We are still, all of us, in the very midst of those social and religious struggles, which Bismarck courageously took up and tried to settle in his own way.

Men of action who influence so immediately the very lives and existences of their fellowmen are judged by each one from his own point of view most tenaciously and passionately. No wonder then, that Bismarck, with his vast influence on the fates of many millions of men, should have been and still be the best hated and at the same time the best loved man in Europe, probably in the whole world.

In presenting then my own views I cannot claim for them the final value of scientifically established truth, but I am speaking from my own standpoint, as one who would like to see the cause of humanity advanced everywhere by the widest possible spreading of religious, social, political freedom, who naturally views with sincere sympathy the development of affairs in the land of his former home, but who, above all, likes to see things in their own true light.

Let us then first briefly review the facts. I may say here, in gratitude to my authority and also to reassure my audience, that I have, of course, taken care to verify my personal reminiscences again by reference to some of the most reliable sources; chief among which I quote the books by Bismarck's main historian,



Mr. Lowe. They are in our library and I shall feel best rewarded for my own modest effort, if it could induce many of you to seek further information from that source and other authorities.

Otto von Bismarck was born on April 1, 1815, at Schönhofen, in the old Prussian province of Brandenburg. At the age of six he was sent to Berlin to be educated, first in a preparatory school, then at a Gymnasium. In 1832, in his seventeenth year, he went to the university, first at Göttingen, then after three semesters, to Berlin. He studied law and political economy. After passing the State examination for the civil service he worked for a short time as an assistant clerk, or referendar, at one of the courts of Berlin, later at Aachen and at Potsdam. Here he entered upon his year's service in the army. The year was finished in Greifswald, where Bismarck also heard lectures on agricultural and similar subjects. A number of stories are told concerning the young man's ways and doings. They are rather typical for young men of his kind. We pass them by; but we would insist on the one fact, which is of the greatest importance: Bismarck came from a family of old Prussian noblemen that had been bred and brought up for centuries in the invigorating, rough atmosphere of Northern Germany, on the country soil of their own estate. Like the rest of the petty noblesse of the old Mark, the Bismarcks had given to their king the bravest, fiercest fighters and as Lowe says, mighty hunters and drinkers. A rough and stormy set they are, these Brandenburg country squires. And in Bismarck's veins there pulsed the healthy blood of many of the sturdiest of them all. Of independent, though not extravagant wealth, the Bismarcks quite naturally looked to the Royal court at Berlin as their center of gravitation.

Together, then, with a powerful body, a strong imperious will, a next to brutal self-assertiveness Bismarck also inherited from his fathers their simple thrift, a naive religiousness, his steadfast sense of duty, and as a matter of course, as natural as the daily bread, an unshakable loyalty to his sovereign. But fortu-



nately for himself and for his country, besides these features, which are more or less typical for every Prussian country nobleman, Bismarck inherited from his mother, who was a commoner,—the only commoner that ever married into the Bismarck family—he inherited from her his strong intellect, and the possibility, if not the invariable practice of that high human activity, which the Germans call *Abstraktionsfähigkeit*, the ability to see things as other people see them; qualities which lift Bismarck high above the level of the average Prussian country squire. Lowe says that Bismarck could not have been more careful in the choice of his parents. To me it seems that a few more women like his mother might have married into the family to good advantage for Otto.

Returning now to our young hero we left him at Greifswald listening to lectures on agriculture. Brought up in the traditions of the family he first intended to be what his forefathers had been, a farming nobleman.

With few short interruptions he really spent the next years on the estate, which he in the meantime inherited. In 1847 he married, and soon after he went as deputy knight to the Prussian Diet then convoked at Berlin, afterwards as Prussian representative to the German parliaments at Francfort and at Erfurt; everywhere the staunchest champion of the old régime, of the unrestricted sovereignty of his king, fiercely opposed to popular self-government, and, with his proud feeling of Prussian superiority, scoffing at the idea of his king allying himself on equal terms with the whole of South German princes and under the tutelage of Austria. Not that he failed to cherish the idea of national unity; but his idea of this unity was very different from the dreams of the Francfort revolutionary patriots. As the main parliamentary spokesman for the rights of the crown and for the policy of the Prussian government, when the latter had been forced to humiliating conditions at the conference of Olmütz, Bismarck soon won the confidence of the king and in 1851 he was made Secretary to the envoy of Prussia at the Diet of Francfort and soon, at the recommendation of the envoy him-

self, became the successor of the same. In this capacity he remained till 1859, and more and more his counsel came to be considered as the guiding element in Prussian politics. In his foreign policy his main desire was to prevent Austria from lord-  
ing it over to Prussia. For this reason he was careful to avoid all other foreign complications, and he openly declared the necessity for Prussia of driving Austria out of the Confederacy by force. His aggressive attitude gradually became embarrassing for the government, and when in 1859, William I became the regent in place of his weakminded brother, Bismarck was transferred to Petersburg as Minister to Russia.

His time had not yet come, and meanwhile he was placed on ice to be used in an emergency, "kaltgestellt" as he expressed it himself.

His time soon came. The king got into trouble with his parliament, and Bismarck was called to Berlin to straighten matters out. This he did, by interpreting the constitution in his own way and acting accordingly. A conflict between the two governing factors, the king and the parliament, had not been provided for in the constitution, so he argued. Thereupon the king could do as he pleased; and Bismarck as the king's servant ruled Prussia, increased the army, ran the whole State machine without a budget for all these things having been allowed by parliament. Against the outspoken will of the House he declared and conducted the Danish war in 1864, and he also entered upon the final struggle with Austria in 1866. Here at last the unparalleled success of the Prussian arms, the complete victory over the old rival, the dawn of the new possibility of a united Germany under Prussian leadership carried away all further opposition. The House gave full indemnity to the government and its minister, voted 50 million thaler for the further support of his policy and gave to Bismarck himself a royal present of 400,000 thaler to express the nation's gratitude. From now on Bismarck manages the affairs of Prussia with undisputed authority as the premier and only responsible minister: responsible only to the king who is virtually under his

tutelage, though at times a bit unmanageable. We can of course not review here the inner and outer history of Prussia and Germany and Europe; and it is not necessary, either: the events are too well known in general.

The question was to develop and properly direct the feeling for German unity in the Southern states, Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden, which at the instance of the great "protector of oppressed nationalities," Napoléon III, had been guaranteed and made to accept international and separate independence. To be sure, Napoléon repeatedly made known to Bismarck his price for his consent to German unity. He wanted a good slice, Luxemburg and the whole left side of the Rhine for himself, then Prussia might manage the rest. But Bismarck withstood all temptations. He said, if ever he was to give himself up to the devil it must be a teutonic devil, not a Gallic one. So he patiently waited and eventually declined to accept Baden alone into the confederacy, until Napoléon, seeing that Bismarck was determined not to sacrifice any German territory as a bribe for the rest of it, concluded to help himself somehow. He approached Holland and nearly succeeded in getting from it the thoroughly German province of Luxemburg, when Bismarck at the last moment intervened, and at the conference in London, summoned at the instance of Napoléon, succeeded in having Luxemburg recognized as a neutral commonwealth under European guarantee. At last in 1870 the tense situation came to its natural and long expected climax and Bismarck was then ready for it. He had been gradually brought to see that France must have her war, and he was glad to see it come at a time, when the reckoning could be had with Napoléon alone without the interference of other powers. The situation is perfectly clear. Napoléon agitated, as Lowe says, by his robberlike desire for German territory, and, moreover, instigated by his queen, Eugénia, who was acting under Jesuit influence, had his minister Benedetti present to the old king of Prussia some most humiliating demands, almost commands. The king promptly resented the insult and refused to see the ambassador again. He telegraphed to his



chancellor what had happened, authorizing him, if he saw fit to do so, to make the affair known to the public. Bismarck did so, and partly in patriotic indignation over the insult done to his king, partly with the shrewd design to make any peaceful redress impossible in the minds of the French chauvinists, he formulated his despatch to the Press so as to give special prominence to the rebuff, which the French ambassador had received. And this is the only thing that Bismarck ever did towards bringing on the Franco-German war. He just helped Napoleon and his bloodthirsty court-party to convince the French people that war with Germany was necessary.

To be sure, the war was really the organic development out of the whole situation created by Napoléon. No patriotic Prussian could really wish to avoid it at the expense of his country's honor and safety. Moreover, it must be said, that Bismarck in his despatch in no way misrepresented matters, he stated precisely what had occurred, and if he did so in a tone of indignation and defiance, it is difficult to see how he can be blamed for that despatch. The war then broke out, declared by France. France was conquered and freed from her unworthy tyrant. In turn united Germany took 5,000 Millions of Francs as indemnity and the originally German, but then pretty thoroughly frenchified provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. Since then, as you know, France has never for a moment given up the idea of revenge, and the gigantic struggle for life and death is sure to come in the near future.

Bismarck's war record ends herewith: the rest of his life he devoted to his foreign policy: to peace-making. He became the "honest broker," as he said, to whose skill and efforts the preservation of peace between the main civilized powers of Europe since 1871 is chiefly due. At times, to be sure, the political horizon looked threatening enough. Russia felt bitterly disappointed, for a while, in consequence of the Berlin conference, after the Turco-Russian war, when Bismarck at the height of his power, virtually deciding the fate and largely directing the policy of the



European nations, did not satisfy all of Russia's ambition in the Eastern problem.

Spain resented the attempt of Germany to take hold of the Caroline Islands, till Germany, practically withdrawing her claims, submitted the matter to the decision of the Pope. England, especially was for a time obnoxiously obdurate in her opposition to German colonial expansion. As Lowe again rightly says, in the whole game of politics after the Franco-Prussian war the Germans had gotten all the honors, but the English had secured the tricks, and when Germany at last awoke to the necessity of occupying what she could of the uncivilized land not yet taken by England, the cousins on the Islands, while wanting badly enough Bismarck's advice and support in the Egyptian question, were yet inclined to obstruct as much as possible his own modest colonial plans. However, the chancellor succeeded to the end of his career, in avoiding further bloody conflicts. All other nations, except perhaps France, gradually came to recognize his sincere desire for peace; and they saw in him and his policy the strongest guarantee against international complications. Many and stormy, on the other hand, were the struggles that awaited him in his conduct of the domestic affairs of the fatherland.

In consequence of, and even during the Franco-German war, on January 18th of 1871, the long cherished dreams of the German patriots had at last come to be fulfilled. Germany was united. The Imperial crown was offered to the King of Prussia, both by the German Parliament and by the princes of the various states. The realization of the nation's dreams was mainly Bismarck's work, though it is true that, the crown prince Frederick William, afterwards Emperor Frederick III, for some time had been inclined to rush matters, even against the free will of the South, a policy of coercion which Bismarck had sternly refused to support.

As in other matters, which were not to his liking, so also in this question of national unity, which had been solved by himself, Bismarck promptly adapted himself to the new order of

things. Fundamentally opposed to constitutional restrictions of the crown so far as Prussia was concerned, he yet never—so far as I can see—really violated the constitution, though I am not sure of this. In any case he made use of it, rather than further oppose it, when it once had become an accomplished fact. So also with the freedom of the press; and so especially with the relation of Prussia towards the whole of Germany. Born a Prussian, every inch of him, and strictly limiting his patriotism to his “narrower fatherland” as long as it stood alone among the rest of German states, dealing *a priori* with every non-Prussian as with a foreigner, he promptly extended the horizon of his patriotic devotion and care, when the other German states had become associated with Prussia under conditions which guaranteed due predominance to the latter, to his own native Prussia and his sovereign. He severely rebuked the Prussian Conservatives when they wanted him to deal more harshly with the conquered king of Hanover, with Saxony and later with the Southern States.

Altogether the Conservatives, really the reactionary party of Prussian country nobility, gave him a great deal of trouble, by their intrigues in conspiracy with the military court party under the leadership of Emperor William’s own wife, queen Augusta. Owing, however, to the emperor’s unlimited confidence in the man who had done so much for him and his dynasty, Bismarck succeeded, not without difficulty, in keeping the evil influence of the intriguers within comparatively innocuous limits, and one of his worst enemies, Count Arnim, had to feel the whole weight of the Chancellor’s wrath.

Count Arnim, immediately after the war, minister to France, was probably a more ingenious man than Bismarck, but he lacked the true earnest patriotism, the sterling character of Bismarck. He was a selfish trifler with honor and duty. After his attempt to frustrate Bismarck’s plan had been thwarted and he had been dismissed from office, he still tried to undermine the nation’s confidence in her Chancellor by publishing a series of “revelations,” calculated to exhibit his own good judgment and

the blunders of his successful rival. Bismarck fought him to the bitter end. He published other documents showing the falseness of Arnim's assertions and then had the faithless employee prosecuted and banished out of the land, a just, but very energetic procedure against a man who had been holding some of the highest offices in the empire, who was the favorite of the court party and who belonged to one of the most influential old families of the Prussian nobility.

The country squires were more careful after that in their dealings with Bismarck. But other struggles worried and kept worrying the Chancellor.

In 1870 just before France or rather Napoléon had declared war against Protestant Prussia the Pope in Rome, Pio Nono, had summoned the Catholic bishops to Rome, to a concilium, which was to proclaim His, the Pope's infallibility. The new dogma was first strenuously opposed by the German bishops, but on their return from Rome they submitted and proceeded to excommunicate those German professors and priests, who adhered to their old faith and declined to adopt the innovation.

These professors and priests, of course, received their salaries from the German people and government. They were German officials, and the government promptly recognized its duty to protect its own citizens and employees. It would not allow a foreign power to ostracize and thereby socially and financially ruin its officials as long as they remained faithful to the regulations under which they had been appointed. This situation gave rise to the famous "Kulturkampf," the fight for civilization as the governmental forces called it, the religious oppression as the papal party said. The government claimed the right to be heard and consulted in the appointment of catholic ministers. As the latter drew state salaries and were authorized to perform important civil services, their appointment was to be subject to governmental approval. All ministers then in offices were required to promise faithful obedience to state laws. The catholic clergy protested. Hundreds and hundreds of ministers were then stricken off from the pay rolls; their official civil actions,



such as performance of the marriage ceremony, were declared invalid so far as the state was concerned. The church refused to appoint other men instead, and thus hundreds of communities were without a minister officially. The fiercest enmity developed between the catholics and other citizens. The clergy succeeded in identifying the former with their clerical submission to the Pope. A papal party calling itself the Catholic Party, was formed, and finally Bismarck had largely to submit. A few important governmental measures, to be sure, have never yet been given up, but then the papal party, the "Ultramontanes," also still exists and it is now the strongest party in the "Reichstag." In fact, this incongruity, a strictly catholic sectarian political party at the end of our century, in one of our most enlightened nations, will probably be the longest survivor of the "Kulturkampf." Bismarck was distinctly beaten in this case. And it has been said that he was equally unsuccessful against another enemy, the Socialist party.

Here, however, the matter stands quite differently. True, the Socialist party has gained tremendously during the last thirty years, in spite of all that Bismarck did to suppress its propaganda. In 1871 it entered parliament with but two members; now, in 1898, there are fifty-six Socialists in the Reichstag. This indeed, looks like a defeat of Bismarck; but as a matter of fact, Bismarck has never allowed the socialists the slightest direct influence on the conduct of German affairs. He has bargained and bartered and compromised with all other parties, one after the other, just as he needed them or could do without them in the pursuit of his own policy. The socialists he has never thus recognized personally. He did, however, while sternly suppressing the revolutionary anarchistic propaganda not forget at the same time to introduce remedial measures against the very evils the socialists complained of. He inaugurated what has been rightly called a pronounced state socialism. In a way, then, he did precisely what was wanted by the socialists. But for reasons of their own the latter failed to recognize the fact and continued their fight.



And yet, though still the same in name as the party of thirty years ago, the socialists themselves have in the meantime changed their own character very largely. At their last convention at Stuttgart, a few months ago, they declared that more intellect, more enlightened leadership was what they needed; the idea of revolution was denounced and evolution was made the watch-word.

Whatever the effect of these resolutions may be upon the organization of the party itself—perhaps the more radical wing will break away and form a more anarchistically inclined group again,—the fact is that when the socialistic party at large accepts reform by governmental measures, it practically stands on Bismarck's own platform of state socialism.

In 1890, as you know, Prince Bismarck the Unifier of Germany, the international peacemaker for twenty years, the national hero, the venerable, faithful servant of Emperor William and Emperor Frederick, was summarily dismissed from office by the young Emperor William II. That such a thing was possible under the constitution has set many a German to thinking hard about the rights of the crown. The young emperor could hardly be blamed. Young and strong and ambitious, enjoying keenly the glory and power of his position, with an exalted sense of duty and perhaps a still higher opinion of his own ability, he could not tolerate the restricting will or advice of an old servant of his grandfather and his father. It was the system that was at fault; and I believe that the fall of Bismarck, the rather unmodern exponent of monarchical theories, has done much to promote the cause of the popular liberal government.

Personally he deeply resented his dismissal and never quite made his peace with William II. He continued, from his country seat at Friedrichsruh, to make his warning voice heard, whenever an especially critical situation developed. In his criticism of the young emperor and his staff he at times grew rather petty, showing his personal irritation, and again he would startle the whole world by revelations of diplomatic transactions which in the opinion of many should not have been made public. Alto-

gether it is probably not asserting too much, when we say that the young emperor felt quite relieved, when a few weeks ago the old ex-chancellor's death was announced. The people of Germany, however, had never during the time of his official disgrace ceased to revere and celebrate him as their national hero.

But when in conclusion we try to summarize and briefly express the fundamental tendencies of his life, we must not be deceived by such terms as "national hero" or "unifier of Germany." We must not think that Bismarck was, what the Napoléons professed to be, a believer in the idea of nationality. The central idea in Bismarck's political work was not the phantom of nationality, a complete absurdity in our modern times, but it was the reality of the *state*. True, he used the idea of nationality when it helped promote his own plans. He united all the German states and provinces he could get hold of, always grouping them so about Prussia as to virtually form a new state with Prussia as the controlling element. True also, he took from France two provinces that were of originally German nationality; and he was quite willing to have the Germans jubilantly accept them as their long separated kinsmen. He also rescued from Denmark the German provinces Schleswig-Holstein. But, as a matter of fact, he had to take them and claim them for Prussia in order to prevent Austria from getting control over them. And in taking Alsace-Lorraine he simply saw that they were the gates through which the French could again and again invade Germany. They were indispensable from a military point of view, and that is why he took them. The national idea paramount at the time with the people, had little, if any part, in Bismarck's actions. His ideal was the organized state, the notion of nationality was quite subordinate to it. He did not hesitate to drive out of the German confederacy the thoroughly German provinces of Austria. He coldly left them to their fate to cope with their hordes of Slavs as best they could. He never encouraged any demonstration of German sympathies abroad. The dissatisfied German-Austrians, eager to regain their brother Germans from whom they had been torn away, he harshly rebuked, show-

ing that their duty was loyal adherence to their own state. The German provinces in Russia never found in Bismarck a friend or protector against Russian despotism. The German-Americans Bismarck never expected to be disloyal to their adopted country. He scorned as treacherous the idea of a man living in one state and looking to another for sympathy or protection.

And this idea of the state, the organization as the supreme ruling factor also prevailed in his inner politics. The state he upheld against any clerical power. State socialism, with state control of the railroads, of the sale of tobacco and liquors, of life and accident insurance, etc., was his solution of the social and economic question.

Personally he was inclined to be harsh, regardless not so much of the rights but of the feelings of others. At times, in the treatment of his subordinates and his colleagues in the cabinet he was nothing less than brutal. He probably had little of what we call the finer sensibilities. He was a Spartan rather than an Athenian. The lack of the more subtle, humane element, quite natural as we saw in a man of his extraction, was balanced by the severest sense of duty and by a simple religiousness, which occasionally inspired him to acts and utterances worthy of a Goethe. More prominent than any other quality is the superb strength of the man. By the example of his powerful personality he has put before the Germans a new ideal of manhood, which, if not the highest in itself, is yet likely to prove a wholesome reaction against the dreamy, introspective type which has so far been common in the fatherland.

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## ELSEUS SOPHUS BUGGE.

geboren 5. Januar 1853 in Laurvik, gestorben 8. Juli 1907  
in Tönset.

**J**E MEHR in den letzten Jahrzehnten die germanische Philologie im Niedergange ist, um so mehr müssen wir den Heimgang von Männern betrauern, die einst die junge Wissenschaft zur Entfaltung und Blüte gebracht und bis in ihr hohes Alter hinein alles aufgeboten haben, sie auf der Höhe zu erhalten und durch ihre Anregungen immer neue Probleme zur Arbeit zu stellen und dadurch frisches geistiges Leben unter die Jugend zu bringen. Einen solchen schweren Verlust hat die germanische Philologie durch den Tod S. Bugges erlitten, der am 8. Juli in seinem Sommersitze zu Tönset im wildromantischen Tale des oberen Glommen für immer die Augen geschlossen hat. Mit S. Bugge ist einer der bedeutendsten Sprachforscher aller Zeiten, ein scharfsinniger Denker, ein vielseitiger mutiger Gelehrter, ein anregender Lehrer, ein selten edler Mensch heimgegangen.

Die Jugend Bugge's fällt in eine Zeit, da die nationale Gährung bei allen germanischen Völkern ihren Höhepunkt erreicht hatte. Unter der Einwirkung dieser Bewegung war die Vorliebe für die Kultur und Sprache der Vorfahren erwacht. In Norwegen hatten Männer wie P. A. Munch, R. Keiser, Lange, u. a. ihr Leben der Erschliessung altnorwegischen Geisteslebens gewidmet. Unter ihrem Einfluss wurde der junge begabte Kaufmannssohn aus Telemarken mit der nordischen Philologie vertraut, und bald zeigte es sich, dass er durch seinen Scharfsinn, sein Kombinationsvermögen und seine Gründlichkeit zu den besten Hoffnungen berechtigte. Wegen seines besondern Talentes für die formale Entwicklung der Sprache wurde er mit Staatsunterstützung ins Ausland gesandt, wo er unter der Leitung von Weber in Berlin und besonders Westergaard in Kopenhagen eifrig Sanskrit trieb. Nach seiner Rückkehr war Gefahr,

dass er seine Heimat verliess und nach Lund übersiedelte. Allein man hielt ihn in Christiania, indem man für ihn eine ausserordentliche Professur für vergleichende Sprachforschung und Altnordisch schuf (1866). Seitdem ist Bugge sein ganzes Leben hindurch seiner Universität Christiania treu geblieben, und nur vorübergehend weilte er bald in abgelegenen Gegenden seines Heimatlandes, um hier die Reste alter Sprachdenkmäler der Runensteine oder Volksdichtung zu sammeln, bald im Auslande, um hier sein Wissen zu erweitern und Handschriften zu studieren. Dabei erstreckten sich seine Forschungen nicht allein auf die Sprachwissenschaft und nordische Philologie, sondern auch auf die klassischen Sprachen, und mit besonderer Vorliebe beschäftigte er sich mit den altitalienischen Dialekten.

Als Gelehrter war Bugge vor allem Sprachforscher. In die realen Lebensverhältnisse der Völker einzudringen, wie es seine Landsleute Keiser und Munch mit besonderer Vorliebe gethan hatten, lag weniger in seiner Interessensphäre. Den Entwicklungsgang der Sprache und ihre Gesetze zu erforschen und die gefundenen Ergebnisse in den Dienst philologischer Kritik und der Sagen- und Mythenforschung zu stellen, war sein Arbeitsfeld. Hier besass er einen unvergleichlichen Scharfsinn und eine seltene Kombinationsgabe, wodurch er die nordische Philologie auf die Höhe gebracht hat, auf der sie sich zur Zeit befindet. Mag Bugge auch manchmal seiner Phantasie zu freien Lauf gelassen haben, vieles von seinen Gedanken ist Gemeingut der Wissenschaft geworden, und auch dort wo er über das Ziel hinausgegangen ist, hat er andere vielfach angeregt und auch dadurch indirekt die Wissenschaft gefördert. Denn wohl keine Arbeit hat Bugge geschrieben, aus der man nicht lernen konnte, mochte man mit dem Endergebnis einverstanden sein oder nicht. Ein besonderes Talent besass Bugge auch, die Resultate der Forschung auf anderen Gebieten, besonders der archäologischen, in sein Arbeitsfeld zu ziehen und durch sprachliche Kriterien zu stützen und dadurch in weitere Kreise zu bringen.

In der rastlosen Tätigkeit dieses Mannes, die 1858 mit der Herausgabe alter norwegischer Volkslieder begann und mit der



leider unvollendeten Geschichte der Runenschrift mit seinem Tode ihr Ende erreichte, können wir drei Werke bezeichnen, die Wellenberge der Forschung sind und die die verschiedenen Seiten seiner philologischen Arbeiten am besten charakterisieren: die Ausgabe der Eddalieder, die Studien über die Entstehung der nordischen Götter- und Heldensage, und Norwegens Inschriften mit den älteren Runen. Ehe sich Bugge an die Ausgabe der eddischen Dichtung machte, hatte er sich bereits als Herausgeber von Texten bewährt. Ob seiner Vorliebe für volkstümliche Dichtung hatte er 1856 und 1857 Telemarken bereist und eine stattliche Anzahl norwegischer Volkslieder aufgezeichnet, wodurch die Sammlung von Landstad wesentlich ergänzt und erweitert wurde. Aber auch durch die zahlreichen sachlichen und sprachlichen Anmerkungen, die den Einfluss von Sv. Grundtvig erkennen liessen, unterscheiden sich die *Gamle norske Folkeviser* (Kristiania, 1858) wesentlich von früheren Sammlungen. Als Frucht seiner Volksliederforschung veröffentlichte er dann seine Untersuchung über *Grógaldr og Fjölsvinnsmál* (1861), worin er nachwies, dass diese beiden eddischen Gedichte einst zusammengehört haben müssten, wie aus dem dänisch-schwedischen Volkslied von Sveidal klar hervorgeht. 1864 erschien dann die *Hálfs saga und der Nornagests þáttur*, mit der die Sammlung der *Norröne Skrifter af sagnhistorisk Indhold* begann, und wodurch er die erste kritische Ausgabe einer Reihe *Fornaldarsögur* schuf. Dann erst folgten 1867 die *Norroen Fornkvaði oder die Saemundar Edda hins fróða*. Was man bis dahin an Eddaausgaben besass, waren normalisierte Texte, denen nur Munch seinen Variantenapparat beigelegt hatte, aus dem man sich aber von der handschriftlichen Ueberlieferung absolut kein klares Bild machen konnte. Die Ansichten von der Ueberlieferung waren unklar, das Verhältnis verschiedener Ueberlieferungen zu einander stand noch gar nicht fest, über die Haupthandschrift der Cod. Reg. wusste man sehr wenig; der Leser stand ganz im Banne des Herausgebers, dessen Text er benutzte. Bugge gab zum ersten Male ein möglichst wortgetreues Bild der Ueberlieferung und brachte alle subjektiven Ansichten seiner Vorgänger oder seine

eignen in die Anmerkungen und den Anhang. Er gab ferner das ganze Material in vollem Umfange. Von jetzt ab erst konnte überhaupt die eddische Forschung einsetzen. Und wenn dies seit dem Ende der sechziger Jahre geschah, so ist es ausschliesslich Bugges Verdienst. Noch heute steht seine Ausgabe der Eddalieder unerreicht da; die Facsimileausgaben der Kopenhagener Samfund ergänzen sie wohl, aber ersetzen sie nicht. Wodurch die Ausgabe aber weiter grundlegende Bedeutung bekommen hat, das sind die zahlreichen feinen sprachlichen und sachlichen Anmerkungen, die ein schönes Zeugnis für die Belesenheit des Herausgebers sind, und die gehaltreiche Einleitung. Letztere enthielt nicht nur eine genaue Beschreibung aller Handschriften, die Eddalieder enthalten, besonders die Cod. Reg., sondern stellte auch zum erstenmale die Zeit der Sammlung fest, das gegenseitige Verhältnis der einzelnen Texte untereinander und besonders zur Haupthandschrift und brachte den wichtigen Nachweis, dass alle Papierhandschriften auf der uns erhaltenen Membranüberlieferung fussen. Durch diese Ausgabe der Eddalieder war Bugges wissenschaftlicher Ruf unter den Germanisten begründet. Aber Bugge hat mit der Ausgabe seine eddische Tätigkeit nicht abgeschlossen. In eine Reihe kleinerer Beiträge zur eddischen Dichtung, die er besonders im *Arkiv för nordisk Filologi* veröffentlichte, hat er zahlreiche Stellen aufzuklären versucht, zuweilen mit ganz einfachen sprachlichen Mitteln, zuweilen mit Annahme der Entlehnung aus der angelsächsischen oder der keltischen Sprache. In den 70er Jahren hatte er den Plan zu einer neuen Ausgabe, die in der Tat eine Idealausgabe hätte genannt werden müssen; im 7. Band der *Zsch. f. deutsche Philol.* gibt er in der Ausgabe der *Hamðismál* eine Probe davon.

Sonst sind Bugges Arbeiten auf dem Gebiete der nordischen Literaturgeschichte nicht sehr zahlreich. Von Texten publizierte er noch die *Völsunga saga* (1865) und die *Hervarar saga* (1873). In einer feinsinnigen Abhandlung suchte er den Bischof Bjarni Kolbeinsson von den Orkneyen als den Verfasser der *pulur*, die in der Snorra-Edda Aufnahme gefunden haben, zu erweisen (*Aarböger*, 1875). Die Skaldendichtung lag auch mehr ausser

seinem Forschungsgebiet; abgesehen von seinen Untersuchungen über die Verse der *Kormáks saga* (Aarbøger, 1879) hat er nur die beiden ältesten Skalden Bragi und Þjóðólf aus Hvin eingehender erforscht, die Echtheit der ihnen zugeschriebenen Strophen bestritten und diese einem Dichter des 10. Jahrh. zugeschrieben, der sich längere Zeit auf den Inseln des Westmeeres aufgehalten habe (*Bidrag til den äldste Skaldedigtninges Historie*. Krist. 1894).

In dieser letzten Arbeit steht Bugge ganz im Banne der literarischen Westmeerhypothese, mit der aufs engste seine Mythen- und Sagenforschung zusammenhängt. Bis in das 8. Jahrzehnt des vorigen Jahrhunderts herrschte unter den Germanisten und in weiten Kreisen die Ansicht, dass der Inhalt der eddischen Dichtung der Ausdruck ungefälschten germanischen Heidentums sei. Einzelne Zweifler an diesem Dogma, das sich hauptsächlich unter dem Einfluss der Brüder Grimm gebildet hatte, hat es stets gegeben, aber diese kamen nicht auf, weil ihnen vor allem die nötigen Kenntnisse fehlten um das Gegenteil zu beweisen. Auch im Norden hatte man die eddische Dichtung weit überschätzt und sie in uralter Zeit entstehen lassen. Schon frühzeitig zeigt nun Bugge, dass aus sprachlichen Gründen keines der eddischen Gedichte vor 800 entstanden sein könne, dass also die ältesten der Wikingerzeit angehören. Auch von anderer Seite wurde das hohe Alter angegriffen, das alte Ansehen, das die eddische Dichtung genoss, erschüttert: H. Petersen führte den Nachweis, dass auf Grund antiquarischer Zeugnisse und der Sagas ein anderer Götterglaube für die nordgermanischen Völker zu erschliessen sei als ihn die Eddalieder zeigten. Vigfusson suchte in seinen *Prolegomena* zur Sturlunga die norwegischen Kolonien als die Heimat der meisten eddischen Gedichte zu erweisen; der Norweger Bang fand in der *Voluspá*, einer der wichtigsten dieser Liedersammlungen, eine Nachbildung der alexandrinischen Sibyllendichtung. Aber diese Schriften drangen nicht in weitere Kreise; erst durch Bugges Studien über die Entstehung der nordischen Götter- und Heldensage, die zugleich norwegisch und deutsch erschienen (München, 1887-



1889), entbrannte der Kampf. In diesem Werke behandelte Bugge vor allem die Mythenkreise: die Baldermythe, die Mythe von Odin am Galgen, und die von der weltliche Yggdrasill. Keine von diesen Mythen, nimmt er an, ist ein nordisches Gewächs. Nordländer haben vielmehr im Verkehr mit den Völkern der Westmeerinseln, den Iren und den Angelsachsen, die Legenden vom Christus und Sagen des klassischen Altertums kennen gelernt und diese in nordgermanisch-poetischem Gewande wiedergegeben. Bei dieser Wiedergabe hat die Uebertragung der fremden Namen eine bedeutende Rolle gespielt: die einen sind Namen der Vorlage in nordischem Gewande, andre Uebersetzungen, die nicht selten auf falsches Verständnis des ursprünglichen Namens hinauslaufen. Mit der ihm eignen Belesenheit, Phantasie und Kombinationsgabe suchte Bugge diese Tatsache zu stützen. Die Studien riefen eine Flut wissenschaftlicher Streitschriften hervor—als eine revolutionäre Idee bezeichnete man das ganze Werk. Besonders arg griffen Rydberg und Müllenhoff seinen Verfasser an, während K. Maurer, E. H. Meyer u. a. sich alsbald auf seine Seite schlugen. Nur allmählich hat sich der Sturm gelegt, und auch heute ist die Forschung noch nicht einig. Doch ein wichtiges Ergebnis hat das Werk gehabt; man mag sich Bugges Ideen gegenüber verhalten wie man will: man nimmt heute nicht mehr die eddische Ueberlieferung so schlechthin auf Treu und Glauben hin, sondern prüft jedes Zeugnis auf seinen literargeschichtlichen und mythischen Wert. Es steht ferner auch fest, dass die meisten eddischen Mythen poetische Erzeugnisse des norwegischen Stammes aus der Wikingerzeit, und dass sie zum Teil reflektierende Poesie begabter Individuen sind, nicht aber Volksglauben widerspiegeln. Hierdurch hat der grösste Teil der eddischen Dichtung eine neue Basis erhalten, und diese geschaffen zu haben, ist das Verdienst Bugges. Manche seiner Behauptungen hat er später selbst aufgegeben, aber an der Grundidee seines Werkes, an dem grossem Einfluss der Völker des Westmeers, der sich in der eddischen Dichtung zeigt, hat er unentwegt festgehalten und ihn immer von neuem verteidigt. Um ihn fester stützen zu können



hat er sich noch in seinen alten Tagen eingehend mit Irisch beschäftigt, das Geistesleben der Iren in seiner Universalität zu erfassen, hatte er sich zur Aufgabe gemacht, um dadurch um so sicherer die gegenseitige Beeinflussung dieses Volkes und der Nordgermanen aufhellen zu können. Die Phantasie der Nordgermanen, das ist der Grundgedanke seiner Forschung in den letzten Jahren seines Lebens, ist erst durch den Verkehr mit fremden Völkern befruchtet worden und hat jene Poesie erzeugt, die wir heute, besonders in der eddischen Dichtung, bewundern. Aus diesem Ideenkreise heraus zweifelte er an der Echtheit der Dichtung der norwegischen Skalden Bragi und þjóðólf, liess die Helgilieder auf den Inseln des Westmeers entstanden sein (*Helgedigtene*, Kbh., 1896. *The Home of the Eddic Poems with especial Reference to the Helgi-Lays*. London, 1899), ebenso die Lieder von Wolsungen und Nibelungen (PBB.XXII, 115ff), nimmt starken Einfluss der nordischen Sage auf die irische Geschichtsschreibung an (*Norsk. Sagafortälling og Sagaskrivning i Irland*. *Norsk hist. Tidskr.* 1901, leider unvollendet), wie er andererseits den Eingang der Völsunga saga (*Ark.* 17, 41ff) oder die Erzählung, wie Sighvatr zum Dichter wurde (*Ark.* XIII, 209ff), die Sage von Erpr und Eitil (Krist. 1898) u. a., unter der Einwirkung der Westmeervölker entstanden sein lässt. Nur der Drang nach Wahrheit hat Bugge zu all diesen Arbeiten getrieben. Er wusste, dass durch sie seinen Landsleuten ein Teil ihres Nationalgutes genommen wurde, aber nationale Eitelkeit lag seinem Wesen fern, so sehr er auch sein Vaterland liebte. Trotz Anerkennung dieses grossen Dranges nach Wahrheit lässt sich nicht leugnen, dass Bugge zu sehr im Banne seiner Keltenhypothese stand. Wollte er doch auch in Beowulf, zu dessen Erklärung er so manchen schönen Beitrag geliefert (PBB. XII), irischen Einfluss wahrnehmen können.

Ruhiger als auf sagen und mythengeschichtlichem Gebiete ist Bugges wissenschaftliches Leben auf runologischem verlaufen. Wohl hat er auch hier zuweilen recht kühne, anfechtbare Hypothesen aufgestellt, aber er fand der Mitforscher nur wenige und beherrschte das Gebiet, wohl neben Wimmer, wie kein and-

rer. Dazu war die Sprachgeschichte, von der alle Runenforschung auszugehen hat, seine eigentliche Domäne. Schon in früher Jugend hatte er Skandinavien bereist, überall die Runensteine und Denkmäler im Original studiert und ihre Inschriften aufgezeichnet. In zahlreichen Monographien in der *Tidskrift for Philologi og Pädagogik*, dem *Arkiv f. nord. Filologi*, den *Aarböjern*, der *Sv. Fornminnes Foreningens Tidsskrift*, u. a. hat er die Ergebnisse seiner Forschung niedergelegt. Mit der Deutung des goldenen Hornes von Gallehus, die Bugge schon 1865 gab und dann 1867 näher begründete und die heute unumstrittene Anerkennung findet, beginnt für die Runenforschung eine ganz neue Zeit. Das phantastische Raten und Deuten, wie es in diesem Zeitalter noch G. Stephens vertritt, hörte endlich auf, und an seine Stelle tritt die solide Forschung, die von einer peinlichst genauen Untersuchung der Runendenkmäler ausgeht, die jedes Zeichen scharf unter die Lupe nimmt und es mit den andern Zeichen des Denkmals und der Zeit genau vergleicht, und die bei der Deutung der Inschriften strengste Beachtung der Sprachgesetze fordert. Bugge hat im Verein mit Wimmer in Kopenhagen dieses Zeitalter der Runenforschung heraufgeführt, und von beiden Forschern sind schon heute die bei weitem meisten Denkmäler richtig gedeutet. Von den vielen trefflichen Deutungen die Bugge gegeben hat, sei nur hingewiesen auf die der mächtigen Steine von Rök in Östergötland (*Antiqv. Tidsskrift f. Sverige* V, und in *Vitterhets Historiä och Antiquitets Akademiens Handlingar* XI, 3), auf die Untersuchungen über die Inschriften der Goldbracteaten (*Aarb.* 1871), auf die Runeverser (mit Brate, *Ant. Tidsskr. f. Sverige*, X), auf die Deutung der Bilder und Erklärung der Inschriften auf den Denkmälern der Insel Man (*Aarb.* 2. R. 14). So war Bugge wie kein zweiter berufen, das grosse Nationalwerk seines Vaterlandes, *Norges Indskrifter med de aeldre Runer* (Krist. 1892ff) herauszugeben, und er hat in diesem Werke sich ein Denkmal geschaffen, durch das er nicht nur sein Vaterland, sondern auch die Wissenschaft geehrt hat. Das Werk ist abgeschlossen. Leider ist es Bugge nicht vergönnt gewesen, auch

die Einleitung zum Abschluss zu bringen, in der er sich über den Ursprung und die Ausbreitung der Runenschrift ausspricht, sowie über die Geschichte der Runenbezeichnungen. Mit Friesen lässt er die Runen bei den Goten nördlich vom schwarzen Meere entstehen, und sich von dort aus zu den verschiedenen germanischen Völkern verbreiten.

So hat S. Bugge auf verschiedenen Gebieten bahnbrechend gewirkt. Zu den eben berührten kommen noch zahlreiche sprachgeschichtliche Monographien, seine klassischen Arbeiten über Plautus, seine altitalienischen Studien, Beiträge zur Erforschung der etruskischen Sprache, der Zigeunersprache, des Armenischen u. a. Zu manchem Werke andrer Verfasser hat er beigesteuert, denn jeder nahm gern von dem belesenen und geistreichen Manne, was er erhalten konnte. Daher durfte auch sein Name bei keinem ernst wissenschaftlichen Unternehmen in Skandinavien fehlen, wenn dies nur irgendwie Berührung mit der Philologie hatte. Er selbst war Mitbegründer der norwegischen Altertumsgesellschaft, des Vereins für norwegische Dialekte und Volksüberlieferung, sass im Vorstande der historischen Gesellschaft, des Vereins zur Erhaltung norwegischer Altertümer, war Ehrenmitglied zahlreicher gelehrter Gesellschaften in und ausserhalb Skandinaviens. Die Universitäten zu Upsala und Edinburg ernannten ihn zu ihrem Ehrendoktor. Wie S. Bugge ist selten ein Forscher zumal ein Philolog geehrt worden. Und doch suchte er nirgends die Ehren: man brachte sie ihm entgegen. Denn wenn sich je bei einem Menschen das Wort bewahrheitet hat, dass die gelehrtesten Leute die bescheidensten sind, so ist es bei S. Bugge gewesen. Nirgends trat er herausfordernd und rechthaberisch auf; selbst die härtesten Angriffe seiner Gegner, wie Müllenhoff, konnten ihn nicht zu bösen Worten reizen. Seine Polemik war nur sachlich und vornehm. Dieser Adel seines Wesens, der ihm allerorten Freunde gewann, entwaffnete selbst die Gegner. Und wie in seinen Schriften, so war er auch in seinem Leben leutselig gegen jedermann, bereit zu helfen, wo er konnte, dankbar auch für den geringsten Liebesdienst. So ist mit Bugge einer der bedeutendsten For-

scher unsrer Zeit, ein selten edler Mensch und grosser Charakter  
heimgegangen. Auf ihn passen so recht die Worte der alten  
Hávamál:

Deyr fé deyja frændr  
deyr sjálfr et sama,  
en orþstírr deyr al drigi  
hveims sér góðan getr.

Deyr fé deyja frændr  
deyr sjálfr et sama,  
ek veit einn at al dri deyr:  
dómr of dauðan hvern.

Leipzig, Dez. 1907.

E. Mogk.



## CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH

## I

## THE ORIGIN OF THE PRONOUN "SHE"

Few problems in Middle English grammar have been so baffling as that of the source of the pronominal forms *scho*, *sche*, and *she* which gradually replace the older fem. pers. pron. *heo*, *he* and *ho* in the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. While a dozen years ago OE. *sēo* was regarded by several scholars as either the direct source, or as having been the chief factor in the change, so in one form or another Earle, Morsbach, and Sweet, recently again the question has seemed to many wholly problematical. Thus Henry Bradley in *The Making of English*, p. 55, records the form "she" as "unexplained," and similarly H. Logeman in his article: "On Some Cases of Scandinavian Influence in English" in Vol. CXVII, p. 44 of *Archiv f. d. St. d. n. Sp.* On the other hand Kaluza still accepts the view that "she" is formally a composite of *heo* and *seo* (*Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache*. II, second ed. 1907). A reconsideration of the question seems therefore desirable. From certain points of view, which have not been sufficiently taken account of hitherto, I believe new light can be thrown upon the question. And first I shall note briefly the explanations offered before.

In his *Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache*, Friedrich Koch listed the southern variants *heo*, *ho*, *ȝeo*, and *ȝoe*, and the form *ȝho* as characteristic of the *Ormulum*. He thereupon notes the appearance of *scho* and *sche* without, however, attempting to explain their origin. John Earle<sup>1</sup> regarded O. E. *sēo* as the source, and this was to be found for the first time in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for 1140 (*and scæ fleh*), in which derivation he has been followed by others since. Earle held that

<sup>1</sup>In his *Philology of the English Tongue*.

the rise of the form *she* < *sēo* dem. pron. was a development parallel to that of "they," pers. pron.<sup>1</sup> from, as he thought, O. E. *þā*, dem. pr. This view was formulated by Morsbach, *Über den Ursprung der Neuenglischen Schriftsprache*,<sup>2</sup> p. 121, as follows: "Im Satze unbetontes *sēo* ergab *seo*, *sjo*, *sho*, betontes *sēo* wurde zunächst zu *sē*, welches durch Anlehnung an das unbetonte *sho*, mit dem es wechselte, gleichfalls zu *she* wurde."<sup>3</sup> The difficulty with this explanation is that it assumes, 1), the development in East Midland of the demonstrative *sēo* to the personal pronoun "she" at a time when the old demonstratives had become weakened to mere articles; 2), it assumes the change in M. E. of earlier *se* + *o* to *sh* + *o*, a change that is unparalleled in native English words. There are also other difficulties which will be noted below.<sup>3</sup> Similar is Henry Sweet's explanation; he assumes a hybrid *schēo* (< *scho* and *sēo*) as the immediate source of "she," *ēo* having regularly become *ē*. According to Sweet also O. E. *hēo* passed thro *hēo* into *hjo*, *jhoo*, written *þho* in Early Midland, which form was lost however, *scho* taking its place (*Short Historical English Grammar*). This is accepted by Skeat in *Principles of English Etymology*, I, but in his *Concise Etymological Dictionary* (1898), he seems to think that O. N. *sjá*. dem. pr. may have had something to do with it, inclining thus to Kluge's view given in Paul's *Grundriss*, I, p. 90. This etymology Kluge later abandoned, it would seem, for in *English Etymology* O. E. *hēo*, per. pron., is given as the functional source of "she," which phonetically is traced back to O. E. *sēo*, dem. pron. (as Morsbach). Finally, the views of Morsbach and Sweet are accepted by O. F. Emerson, who in his *History of the English Language* (1895) p. 326, speaks of *s* as having in this word become palatalized to *sh*. In *Englische Studien*, XXII, p. 330, Sarrazin, however, takes exception to the prevailing theory. He believes O. E. *hēo* to be the direct source, through *hjo*, *þho* (Orm's form) this later becoming *scho*, a development which he holds equally easy and natural with that of *kj* > *tsh*. He cites the ap-

1. Now generally held to be from O. N. *þeir*.

2. Heilbronn, 1888. Sentence so in original.

3. Morsbach's later effort, *Anglia*, VII. 331, to identify 'she' with the Frisian personal pronominal stem with initial *s*, acc, f, *se*, pl, *se* is not convincing.

parently pertinent case of the name Shetland from O. N. *Hjaltland*, but in connection with this makes the seemingly contradictory statement that "höchstens in wörtern altnordischen ursprungs konnte ein ähnlicher lautwandel eintreten." Is then "she" after all not from O. E. *hēo*? Sarrazin is also assuming rather much when he says that *h<sub>j</sub>*, *ʒh*, developed as easily to *sch* (*š*) as *k<sub>j</sub>* to *tsh* (*tš*), for the latter is common to both English and the Scandinavian languages (and also cp. O. Norman *c* (*k*) to *ch*, as in "chamber," English-loanword) while on the other hand the change from *h<sub>j</sub>* to *sh* is not at all proven for English. To be sure the latter has taken place in some parts of Scandinavian territory, something that Sarrazin also notes, but he does not assume any Scandinavian influence upon the supposed change in the pronunciation of the English pronoun. Sarrazin's explanation seems to have been accepted by Eilert Ekwall, *Shakespeare's Vocabulary*, 1903, p. 57, who classes "she" with native English words. He refers in a note to the theories of Kluge, Skeat and Sarrazin, and says relative to the last: "the divergent view of Sarrazin 'she' < O. E. *hēo* is, in my opinion, more probable." Kaluza's opinion seems to be that formally and functionally both, O. E. *hēo* is the source of our pronoun. His words are: "Anlautendes ae. *h+j* ergab me. *ʒh* (*j*), *sch* (*š*) in dem. Pron. *ʒhe*, *ʒho*, *sche*, *scho*, *sie* (ae. *hē*, *heō*, *h<sub>j</sub>ō*)." (§ 271 note 1), and in 319. "Der N. Sg. F. der 3 Pers. ae. *hēo*, *heō* wurde zu me. *ʒho*, *scho*, daneben auch *ʒhe*, *sche*; letztere Form wurde schliesslich alleinherrschend." Reference has already been made to Bradley's discussion above; his full statement may here be added: "The fact that 'they, them, their,' represent Scandinavian demonstrative pronouns favors the hypothesis that 'she' is connected in some obscure way with the O. N. feminine demonstrative *sū* and *sjā*, which often had the function of personal pronouns."

The possible identity of the enclitic—*is*,—*es*, of So. Kent. and So. E. Midl. as *setles*—"she put" Kentish *he's*, *hese*, with Frisian *se*, as *hi nourse*, "he took her," is examined by W.

1. By Kluge and Lutz, 1898.



Heuser, *Anglia*, XI, p. 306, but he leaves in abeyance the question of what share this—*es*, *his*, *hese*, may have had in the development of *scho*, *sche*. The objections to the enclitic *se* as a source of the pro. “she” will be clear, I think, in the course of our consideration of the general pronominal conditions below.

Judging from all the facts that we can know it seems clear to me that “she” cannot have developed out of O. E. *sēo*, directly or indirectly, by a transference of its initial dental spirant to the pers. pron. *ȝhe*, *ȝho*. It is also clear that the forms with *sch* (*sh*) originated in the northeast Midland and adjacent parts of Northern English territory, that is specifically in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. It will be in order to observe here the form and the distribution of the feminine personal and demonstrative pronominal forms in Early Middle English.

In general the demonstratives *se* and *seo* have been replaced by *ȝe* and *ȝeo* (*ȝe*) before, and in most places long before, the forms *scho* and *sche* appear. That is, the chronology of the forms which come to supplant each other is: 1, a), *he*, *heo* with b), *se*, *seo*, in which period also appear the feminines *he* and *se*; 2, a), *he*, *heo*, *he*, *hye*, *hi*, *ȝho*, *ȝeo*, *ȝo*, etc. with b); *ȝeo*; *ȝeo* (*ȝe*); 3, a), *sge*, *scho*, *sche*, *she* with b) *ȝe*. Whereas the theory most often held requires that *seo* or at least *se* appear along with the forms of 1, a, and 3 a also, unless one wishes to assume that *seo* became *scho*, which is disproved by other considerations to be noted below.

A glance at the texts of the period will show above sequence of form groups. In Southern texts *ȝe*, with the feminines *ȝeo* or *ȝa* (also *ȝe*) are fully developed in the last half of the twelfth century while the old fem. pers. pron. *hēo* still remains, as in *Lazamon* (last part of the twelfth century), *ȝe*, sing. *ȝa* plur. beside *hēo Juliana* (1200, northern part of southern territory), *ȝe*, *ȝeo* along with *heo*, *ha*, while in the late Mirk's *Instructions to Parish Priests* (1400) we find the characteristic southern *hia* (modern dialectal *ha*, *a*); i. e. *sche* does not here appear, and the article *ȝe* is of course regularly employed. In *Old English Homilies*, second series (E.E.T.S.), the date of which is some-



what prior to and following 1200, and which represent southeast Midland, the fem. pers. pron. is *heo*, *hie*, and *he* while again the article (dem. pron.) is *þe*, *þio*, sing. *þo*, plur. In the *Floris and Blancheflor*, (S. E. Midl. about 1230-1240), *þe* appears regularly as article, sing. and plur. In the *Bestiary* (S.E. Midl. probably about 1240), the article is regularly *þe*, sing. and plur. while here the fem. pers. pron. is *ge*, (probably representing *ȝe*).

The *Genesis and Exodus*, which has been variously dated, but which I cannot help thinking at least as late as 1250, and as East Midland in origin but somewhat mixed in its dialect, has *ghe* almost exclusively as the fem. dem. pron., i. e. the palatal and the vowel of the form which we have already noted for the *Bestiary*. The spelling with *h*, however, which is almost universal in the *Genesis and Exodus*, shows an aspirated *j* which is not present in the pronunciation of the author of the *Bestiary*. That is, in the latter we have the southern (S.E.M., S.E. So.) palatalization, in the former the northern (N.E.M., Southern part of No.) composite aspirated palatal, *ȝh*). Spirantization of the *h* is not uncommon in Kentish and the Southeast generally as in the forms *hya*, *hiya* and *hye*, but the two first letters cannot in these cases have represented the same quality of aspiration as in the North Midlands.<sup>1</sup> For in the South (and Southeast) the characteristic forms are, or soon come to be, either *ȝe*, *ȝi*, *ȝie*, *ȝeo*, or *ȝo*, that is, minus the aspiration, or else *he*, *hi*, *ha*, *ho*, *hu*, *hue*, *hoe*, that is, minus the palatal [ȝ]. These forms remain in the southern dialects today, as in Wiltshire, *ȝi* and *ȝi*, and elsewhere, *hu*, *u*, *ha*, *a*. In the forms with *h* the *e* (*i*) was early dropped as in the *Ancren Riwe* (*ha*) or the *Owl and the Nightingale*, *Hali Meidenhad*, and elsewhere (*ho*).

Now in the *Genesis and Exodus* the fem. pers. pron. appears also exceptionally as *ge*, *che*, *sge*, *sche*, and *she*. But these forms are very rare. An examination of 3700 lines gives the relative frequency as follows: *ghe* 82, *ge* 1, *che* 1, *sge* 3, *sche* 4, and *she* 1. The form *che*, if of sufficiently frequent occurrence, might

1. Orm's *ȝh*.

indicate that the author was familiar with a pronunciation of the fem. pers. pron. which lay approximately half-way between the mediopalatal *ʒhe* and that which is evidently represented in *sge* and *sche*. However it is found so rarely that no inference can be drawn from it, it may be, indeed probably is, simply an inexact writing for *ghe*. The author's own pronunciation is clearly *ʒhe* which appears as *ghe* 82 times out of 91.<sup>1</sup> It is hardly possible to disregard the three writings *sge*, *sche* and *she* as inexact spellings of *ghe*. If these come from the author himself then they would seem to indicate that the author of G.E. was also familiar with another more northerly pronunciation of the fem. pers. pro. which he has occasionally introduced into his work. Or, inasmuch as the language of G.E. is not pure, it may be that these forms have come into our text later than the time of the writing of the original (and from another dialect). In the *Floris* and *Blancheflor*, which is S.E.M. of the same time or perhaps slightly earlier, the fem. pron. is still consistently *heo*, while, as we have seen above, the old dem. pr. and article has become *pe*, sing. and plur. The forms *scho* and *sche* then, as composites of *heo*+*seo*, *se*, cannot possibly have developed in East Midland territory for clearly *seo* has disappeared long before such forms as *hjo* or *ghe* develop. There is then left the North.

In the *Ormulum*, which was written in Lincolnshire about 1200, and is therefore Northeast Midland English, O. E. *hēo* fem. pers. pron., appears as *ʒho* (O. E. *hēo*, pl. has been replaced by *þezz*, *heom* appears as *hemm*, though usually supplanted by *þezzm*). Lambertz, *Die Sprache des Ormulums* 327, holds that *ʒh* represents "mehr oder weniger gutturale oder mediopalatale stimmhafte Reibelaute je nach der Art der ungebenden Buchstaben." But this *ʒh* does not, he says, appear initially, for the etymology of *ʒho* forbids the assumption of a guttural spirant here (§ 332). Lambertz is dubious with regard to Sweet's view that *ʒh* in *ʒho*, "she," probably represented the sound of German *ch* in *ich*.

<sup>1</sup>omitting *ge* from the count; *ge* certainly=*ghe* here.

I believe that *ʒh* in *ʒho* here represents a palatal with heavy aspiration. Had the *h* simply been graphic (silent) Orm would have written *ʒo*; but he is here, as elsewhere, consistent and always writes *ʒho*. The pronunciation is either *hjo* (Sweet), or as I rather believe, *ʒh*, here, as elsewhere in Orm in the neighborhood of back vowels, represents a sound so near to the guttural spirant that Orm found in *ʒh* the symbol that would most nearly represent it. It is significant that the form here is the one with the vowel *o*, as in such later northern texts as the *Cursor Mundi* and the works of *Rolle of Hampole*, all written in Yorkshire, the *Cursor* probably somewhat before 1300.

It is clear that Orm's *ʒho* is the precursor of the Yorkshire form *scho*, which by influence of the *he*- and *ʒhe*-forms in Lincolnshire becomes *sche*, as in *Havelock* and in *Robert Manning*. But it is perfectly clear also that *scho* can not represent a composite of *hjo* and *seo*, for here as farther south *seo* has disappeared long ago. In the *Peterborough Chronicle* (N. E. Midland, directly south of Lincolnshire) the old dem. art. *seo* is still met with in Part I (written 1121), and in Part II (written 1131) as *se* (before masculines and feminines alike), while in Part III (1132-1154, written 1154) *se* (and *seo*) has been supplanted by *þe* throughout in article function. Also in the *Ormulum* the article *þe* has absolutely replaced *se* and *seo*. Hence, if there has been some outside influence operating to change *ʒho* to *scho* it must have been an influence other than the O. E. *sēo*. This becomes still clearer if we bear in mind that the obscuration of gender came about first in the north (Lincolnshire, Yorkshire and adjacent region) and that it would have been very unlikely that the form *seo* should long have maintained itself as an article (or dem. pron.) here any more than in Midland territory. And, in fact, as has been pointed out above, *se* (and *seo*) are wholly supplanted by *þe* in Part III of the *Chronicle*. This new form also appears with demonstrative force as in *Pet. Chr.* 1087, something which would seem to make the continuation of the form improbable in view of the fact that the earlier inflected forms of the dem. pr. and article had an initial *þ* as the neuter *þæt.*, acc. fem. *þa*, and Pl. *þa*, etc.



Yet I can see how for a time *se* might have survived as a demonstrative after the regular article had become *þe*. There is indeed a possibility, that the form *scæ* (Chron. 1140) is such a survival; yet,<sup>1</sup> it may be objected, why should *se* survive particularly as a fem. dem. and not rather as a masculine, for while gender had become obscured such fem. forms as *þeo* (and *heo*) and acc. *þa* would certainly have operated toward preventing the fixing of the feminine gender upon *se* as opposed to the masculine. I shall return to *scæ* below.

As far as the West Midlands are concerned we find the same condition there, except that *heo* in its various forms is evidenced at a much later date. These forms are *heo*, *he*, *hue*, *hoe*, *ha*, *ho* and *þoe*. The form that seems more characteristic of the Northern part of West Midland speech being *ho* as in the *Early English Alliterative Poems* (Lancashire).<sup>2</sup> Some of these forms remain down to this day in the dialects of these regions as we have seen they do in the South, especially in the forms *ho*, *hu* and *u*. It is not until quite late that *sche* establishes itself in the West, and then evidently as an importation from the East Midlands and the North; and long after this has taken place, the old pers. pron. continues side by side with it in literature (as *William of Palerne*, *Langland*, et al).

Nor did *heo* vanish in the North for in the present dialects of Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, etc., it remains as *hu* and *u* (Halliwell's *Glossary*, Wright's *Dialect Grammar*, 1906.) In connection with this the condition in Kentish is instructive. Here the forms *si* and *hi* are the rule, but with these are also frequently found *syo* and *hyo*, *sye*, *sie*, and *hie*, *hye*, *hiyo*, *hya*, and even *zie* (Dehn, *Die Pronomina des Frühmittelenglischen*, pp. 32-33). But there is no evidence whatever of any influence of one group upon the other; no such composites as *schye*, *schie* or *scho* (*hi*, *hye*, *hyo+si*, *sye*, *syo*, etc.) occur. Nor is there any evidence that would point to the fact that *seo* became *sche* thus replacing *heo* (as Morsbach, Kluge, Dehn, R. Morris), for the very reason that, while it is clear that *scho* and

1. In fact *scæ* is a dem. pron. in three of the four cases in which it occurs in the annual for 1140.

2. *scho* occurs once in *E.E.A.P*



*sche* originate in the North East Midlands and adjacent territory to the North, here *seo* (and *se*) has given way to *þeo* and *þe* along with which for a considerable period *þho*, *þhe*, is the fem. pers. pron.

And there is further the phonological difficulty of deriving *sche* from *seo*.<sup>1</sup> Here perhaps it is necessary, however, to take into account again the form *scæ* which occurs four times in the Peterborough Chronicle for 1140. Those who derive *sche* from *seo* regard this as the earliest occurrence of *sche*. The form *scæ* is indeed perplexing, first, because, if it be the modern *she*, this isolated occurrence seems to be a century too early, second, because it occurs only in this one annual, written twenty years after *se* has been replaced by *þe*<sup>2</sup>, and third, because the spelling is unusual both as regards consonants and vowel. The Peterborough Chronicle represents linguistically a region only slightly south of that of the Ormulum. Yet in this text the fem. pers. pron. is *þho*. This together with facts considered above would seem to point to the necessity of separating *scæ* (Chron.) from e. g. *scho* of the Cursor Mundi (before 1300) and Yorkshire and Lincolnshire *scho* and *sche* of the second half of the 13th Century. Further as *sc* and *æ* may both have various values in the Peterborough Chronicle *scæ* becomes doubly perplexing. The vowel *æ* may here stand for *e*, *a*, *ea*, *ēa*, or *ēo*, (see Meyer, *Die Sprache des Chronik von Peterborough*), and as *sc* may also simply be an inexact writing for *s* (as *Scessuns* for *Soissons*) *scæ* may mean *se* (O. E. *se*, *sēo*), *sa*, or *so*. If the latter it may be the Old Dano-Norse *su*, which as Bradley points out (in note referred to p. 117 above), often had the function of pers. pron. Or *scæ* might represent the pronunciation *shæ* or *sha*, in which case it might be derived from O. Norse *sjá* (as Kluge once, later Skeat, and as Bradley suggests). *Sjá* would become *sha* or *shæ* (unstressed). The early date 1154 favors this as in this bilingual region the O. N. *sjá* (pronounced by the Norse speaking English *sha*), was of course known to the English. The rarity of Norse-Danish words in the Chronicle does not militate against

1. Even if we may disregard that it is chiefly *se* f. and m. that we would have to deal with as the intermediate form.

2. and *seo* has earlier yielded to *se*.

such a theory for O. N. *þeir* is consistently used in Orm and was probably already established by 1154. And it is furthermore not the scarcity of loans that is the significant thing but the number of times later loans are yet regularly represented by native words. However, for reasons given above and others to be added below I do not believe Modn. E. "she" is represented in *scæ*; its origin must be sought elsewhere.

If I am right so far the following conclusions will follow: The fem. pers. pron. *scho*, *sche*, in M. E. cannot come from O. E. *hēo* f. pron. by influence of the demonstrative *sēo*, nor can it come from *sēo* direct. Further, there is not much evidence that O. N. *sjá* (or *sū*) is the source or has played any role in the development of "she." Also *scho* and *sche* clearly originate in precisely those sections of England which formed the heart of the Danish and Norse settlement and where, therefore, they formed a very large proportion of the population, namely Lincolnshire, Yorkshire and adjacent country. O. E. *hēo* remains as the only possible source of *sche*, but everything points to the fact that it was by some form of Scandinavian influence. I believe that influence lies in the way *heo* was pronounced by Norsemen and the English in a region which for a long time was bilingual. Orm's form *ʒho* was an effort to represent that pronunciation, which must have been heavily aspirated, a voiceless semi-guttural spirant very much like what we may assume was the value of the consonant combination *hj* in native Norse words. Orm, who himself was in all probability of Norse or Danish descent, consistently wrote this sound *ʒh*. The form *ʒho* must also be assumed for Yorkshire, in fact it is not unlikely that the half dentalized spirant, which must have been intermediate between *ʒho* and *scho*, developed first in Yorkshire and perhaps as early as the second quarter of the century.

We assume in short that we have here the same stage of development from *hj* (*hjo*) to *scho* as took place in O. N. *hj* to *sh* (š) in many Norwegian words, particularly in those parts of Norway whence a large number of the Norse Vikings who settled

in that part of England came.<sup>1</sup> So. O. N. *hja*, "with, *chez*, at the house of," Mod. Norw. *sjaa* (dialects of Telemarken, Hardanger, Søndhordland, Ryfylke, Jæderen, *shao* in Sogn, and *sjaa* in Gudbrandsdalen); O. N. *hjastaurr*, the stick used as a brace in a rail-fence, Mod. N. *sjaastaur* (in Stjördalen); O. N. *hjóm*, "a thin layer," Mod. No. *sjaam*, "a thin stratum of clouds" (Hadeland), also adj. *sjaamet*; O. N. *hjallr*, "scaffold," *sjell* in No. Gudbrandsdalen; O. N. *hjarni*, "brain," *sjerne* in No. Gudbrandsdalen, and in the same region and elsewhere O. N. *hjón*, *hjún*, "husband and wife" is *sjon*, also in *sjonskilna*, "separation of husband and wife." In Jakobson's *Det norröne Språk på Shetland* may be found numerous cases of this same case as *shalma*, "a helmeted cow," black cow with a white head, < O. N. *hjálma* (p. 103) etc.; but the phonology of Shetland words is very irregular and I prefer to leave these out of account. The name Shetland, however, illustrates well how the change from *zho* to *scho* may have come about in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. Here the O. N. *Hjaltland* was at an early time written *Syetteländ*, *Schetteländ*. The combination *hj* in the name *Hjaltland* having a strongly aspirated semi-guttural sound was heard by the early settlers as a dentalized spirant (hsch) and later was so written. Thus in No. 114 of the records of *Diplomatarium Norwegicum*, Vol. II, written in Latin at Inverness, Scotland, October 29, 1312, the old name *Hjaltland* is written *Syetteländie*, p. 98, and *Syettelandia*, p. 99. In a Latin letter of 1289, Thorwald, governor of Hjaltland 1290-1300, is spoken of as *Thorvaldus de Shetland*.

In a similar way I conceive did the spirant *hj*, *zh*, as pronounced in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, come to be heard as *scho* and so written. From this region then *scheo* arose which later became *sche*, *she*; this form thereupon spread south into East and Southeast Midland and into the literary language.

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<sup>1</sup> Danes were undoubtedly in the majority in Lincolnshire but this does not affect the problem.



## THE KANTIAN STUDIES OF SCHILLER.

That Schiller had some acquaintance with the Kantian philosophy perhaps as early as 1786, that is during his Dresden period, is evident from the decidedly Kantian coloring of some of the passages in the *Philosophical Letters*, but that his acquaintance with it was not very intimate or extensive is also seen not only from the vagueness and looseness with which Kantian principles are there employed, but from the direct statement of Schiller himself in his letter to Körner of April 15, 1788. What knowledge of the Kantian writings he possessed he had perhaps gleaned mostly from the long and earnest conversations with Körner, which he is reported to have had, and from the regular correspondence with his friend, whose letters and other writings show him to have been a man of philosophical temperament and varied interests, though the variety of his interests and the somewhat desultory character of his literary efforts kept him from going far beyond the stage of dilettantism in any line. The first writings of Kant which Schiller actually read, and the only ones before 1791, so far as there is any record, were the two small treatises *Idee zu einer allgemeinen Geschichte in weltbürgerlicher Absicht*, and *Muthmasslicher Anfang der Menschengeschichte*, both published in the *Berliner Monatsschrift*. "Reinhold's lectures" he writes to Körner August 29, 1787, after a visit to Jena, "commence in October; they include Kant's Philosophy and the Fine Arts. In comparison to Reinhold, you are an enemy of Kant's; he maintains that a hundred years hence Kant's reputation will be unbounded. But I must avow that he spoke of him with great judgment, and has already induced me to commence reading Kant's small treatises in the *Berliner Monatsschrift*, amongst which his idea of a universal history gave me great satisfaction. That I shall read Kant, and perhaps study his books is, I see, more than probable. Reinhold



told me that Kant was about to publish a treatise on Practical Reason or on the Will; and afterwards a treatise on Taste. Rejoice, then, beforehand!"\*

When Schiller went to Jena, May, 1789, to assume his duties as professor "extraordinary" of history, to which he had been appointed mainly through Goethe's influence, he found himself in a very nest of Kantians, and heard the Kantian principles extolled until, as he says, he was near surfeited with them (*zum Sattwerden preisen*). Jena was known at this time as the second home of the Kantian philosophy and its fame was attracting students from all parts of Germany and the northern countries, many of whom were either already enthusiastic adherents of the Kantian philosophy or were filled with curiosity to know more about the destructive and novel theories which, as they were told, must produce a revolution in philosophy. That Schiller was on very intimate terms with the teaching force of the University does not appear from his correspondence; indeed the enthusiasm which the students displayed on Schiller's arrival there was by no means shared by his colleagues, some of whom were only glad enough of an opportunity to humiliate him. Schiller's impression of Reinhold, the apostle, as he was called, of the new philosophical gospel, was never very favorable, and the interesting description Schiller gives of his character and temperament shows the gulf that was fixed between the two men. "You must not, however, conclude from this description," he writes to Körner, "that Reinhold and I are friends, or will become so. Reinhold can never become my friend, nor I his, although he fancies so. His reason is cold, deep and clear-sighted—mine is not, nor can I appreciate him; but his imagination is poor and circumscribed, and his mind is narrower than mine—His sentiments are scraped together and fall heavily—His ideas of moral virtues are more timid than mine and his softness at times approaches cowardice. He never could be capable of great virtues, or great crimes, either in imagination, or in reality, and that is bad. I can be the friend of no man who is not capable

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\*Correspondence with Körner, tr. Simpson, I., 131-32.

of one, or the other, or both.”<sup>1</sup> It is not probable that a man so unattractive to Schiller could exert a great influence over the poet who was busy fourteen hours a day preparing lectures for students on a subject about which, as he frankly confesses, “many of them would probably know more than the professor.” But it was inevitable that a mind so sensitive to everything that went on about him, and so eager to appropriate anything which might set him to rights on problems in which he felt a perennial interest, would have been infected with the Kantian enthusiasm everywhere manifested.<sup>2</sup> The heroic mould of his nature, also, made him peculiarly susceptible to the Kantian teachings at this time. The intense ethical fervor of Schiller’s nature attached itself only too readily to a system whose ruggedness and sublime sweep came like a refreshing wind to minds weary of the prolix pedantry of the reigning philosophy and the shallow eudaemonism so prevalent at the end of the eighteenth century. The insipid moralizings must have appeared in strange contrast, to all healthy minds, to the impressive utterances of the Sage of Königsberg, the very difficulties of whose writings exercised a strange fascination over the average German mind. Schiller himself, as Nevins says, “though not a philosopher, had a natural inclination to things abstract, intangible and remote; nor did he require that stimulus of the rewards that even an unphilosophical mind may gain from the study of Kant—delight in the sense of the power and solidity of a supreme intellect, in the passages of stern eloquence where the very strength of thought endues the rugged expression with grandeur, and in the fervor of living purpose which inspires and kindles the whole.”<sup>3</sup>

Schiller accordingly needed only an opportunity to devote himself in earnest to the study of the Kantian philosophy. This opportunity came to him in March, 1791, when his literary labors had been interrupted by the first attack of a serious illness the effects of which he never outgrew and which eventually brought on his premature death. Through the influence of the

1. Letters to Körner, Aug. 29, 1787.

2. For Schiller’s philosophical friends and associates cf. Tomaschek, *Schiller in seinem Verhältnisse zur Wissenschaft*, 143.

3. *Life of Schiller*, 88.

Danish poet, Jens Baggesen, Frederick Christian, the Prince of Schleswig-Holstein-Augustenburg, and Count Schimmelmann presented Schiller with the handsome gift of 1,000 thalers annually for three years to free him from want and to make possible his recovery. The joy Schiller experienced may be best conveyed by quoting his letter to Körner:—“.....What I have longed for so intensely during my whole life, is now to be fulfilled. I have got rid of every care and every anxiety for a long period, perhaps forever. I have at last attained the long coveted independence of spirit. I have the immediate prospect of arranging my affairs and paying off all my debts, and unfettered by any solicitude about the means of existence, I can now live entirely in accordance with the impulses of my mind. I have at last leisure to concentrate my thoughts, and to toil for eternity.”

The first book of Kant's to which he devoted himself was the "*Critique of Judgment*" which had just been published, in the spring of 1790. "You cannot guess," he wrote to Körner March 5, 1791, "what I am reading and studying. Nothing worse than Kant. His *Critique of Judgment* which I have bought for myself is carrying me away by its pregnant and illuminating contents and has inspired me with the greatest desire to work myself more and more into his philosophy.....I do not imagine that Kant will be such an insurmountable obstacle, and I shall doubtless study him still more carefully." He had intended to continue his lectures on aesthetics during the winter of the same year, and intended to master the Kantian aesthetics preparatory to them. The lectures, however, were postponed until the winter of 1792-93, and he had ample opportunity, in the meanwhile, to busy himself with his favorite pursuit. "I am now hard at work at Kant's philosophy," he writes to Körner January 1, 1792, "and I wish I could have a discussion with you every evening on the subject—I am fully determined not to lay it down until I have thoroughly mastered it, even if it should take me three years to do so." Nor was his interest confined to the Kan-



tian philosophy; he would like, he adds, to study Locke, Hume, and Leibniz at the same time, and inquires about a good translation of Locke. He would undertake one himself if he were sufficiently master of the English language. Again in May he writes that he is busy with the *Thirty Years' War* and in studying Kant's *Critique of Judgment* preparatory to the *Aesthetical Letters* which, it appears, he had planned as early as this. He intends, also, to read Baumgarten first, he says, and hopes Körner will "see if anything can be done with Sulzer."

In this same letter occurs a passage which has been quoted more than once to show the baneful effect which the study of philosophy is supposed to have had upon the mind of Schiller who fell "only too easily" we are told, "into all the tricks of the metaphysical trade." "I feel," says Schiller, "that ever since I have acted according to laid-down rules, I have lost that boldness and living fire I formerly possessed. I now see what I create and form. I watch the progress of the fruits of inspiration; and my imagination is less free, since it is aware that it is watched." That Schiller was an artistic mind and had splendid natural endowments, everyone will grant; but he had too much insight to imagine for a moment that the knowledge of the principles one employs in artistic creation, provided it goes far enough, will detract from the value of the artistic product, or that insight is incompatible with inspiration. "For practice's sake," says Schiller, "I like a philosophical discussion on theories, and criticism must now remedy what it has spoiled—for it has spoiled me. . . . When I have succeeded in making the laws laid down by art a second nature, in like manner as education makes the polished man, imagination will then reassert her former freedom, and will prescribe her own limits."\* It will be cheerfully granted by all literary critics, I dare say, that some of the "boldness and living fire," which Schiller formerly possessed and which he lost could very well have been dispensed with, and some of the production of the pre-critical period been none the

\*Correspondence with Körner, *Ibid*, II., 172. Many other quotations from Schiller *pro* and *con* might be made. Cf. his letters to Humboldt, June 27, 1798, to Körner Dec. 10, 1804; to Goethe, Oct. 16, 1798, and to Rochlitz, April 16, 1801,



worse for it. Carlyle puts the case admirably: "Excellence," he says, "not ease of composition, is the thing to be desired, and in a mind like Schiller's, so full of energy, of images and thoughts and creative power, the more sedulous practice was little likely to be detrimental."

It is idle to speculate on what might or what might not have been if the conditions had been different from what they were, and it may be that Schiller's work might have excelled in artistic finish and extent anything that he actually did, if he had never given serious study to the principles, philosophic or what not, according to which artistic production proceeds. It remains that the permanent work of Schiller's life was accomplished after and not before his study of philosophy, and the splendid achievements of the years immediately succeeding the Kantian period furnish a *prima facie* justification of all the means of development and self-improvement which he so assiduously employed: the study of history, of Greek literature and of philosophy. Nor do I regard the more reflective tendency of the content of his poetry during the philosophic period as an unmitigated artistic defect as some writers would seem to do. Nothing could be more misleading than the suggestion that Schiller's philosophy and his poetry were ever two things apart. From the *Odes to Laura* through the various productions of his *Ideendichtung* and the dramas of his last period, the poetic and reflective elements are most intimately interwoven; indeed, it is inconceivable how a poet so profoundly ethical as Schiller could keep his art and his philosophy permanently separate. In the *Ideendichtung* philosophical problems are consciously made the objects of poetic treatment, and some of the poems present a perfection of form hardly paralleled in the language. Of course, it is easy to say that such poetry is not poetry in the true sense of the term; but that is only the worse for poetry "in the true sense of the term." To treat intellectual or moral problems in such a way as to give the most exquisite pleasure to cultivated minds is not to overlap the limits of art, it seems to me, but to extend them.

The maxim "Art for art's sake" sometimes seems to imply that the purely formal or technical side of art is a sufficient, and in fact, the only basis for aesthetic judgment. But this, it seems to me, is the most arbitrary limitation of the aesthetic field. "The law that there is a subtle connection between aesthetical tone and ethical tone," says a recent writer on Literary Criticism, ". . . . is as well established as any law can be in the history of the endeavors of the human mind to express itself through art-forms."<sup>1</sup> The oft-repeated maxim that the True, the Beautiful and the Good are at bottom one is no high-sounding metaphysical phrase, but a very simple truth based upon the fact that human nature is not two or three or many, but essentially one; a truth which is coming to receive fuller recognition and which Schiller himself was one of the first to re-assert.

In thus defending Schiller's study of philosophy it is not meant to justify the pedantry and artificiality with which philosophy in general and Kant in particular have so often been charged. That there is useless machinery in Kant's system is a fact too well recognized to be insisted upon; it would have been an extraordinary thing if the philosophy of the period alone had escaped the vagueness which enveloped and the pedantry which weighed down all the rest of the sciences.

Schiller returned again and again to his philosophical studies. On October 15 he speaks of studying the *Critique of Judgment* again and expresses his determination not to rest until he has "mastered it, and made something of it." By December he had reached some positive results. His study of aesthetics has thrown much light upon the nature of the beautiful, he writes, and he believes he has discovered "the objective idea of the beautiful which is qualified *eo ipso*, to be the objective principle upon which taste is founded, and about which Kant tormented his brain without success."<sup>2</sup> The quotation is significant; for it is about this point, that is, the establishment of the objective character of the beautiful, that much of the interest of his aes-

<sup>1</sup> C. F. Johnson, *Elements of Literary Criticism*, 260.

<sup>2</sup> Correspondence with Körner, tr. Simpson. II., 204.

thetic writings turns, and which marks the departure from, and the advance upon, the Kantian theory of aesthetics.

That Schiller read the *Critique of Practical Reason* perhaps as early as 1791 is asserted by several authorities,<sup>1</sup> and is made probable by the influence the leading ideas of this work exercised upon the writings immediately following this time, though I have not been able to find conclusive evidence regarding the matter among Schiller's own utterances. Whether or not Schiller ever read the *Critique of Pure Reason* extensively appears doubtful, but there is no conclusive evidence one way or the other. That Schiller intended making a study of the work is shown by the fact that he actually ordered it, as his letter to the bookdealer Crusius of December 16, 1791, shows; and the fact that he expresses a desire to study Locke, Hume and Leibniz in the letter of January 1, 1792, noticed above, shows that he did not intend to confine himself to those parts of Kant's philosophy which were of most immediate interest to him in his practical work of writing and lecturing, but was determined to acquaint himself with the whole theoretical groundwork of the Critical Philosophy. The circumstance, however, that he never refers to his study of the first *Critique* or the philosophy out of which it grew, though he was always very communicative about his work, makes it pretty safe to say that the press of his work and his absorbing interest in the theory of aesthetics never allowed him to make much headway in the study of the more theoretical parts of the Critical writings.

E. C. WILM.

<sup>1</sup> Hoffmeister, Meurer and others.



## A NOTE ON WALT WHITMAN'S PROSODY.

TWO leading ideas may be said to prevail among students of literature in regard to the prosody of Walt Whitman. According to one he is a bungler, he has no sense for artistic literary form; according to the other he is a successful innovator, at once the herald and exemplar of a prosodic revolution.

A typical example of the first, or hostile view may be found in Professor Barrett Wendell's *History of Literature in America*. There we may learn that the spirit of Whitman's work "is that of old-world anarchy; its form has all the perverse oddity of world-old abortive decadence." His poetry is "uncouth, inarticulate, and lacks in a grotesque degree artistic form." Speaking of the "Song of Myself" and "Crossing Brooklyn Ferry," Professor Wendell says that the lines are "so recklessly misshapen that you cannot tell whether their author was able to write with amenity." Elsewhere he characterizes the latter poem as "confused, inarticulate, and surging in a mad kind of rhythm which sounds as if hexameters were trying to bubble through sewage."

A similar view is expressed by Edmund Gosse, when he applies to the poems the phrase "without composition, evolution, or vertebration of style," by Professor Trent, when he speaks of the poet's "inborn want of art," by Mr. Stedman when he refers to Whitman's "somewhat wandering sense of form," and by Mr. Liddell when he says of a passage in "Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking" that "its ragged incompleteness, its hopeless lack of definition, its confusing twists and turns and vagaries would interfere with any, even the vaguest perception, of aesthetic arrangement."

A variant of this theory is that although he had some artistic skill, and could use it, now and then, rather effectively, he nevertheless took a wicked delight in not using it. He could write in fairly regular iambics if he chose, as witness, "Captain!



My Captain!" and "Ethiopia Saluting the Colors;" but in the main he did not choose. He preferred to be wayward, irregular, and amorphous.

If we accept the second theory we must go to the other extreme. We must hold that instead of falling below the standards of traditional art, Whitman rose above them, dispensed with them, and actually discredited them. More precisely, he threw aside the conventional forms of verse just in order that he might the better display that spirit of absolute unconstraint to which he had dedicated himself. Of this view Mr. John Burrough's elaborate study of Whitman, published in 1896, is perhaps the best exponent. If we may believe Mr. Burroughs, Whitman's poems are the "negation of extrinsic art." They are "the direct outgrowth of the personality of the poet; they are born directly upon the ego as it were, like the fruit of that tropical tree which grows immediately upon the trunk." They are not so much poems as nature itself. "The shorter poems are like bunches of herbs or leaves, or a handful of sprays gathered in a walk." The music of his verse is as the music of the winds and waves. It is to be tested by open-air standards, by comparison with clouds, trees, rivers, spaces, not by comparison with works of art so called. There is no composition in such a poem as the "Song of Myself," no artistic whole, no logical sequence, but just "tufts and tussocks of grass." "His thought and meaning are enveloped in his crowded, concrete and turbulent pages, as science is enveloped in nature."

In fine Whitman, according to Mr. Burroughs, is an *Ueberdichter*, whose lines we may admire and enjoy but must not presume to scan.

Such are the two theories between which we are asked to choose. For my part I cannot bring myself to accept either of them. That Whitman was no artist, or that he wantonly spoiled his *metier*, seems to me unlikely; on the other hand, that he was above art, I deem impossible, for reasons which I will give presently. In the place of these explanations I mean to bring forward a third, which seems to me both more rational and

closer to the facts as I have read them. Before doing so, however, I will consider briefly the two theories which have just been indicated, and give my reasons for rejecting them.

Since they come to the same thing in the end, both resting upon the assumption that Whitman wanted art, I shall not attempt in what follows always to separate them, though first I shall pay my respects to the *Ueberdichter* theory.

The view for which Mr. Burroughs is sponsor involves considerations concerning the relations of art and nature. According to this view, if I understand it, art tends not only to approximate to nature, but to merge in it and become identical with it. Nature is the goal of art, not to say its grave. Eluding the restraints of form, art, in its highest manifestations, attains to the unbounded freedom of nature. It negates itself and passes into a kind of naturistic nirvana. At any rate it so merges itself with nature that one is no longer distinguishable from the other.

With one kind of merger of nature and art everyone is familiar. Nature in its passage through the artist's mind is said to disappear as nature in order to reappear as art. Thus we speak of art as "second nature," meaning that nature's raw material is by the artist absorbed, assimilated and shaped to artistic ends. But the theory under discussion reverses the process. The assimilation works backwards. Art disappears as art to reappear as crude, unbounded nature. Art is best in undress. The poet is most a poet when, casting aside all restraint, breaking with all artistic law, he ramps undraped in the wide unplumbed welter of things.

With an orgiastic aesthetic such as this, I for one must part company, although it is not difficult for me to understand it, nor to see why it is attractive to Mr Burroughs. It is false, I think, in two particulars,—first, in that it tends to merge into one two things which can be understood only by keeping them apart, and second, that in so far as it does keep them apart, it turns upside down their true relationship. The two things are of course art and nature.

"If we had real life," said Wagner, "we should need no art." Few doctrines are more fallacious. Goethe was right: Art is art because it is not nature. Close as is the relation between them—closer than breathing, nearer than hands and feet—the boundary line can never be safely crossed. "Thou necessary film, continue to envelope the soul," says Whitman in one passage, and he expresses therein a great aesthetic truth. The film must not be broken through. Art can never become free, in the sense that it becomes interminable or unlimited or chaotic, without ceasing to be art; and nature can never lose its fortuitousness and "splendid extravagance" without becoming in a sense artistic.

The relation between art and nature is like that between a people and its government. The two are one, yet never one. In a sense the people are the government, that is, the nearer the government is to the people, and the more responsive it is to the healthy will and temper of the people, the better. But the two are after all distinct. The instant you let the government go and fall back upon the people as the only political reality, that instant you pass from democracy to anarchy. You have then neither a good government nor a free people. The people can become free and remain free, only by submission to restraint. They can preserve their coherence, their communal individuality, their organic life and opportunity for unlimited expansion of that life, only as these things incessantly find expression in traditional, law-observing, law-embodiment institutions.

Applying the analogy to the relations of art and nature, we may say that the artist never ought to be free to express himself, as nature does, in "tufts and tussocks of grass." He indeed achieves a freedom—all the freedom he needs, all the freedom there is for him—but he invariably achieves it by submitting himself to the restraints of artistic law. He may break with the law of art if he likes, but if he does, the less artist he, and indeed the greater slave, for he has thrown away the only instrument by which he can attain his freedom. "Das Gesetz nur kann uns Freiheit geben."



I have said that in the second place Burroughs reversed the due relation of nature and art. He would make the test of art its resemblance to nature, finding the standard in nature rather than in art. This is the traditional view, and it requires some courage to oppose it. Nevertheless I will venture the opinion that the standard of art is to be found in art itself, that is, in the conditions of human intercourse. If art holds the mirror up to nature, the secret of their relationship is to be sought in the *way* in which the mirror is held up, not in the nature that is mirrored.

The subject is a large one, too large to be debated here. I therefore simply file my opinion, at the same time remarking that if it is necessary to turn our backs on art, and retreat to the wild in order to find an aesthetic foundation for our prosodic system, I am ready to give the task over. Persons who write tufts and tussocks of grass may be good agriculturists; they cannot be good poets.

But it may not be necessary either to shut the camel out or to abandon the tent if he comes in. Perhaps the animal is not so big nor so fractious as Mr. Burroughs thinks he is.

Doubtless one may find in Whitman's own utterances warrant for what I have called the orgiastic view of poetry. "I finish no specimens," he says in one of his poems, "I shower them by exhaustless laws, fresh and modern continually, as nature does."

And again,

"I myself but write one or two indicative words for the future. I but advance a moment only to wheel and hurry back in the darkness.

I am a man who, sauntering along without fully stopping, turns a casual look upon you and then averts his face,  
Leaving it to you to prove and define it.  
Expecting the main things from you."

In the same vein is the poem written in Platte Canyon, in which, as we learn from his diary, Whitman embodied his poetic creed:



## SPIRIT THAT FORM'D THIS SCENE.

Spirit that form'd this scene,  
These tumbled rock-piles grim and red,  
These reckless heaven-ambitious peaks,  
These gorges, turbulent-clear streams, this naked freshness,  
These formless wild arrays, for reasons of their own,  
I know thee, savage spirit—we have communed together,  
Mine too such wild arrays, for reasons of their own;  
Wasn't charged against my chants they had forgotten art?  
To fuse within themselves its rules precise and delicatessen?  
The lyrist's measur'd beat, the wrought-out temple's grace—  
column and polish'd arch forgot?  
But thou that revelest here—spirit that form'd this scene,  
They have remember'd thee.

Here and in other passages Whitman seems indeed to adopt unreservedly the doctrine of poetic formlessness. But, it may be asked, doth not the muse protest too much? Poets from time immemorial have had the privilege of expressing wild and rebellious thoughts about anything in the universe, their own art included; but curiously enough they have expressed these rebellious thoughts best when they have spoken in orderly and chastened language. In spite of his disclaims, there, it may be that Whitman at the very moment when he thinks he is uttering tufts and tussocks of grass, is in reality building the lofty rhyme. I believe that this is so and I think that we shall find some evidence to support this contention if we turn to Whitman's prose.

In the first place, there are passages not a few in his prose writings in which the claims of regularity, symmetry, measure, and obedience to rhythmic law are clearly recognized. I will cite one or two of them:

"The fruition of beauty is no chance of miss or hit—it is as inevitable as life—it is exact and plumb as gravitation. From the eyesight proceeds another eyesight, and from the hearing proceeds another hearing, and from the voice proceeds another voice, eternally curious of the harmony of things with man. These understand the law of perfection in masses and floods—that it is profuse and impartial—that there is not a minute of the light or dark, nor an acre of the earth and sea, without it—

nor any direction of the sky, nor any trade or employment, nor any turn of events. This is the reason that about the proper expression of beauty there is precision and balance."

In one curious and significant passage Whitman fairly makes a return upon Whitman, candidly admitting that his sense for the beauty of nature may have its roots in art itself:

"That spread of waves and gray-white beach, salt, monotonous, senseless—such an entire absence of art, books, talk, elegance—so indescribably comforting, even this winter's day—grim, yet so delicate-looking, so spiritual-striking, emotional, impalpable depths, subtler than all the poems, paintings, music, I have ever read, seen, heard. (*Yet let me be fair, perhaps it is because I have read those poems and heard that music.*)" (Specimen Days, p. 95.)

In the second place, corroborative evidence may be drawn from Whitman's method of composition. Burroughs says that Whitman "did not build anything strictly speaking. He let himself go." But this view does not square with Whitman's own words. We know that far from throwing off his poems in a mad, delirious ecstasy—with "rushing spontaneity," as Mrs. Gilchrist would have it—he labored long and hard to bring them to perfection. By the spring of 1855, says Dr. Bucke, "Whitman had found or made a style in which he could express himself, and in that style he had (after as he told me elaborately building up the structure and then utterly demolishing it five different times) written twelve poems, and a long prose preface which was simply another poem."

When he was correcting the proofs of the seventh edition of "Leaves of Grass" in 1881, he said to a reporter of the Boston Globe, "This edition will complete the design which I had in my mind when I began to write. The whole affair is like one of those old architectural edifices, some of which were hundreds of years building, and the designer of which has the whole idea in his mind from the first." What is this but the method of all great constructive artists from Aeschylus to Browning? Whether the artist's design is completed in a day or in a life time, is of

little consequence; the essential and characterizing trait is surely the ability to plan and foresee a constructive whole, and to keep it steadily before the inner eye until it is completed.

But the most convincing proofs are to be found in Whitman's own manuscripts. Through the kindness of Mr. Horace Traubel, the Boswell of Whitman and one of his literary executors, I have had the privilege of examining the notes, outlines, and preliminary studies of two of Whitman's poems, together with the many versions through which each poem passed on its way to the final copy. From these remains it is evident that the poet's "spontaneity," like that of most artists, was the result of prolonged and painful toil. The underground work which preceded the actual composition is amazing in its extent and thoroughness. In the inception of the poem hundreds of vague suggestions are noted, examined, and rejected. In course of time the "spinal idea" as Whitman terms it, emerges and is triumphantly announced. Then in page upon page of tentative outlines, all possible developments of this spinal idea are forecasted and subjected to searching criticism. When the structure of the poem has been determined with some exactitude, other pages are devoted to lists of words and phrases suitable for the expression of the prominent ideas. Finally come the successive versions of the poem, most of them so disfigured by erasures and interlineations as to be nearly or quite illegible. I venture the opinion that no fair-minded critic, after examining these evidences will deny to Whitman the name of artist. Whether one likes his art or not is another question, but that he held before himself a high and difficult ideal and strove with all the powers of his genius to attain it, is as certain as anything in literary history.

I shall assume, then, that Whitman, in throwing aside the traditional scheme of English versification, still adhered to artistic methods. If his poems are difficult of scansion, as undoubtedly they are, we need not hastily assume that they are amorphous or recklessly misshapen, nor yet that they are the negation of extrinsic art. Their seeming departures from tra-



ditional canons may have an artistic rationale. Starting with this assumption let us next imagine what poetic principles he adopted and why he adopted them. We may take as a starting point an illuminative passage from his own writings. It appears in the books entitled "Collect" under the heading:

### NEW POETRY.

In my opinion the time has arrived to essentially break down the barriers of form between prose and poetry. I say the latter is henceforth to win and maintain its character regardless of rhyme, and the measurement-rules of iambic, spondee, dactyl, etc., and that even if rhyme and those measurements continue to furnish the medium for inferior writers and themes, (especially for persiflage and the comic, as there seems henceforward, to the perfect taste, something inevitably comic in rhyme, merely in itself, and anyhow,) the truest and greatest poetry, (while subtly and necessarily always rhythmic, and distinguishable easily enough,) can never again, in the English language, be expressed in arbitrary and rhyming metre, any more than the greatest eloquence, or the truest power and passion. While admitting that the venerable and heavenly forms of chiming versification have in their time play'd great and fitting parts—that the pensive complaint, the ballads, wars, amours, legends of Europe, etc., have, many of them, been inimitably rendered in rhyming verse—that there have been very illustrious poets whose shapes the mantle of such verse has beautifully and appropriately enveloped—and though the mantle has fallen, with perhaps added beauty, on some of our own age—it is, notwithstanding, certain to me, that the day of such conventional rhyme is ended.

In America, at any rate, and as a medium of highest aesthetic, practical or spiritual expression, present or future, it palpably fails, and must fail, to serve. The Muse of the Prairies, of California, Canada, Texas, and of the peaks of Colorado, dismissing the literary, as well as social etiquette of over-sea feudalism and caste, joyfully enlarging, adapting itself to comprehend the size of the whole people, with the free play, emotions, pride, passions, experiences, that belong to them, body and soul to the general globe, and all its relations in astronomy, as the savans portray them to us—to the modern, the busy nineteenth century, (as grandly poetic as any, only different,) with steamships, railroads, factories, electric telegraphs, cylinder presses—to the



thought of the solidity of nations, the brotherhood and sisterhood of the entire earth—to the dignity and heroism of the practical labor of farms, factories, foundries, workshops, mines, or on shipboard, or on lakes and rivers—resumes that other medium of expression, more flexible, more eligible—soars to the freer, vast, diviner heaven of prose.

It appears, from this passage, that Whitman, feeling his genius confined by accentual metres and seeking for a different medium of expression, turned from verse to prose. Why he did so will perhaps become clear if we consider how these two types of literature differ in their rhythmical structure.

As I have tried to show elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> the fundamental difference between prose and poetry if we trace each to its origin, is that in one speech was used mainly for purposes of communication, in the other mainly for purposes of expression. The earliest poetic forms were the results of man's efforts to give free vent to his emotions. Poetry was the spontaneous expression of joy, grief, religious fervor and the like, and its closest associations were with the communal dance. The earliest prose forms, on the other hand, were communicative forms. They sprang from situations in which man's most urgent need was to transmit his thoughts and feelings to his fellows. Prose was thus the outcome of conversation, signals, calls for aid, cries of warning, and, in general, of intercourse whose chief purpose was the maintaining of social organization.

Each of these branches of literature has its special type of rhythm. With the rhythm of verse everyone is familiar. It is composed of units of speech which we call syllables, arranged in rhythmic patterns called feet, which are again combined in larger rhythmic patterns called lines. Its chief characteristics are perhaps the brevity of the recurring units and the frequency with which the same rhythmic pattern is repeated.

The materials out of which the pattern of verse is woven may theoretically be any of the elements of speech. These elements are, generally speaking, stress, quantity, quality, pitch, number of units, rate of movement, and pause. But in the history of lit-

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<sup>1</sup>Publications of the Modern Language Association XIX. 2.

erature now one element now another has gained the upper hand and formed the regulative principle of a nation's prosody. Thus in ancient Persian and some of the oldest Latin poetry the norm was (I believe) the number of syllables, and the same is perhaps true of modern French. In classic Greek and Latin verse the basic element was quantity. In Anglo-Saxon verse, quality, in the special form of alliteration, was an essential feature. In modern Germanic verse the fundamental rhythm-stuff is undoubtedly stress.

The rhythm of prose is not as yet very well understood, but it seems, in English at any rate, to be a different thing from metre. Instead of the short, pulsating rhythm characteristic of verse, we find in prose a long, sweeping, swaying, cumulative movement like that of ocean waves. A prose sentence seems to be made up of rushes of sound, rising and falling, hastening and delaying, swelling and dying away, in a complex and evasive sequence.

If the basic element of modern English verse is stress, that of modern English prose is probably pitch. That is to say, prose is in the main a succession of pitch-glides. The unit, or foot, is composed of a rising followed by a falling glide. These units are susceptible of considerable variation, and when artfully combined give the impression of a distinct tune or pattern.

In order to distinguish these types of rhythm I have applied to the rhythm of verse the term *nutation*, to the rhythm of prose the term *motation*.

Employing these convenient terms, we may say that Whitman, in his prosody, turned from the nutative to the motative principle, from the rhythm of beats to the rhythm of pitch-glides. Why he did so I have already indicated in part. It was because the rhythm of prose, being larger and freer than the rhythm of verse, seemed nearer to the uncramped spirit of nature from which he drew his inspiration. But another reason may be found in a peculiarity of Whitman's genius to which, I believe, sufficient attention has not hitherto been given. I mean his quick and delicate susceptibility to certain modes of motion and se-

quences of sound. One cannot read far in Whitman, either in his poetry or his prose, without being struck by this characteristic.

The trait is particularly noticeable in the book of notes and reflections called "*Specimen Days*," which reveals better than his poems, his fashion of observing nature and his predilections. From passages in this book it is obvious that Whitman took keen delight in natural free motions of every kind, especially swaying, or, as he would say, "urging" motions. I will give a few examples out of many that I have noted. "It did me good," he says of a band concert, "even to watch the violinists drawing their bows so masterly—every motion a study." On the steamer sailing out of New York harbor he notes with satisfaction the "long, pulsating swash, as our boat steams seaward." Crossing the Delaware on a winter night, he writes:

"I don't know anything more filling than to be on the wide, firm deck of a powerful boat, a clear, cool, extra-moonlight night, crushing proudly and resistlessly through this thick, marbly, glistening ice. The whole river is now spread with it—some immense cakes. There is such weirdness about the scene—partly the quality of the light, with its tinge of blue, the lunar twilight—only the large stars holding their own in the radiance of the moon. Temperature sharp, comfortable for motion, dry, full of oxygen. But the sense of power—the steady, scornful, imperious urge of our strong new engine, as she ploughs her way through the big and little cakes."

The ferry boats moving from shore to shore, and the yachts, "those daring, careening things of grace and wonder," "with their fierce, pure, hawk-like beauty and motion," the "perpetual travel of the horse-cars," the tide of humanity on Broadway, "bubbling and whirling and moving like its own environment of waters"—these things fascinate him. He is particularly stimulated by the rolling thunder of passing railway trains, of which he says, "I like both the sight and the sound." Riding on the railway exhilarated him like wine.

His notes of his journey through the west in 1879 are full of his delight in rapid motion. "What a fierce, weird pleasure," he



says, "to be in my berth at night in the luxurious palace-car, drawn by the mighty Baldwin—embodying and filling me, too, full of the swiftest motion and most resistless strength!"

In his observations of nature from day to day he rarely fails to mark the flight of birds. If he speaks of the polished surface of the pond, it is always because it mirrors some flying thing overhead. "Rare music" is his term for the sound of the midnight flight of birds in their migrations. "You could *hear* the characteristic motion—once or twice 'the rush of mighty wings,' but oftener a velvety rustle, long drawn out." The flight of an eagle over the Hudson against the storm is "like reading some first-class natural tragedy or epic, or hearing martial trumpets. The splendid bird enjoys the hubbub—is adjusted and equal to it—finishes it so artistically. His pinions just oscillating—the position of his head and neck—his resistless, occasionally varied flight—now a swirl, now an upward movement—the black clouds driving—the angry wash below—the hiss of rain, the wind's piping (perhaps the ice colliding, grunting)—he tacking or jibing—now, as it were, for a change, abandoning himself to the gale, moving with it with such velocity—and now resuming control, he comes up against it, lord of the situation and the storm—lord, amid it, of power and savage joy."

He never tires of the graceful evolutions of the kingfishers. "For nearly an hour I indolently look and join them while they dart and turn and take their airy gambols, sometimes far up the creek disappearing for a few moments, and then surely returning again and performing most of their flight within sight of me, as if they knew I appreciated and absorb'd their vitality, spirituality, faithfulness and the rapid, vanishing, delicate lines of moving yet quiet electricity they draw for me across the spread of the grass, and the blue sky." Another day with equal delight he dwells upon the fluttering of myriads of light-yellow butterflies "dipping and oscillating" over a field of clover-hay. "In the lane as I came along just now I noticed one spot, ten feet square or so, where more than a hundred had collected, holding a revel, a gyration-dance, or butter-fly good-time, winding and



circling, down and across, but always keeping within the limits."

He had strange dream-trances in which fixed objects moved about, "sequacious of the lyre" of one of them he says: "I saw my favorite trees step out and promenade up, down, and around very curiously—with a whisper from one, leaning down as he passed me, *we do all this on the present occasion, exceptionally, just for you.*"

Akin to this almost morbid sensitiveness to motion, is Whitman's delight in certain sequences of sounds, particularly rushes of sounds, or sounds that swell and die away,—the "rolling music" of the distant railway trains, "the low rising and falling wind-purr from the tops of the maples and willows," "the musical low murmur through the pines, quite pronounced, curious, like waterfalls, now still'd, now pouring again," "the loud swelling, perpetual hum" of the bumble-bee, "varied now and then by something almost like a shriek." We may note particularly his absorption in the note of the locust,—*"a long whirring, continued, quite loud noise graded in distinct swirls, or swinging circles, increasing in strength and rapidity up to a certain point, and then a fluttering, quietly tapering fall."* To this peculiar sound he calls special attention, "Let me say more about the song of the locust," he adds, a paragraph or two later, "even to repetition; a long, chromatic, tremulous crescendo, like a brass disk whirling round and round, emitting wave after wave of notes, beginning with a certain moderate beat or measure, rapidly increasing in speed and emphasis, reaching a point of great energy and significance, and then quickly and gracefully dropping down and out. Not the melody of the singing bird—far from it; the common musician might think without melody, but surely having to the finer ear a harmony of its own; monotonous—but what a swing there is in that brassy drone, round and round, cymbaline—or like the whirling of brass quoits."

None of the foregoing motions or sounds, however, ploughed so deeply into Whitman's feeling and imagination as the movement and sound of the sea,—the surge of the waves in mid-ocean, the ebb and flow of the tides, the pounding of the surf on the

shore. In one highly significant passage he tells how the conception of the sea became in a sense the regulative element of his composition:

#### SEA-SHORE FANCIES.

Even as a boy, I had the fancy, the wish, to write a piece, perhaps a poem, about the sea-shore—that suggesting, dividing line, contact, junction, the solid marrying the liquid—that curious, lurking something, (as doubtless every objective form finally becomes to the subjective spirit,) which means far more than its mere first sight, grand as that is—blending the real and ideal, and each made portion of the other. Hours, days, in my Long Island youth and early manhood, I haunted the shores of Rock-away or Coney Island, or away east to the Hamptons or Montauk. Once, at the latter place, (by the old lighthouse, nothing but sea-tossings in sight in every direction as far as the eye could reach,) I remember well, I felt that I must one day write a book expressing this liquid, mystic theme. Afterward, I recollect, how it came to me that instead of any special lyrical or epical or literary attempt, the sea-shore should be an invisible influence, a pervading gauge and tally for me, in my composition. (Let me give a hint here to young writers. I am not sure but I have unwittingly follow'd out the same rule with other powers besides sea and shores—avoiding them, in the way of any dead set at poetizing them, as too big for formal handling—quite satisfied if I could indirectly show that we have met and fused, even if only once, but enough—that we have really absorbed each other and understand each other.)

There is a dream, a picture, that for years at intervals, (sometimes quite long ones, but surely again, in time,) has come noiselessly up before me, and I really believe, fiction as it is, has enter'd largely into my practical life—certainly into my writings, and shaped and colored them. It is nothing more or less than a stretch of interminable white-brown sand, hard and smooth and broad, with the ocean perpetually, grandly, rolling in upon it, with slow-measured sweep, with rustle and hiss and foam, and many a thump as of low bass drums. This scene, this picture, I say, has arisen before me at times for years. Sometimes I wake at night and can hear and see it plainly.

To be compared with this poetic credo, is the assertion in one of his latest poems that he would gladly exchange the met-

rical art of Homer, Shakespeare, and Tennyson for the rhythms of the ocean waves:

"These, these, O sea, all these I'd gladly barter  
Would you the undulations of one wave its trick to me transfer."

Whitman's reasons for rejecting the stress-and-quantity principle which has generally satisfied the ears of other English poets, should now be clear. His delight in large free movements and rushes of sound made him impatient of the short units, the quickly recurring beats, of the nutative rhythm. He wished to embody in his verse the largo of nature, especially the flux and reflux of the waves, the rise and fall of the murmur of the pines, the circling dip of bird-flight, the crescendo and dying fall of the locust-song.

Other poets had done this, to be sure, but mainly by way of making the sound an imitation of the sense. But mere imitation was not enough for Whitman. He did not wish to make a "dead set at poetizing" these sounds and movements; he sought to make them the very foundation of his prosody, the regulative principle of his rhythm.

Moved by this desire he turned from verse to prose. In the pitch-glides and speech-tunes which are the basis of the prosaic pattern, in the swift upward rush and retarded cadence of the prose sentence, he found the principle he sought. He adopted it. But, having adopted it, he found it in its ordinary form inapt to his purpose. Prose, as prose, is the instrument of communication. It suggests and implies the communicative attitude, whereas Whitman's genius, like that of every great poet, was mainly expressive. In the tide of poetic creation, therefore, he instinctively and perforce returned to nutative pattern. But he brought back with him from his incursion into prose new materials for the weaving. With these materials he created for himself a new and peculiar kind of verse, in which the dips and glides and evolutions of the prose rhythm were woven into a pattern of nutation. In this seemingly hybrid form he found a medium adequate to the expression of his peculiar genius.

When I read Whitman's poetry in the light of this concep-



tion, a fantastic myth passes through my mind. I seem to see in Whitman some giant-limbed old heathen god who has descended to the earth, fain to take part in the dance of mortals. He begins by practicing the waltz, but soon tires of the mincing steps and quick gyrations. He wants a larger, freer movement. He then tries marching and running and leaping, only to find that what his soul hungers for is the undulating movement of the waltz. So, devising a kind of colossal minuet, with woven paces and with waving arms, he moves through it with a grandiose, galumphing majesty peculiar to himself, flinging his great limbs all abroad and shedding ambrosia from his flying locks, yet with all his abandon keeping time to the music, and in all the seeming waywardness of his saltations preserving the law and pattern of the dance.

I have implied that the form of his verse was original with Whitman, but this is not strictly true, for something akin to it is found in the prose translation of the Hebrew prophets and psalmists, in the Ossianic poems, in Blake's "Prophetic Visions," and even in the insipid poetry of Martin Farquhar Tupper. But the resemblance is only a family resemblance. One needs to make but few comparisons to see that Whitman has devised a new thing.

To exhibit in detail the methods and devices by which the poet has so handled the elements of prose as to produce some of the effects of verse, would not only be tedious but would extend my paper beyond reasonable bounds. Not wholly to disappoint curiosity, however, I will indicate a few of the most striking features.

To illustrate the difference between Whitman's verse and the ordinary accentual metres, let us compare a passage from Shakespeare with a passage from Whitman. We may take for this purpose some lines of Juliet's apostrophe to night in the third act of "Romeo and Juliet," and the address to night in Whitman's "Song of Myself." In parts of each of these selections the rhythm of the lines is curiously similar:



"Come night; come, Romeo; come, thou day in night;  
For thou wilt lie upon the wings of night  
Whiter than new snow on a raven's back.  
Come, gentle night, come loving black-brow'd night,  
Give me my Romeo; and, when he shall die,  
Take him and cut him out in little stars  
And he will make the face of heaven so fine  
That all the world will be in love with night."

Now turn to Whitman:

I am he that walks with the tender and growing night;  
I call to the earth and sea, half-held by the night.  
Press close, bare-bosom'd night! press close, magnetic, nourish-  
ing night!  
Night of south winds—night of the day's few stars!  
Still, nodding night! mad, naked summer night.  
Smile, O voluptuous, cool-breath'd earth!  
Earth of the slumbering and liquid trees!  
Earth of departed sunset! earth of the mountains misty-topt!  
Earth of the vitreous pour of the full moon, just tinged with  
blue!  
Earth of shine and dark, mottling the tide of the river!  
Earth of the limpid gray of clouds, brighter and clearer for  
my sake!  
Far-swooping elbow'd earth! rich, apple-blossom'd earth!  
Smile, for your lover comes!

Underlying the Shakespearean verse is the regular pulse of the iambic pentameter—tee-dee'/tee-dee'/tee-dee'/tee-dee'/tee-dee'/—like the beat of horses' hoofs. We are not allowed to forget it. The quick recurrence of the stress can be felt even in the most impetuous phrases, such as "Come, gentle night, come, loving, black-brow'd night;" for the nutative tune has been impressed upon us by such regular lines in the preceding parts as "Four thou wilt lie upon the wings of night," and comes out again immediately in the following, "And he will make the face of heaven so fine."

Not so in Whitman's lines. The rapid beat of the metrical foot is absent. In its place we detect rushes or glides of sound, accelerations and delays of speed, long swellings and diminutions of energy, these units of the verse being combined in an

intricate and ever varied pattern by the recurrence of similar phrases and by subtle correspondences of one part of the stanza with another.

In general, it may be said that the Whitmanian line, scanned in routine fashion, consists, like the prose sentence, of an advancing and retreating wave. This simple movement is varied almost infinitely (1) by varying the length of the successive waves proportionally, (2) by allowing the speech-rhythm now to coincide with the routine scansion, now to conflict with it, (3) by introducing minor waves or impulses in varying numbers and proportionate lengths, (4) by the artful use of alliteration and refrain.<sup>1</sup>

A careful reading of Whitman convinces me that he is fairly scrupulous and regular in the observance of his own prosodic rules. Doubtless he is lax at times—but so were Shakespeare and Byron, and dull and prosy at other times—but so were Chaucer and Wordsworth. Taking him all in all, it may be doubted whether many poets who have produced as great a bulk of writing as Whitman has, have lived up to their lights more consistently. Indeed it is not too much to say that of all American poets Whitman is the only one whose sense of artistry is comparable with that of the greatest British poets.

In conclusion, the question may be raised whether the Whitmanian prosody is effective. Will it endure? Whitman has himself given the final test of poetry:

#### BY BLUE ONTARIO'S SHORE.

Rhymes and rhymers pass away, poems distilled from poems  
     pass away,  
 The swarms of reflectors and the polite pass, and leave ashes,  
 Admirers, importers, obedient persons, make but the soil of literature,  
 America justifies itself, give it time, no disguise can deceive it  
     or conceal from it, it is impassive enough,  
 Only toward the likes of itself will it advance to meet them,

<sup>1</sup>The structure of Whitman's verse with reference both to the line and to the stanza, has been analyzed in detail by P. Jannaccone, in his "*La Poesia di Walt Whitman e l'evoluzione delle forme ritmiche*" (Torino: 1898).

If its poets appear it will in due time advance to meet them,  
there is no fear of mistake,

(The proof of a poet shall be sternly deferr'd till his country  
absorbs him as affectionately as he has absorb'd it.)

If America should ever absorb Whitman as Whitman absorbed America, no doubt his mode of versifying would pass into the consciousness of the race and seem as much a matter of course as iambic pentameter. But that stern proof cannot now be adduced. Meanwhile I can only give my own testimony to its effect upon me personally.

I find that if I turn to some favorite passage of Whitman and read it over three times, it passes through as many transformations. At the first reading it is fine and moving poetry, well articulated, beautifully rhythmed, altogether satisfying. But upon a second reading it seems to degenerate slightly and parts of it sound commonplace. Separate phrases are still good, but the tension of the structure has relaxed. A third reading takes a good deal of the life and spirit out of it as far as these qualities depend on the close knitting-together of the phrases. I must put the poem aside for a time in order to renew the first fine careless rapture.

This is not true of the fine passages of Shakespeare, Wordsworth, or Keats, or of passages of great prose. These I can repeat to myself not only without loss but with some gain. They grow firmer and better articulated with each reading.

Why this difference should be I am unable to say. Perhaps it is because in reading Whitman the ear hungers for the familiar beat of the nutative rhythm, and after the stimulus of a first contact is over, finds it something of a strain to keep pace with the poet's largo.

At any rate, this personal experience shakes my faith somewhat in the immediate and general acceptance of the new poetic form. I cannot believe it likely that the prosody of Whitman will soon drive from the field the prosody of Chaucer, Shakespeare and Wordsworth.

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Professor Greenough and myself assume the entire responsibility for the contents of this issue.

O. E. L.

#### ERRATA IN VOL. VII, NO. 1.

P. 125, line 25, read "diphthongs have been marked (ěo)" not ēo; p. 126, line 10, read *swā nū-gýt dō* [a]ð; line 27 should read "as *secg-hete*=*ecg-hete* 84;" p. 124, line 13, read 921 instead of 1821.



# UEBER DEN GEBRAUCH DES BEIWORTES IN HEINES GEDICHTEN.<sup>1</sup>

## KAP. I.

### WAHL DER EPITHETA.

WENN die Anschaulichkeit das charakteristische Erfordernis des epischen Stils und die Wahl der epischen Epitheta daher hauptsächlich auf das sinnlich anschauliche Gebiet beschränkt ist,<sup>2</sup> so steht es ganz anders bei der Lyrik. Denn die Lyrik wurzelt im Gefühl und will die Empfindung ausdrücken. Der lyrische Dichter wird daher die Beiwörter wählen, welche den Gefühlsbewegungen, den subjektiven Empfindungen, den seelischen Vorgängen Ausdruck geben.

Ob sich die Lyrik aus der Epik entwickelt hat, ist eine bestrittene Frage. Jedenfalls bleiben die beiden Gattungen in einer Hinsicht in engerem Zusammenhang; die Anregungen zu den inneren Zuständen des Lyrikers rühren von aussen, von der sinnlichen, wirklichen Aussenwelt her. Es ist also nichts Merkwürdiges dabei, wenn der Lyriker im Ausdruck seiner Empfindungen auch deren Ursachen in Betracht zieht. Lässt er z. B. die aus der Liebe entspringenden erhebenden, oder bedrückenden Gefühle ausströmen, so ist es ganz natürlich, dass er auch von der Geliebten, welche diese Bewegung in seiner Brust erweckt, singt, sowohl von ihrer äusseren Erscheinung als auch von ihrem Charakter und ihrer Gemütsart. Oder vielleicht übt die den

<sup>1</sup>) Folgende Abkürzungen beziehen sich auf Heines Gedichte: JLT, Junge Leiden, Traumbilder; JLL, Junge Leiden, Lieder; JLR, Junge Leiden, Romanzen; JLS, Junge Leiden, Sonette; LI, Lyrisches Intermezzo; HK, Die Heimkehr; Hr, Aus der Harzreise; NEC, Die Nordsee, Erster Cyklus; NZC, Die Nordsee, Zweiter Cyklus; NF, Neuer Frühling; V, Verschiedene; R, Romanzen; ZO, Zur Olla; Z, Zeitgedichte; H, Historien; L, Lamentationen; HM, Hebräische Melodien; NL, Nachlese, Liebeslieder; NV, Nachlese, Vermischte Gedichte; NRF, Nachlese, Romanzen und Fabeln; NZ, Nachlese, Zeitgedichte; NU, Nachlese, Übersetzungen; A, Almanach; Rf, Ratcliff; AT, Atta Troll; D, Deutschland. Es wird nach Esters Ausgabe zitiert, und zwar nach Band, Seite und Zeile, wo sich das betreffende Wort befindet; also zum Beispiel: LI, I, 70, 16=Lyr. Intermezzo, Band I, Seite 70, Zeile 16.

<sup>2</sup>) Vgl. M. Scheinert: Die Adjectiva im Beowulfepos als Darstellungsmittel—Beiträge zur Gesch. d. d. Lit., Bd. XXX, Heft 3, S. 429. Nach Scheinert sollen sogar die Adjectiva für Charaktereigenschaften, deren sich das alte Epos gern bediente, im neuesten Epos nur verschwindend vorkommen.

Dichter umgebende Natur eine grosse Wirkung auf seine Stimmung aus—da wird er im Erguss seiner Gefühle auch die von der Landschaft empfangenen Sinneseindrücke zur Darstellung bringen.

Wir sehen also, dass der lyrische Dichter sich nicht auf die Epitheta zu beschränken braucht, die lediglich seine Gefühle zum Ausdruck bringen, sondern dass ihm, ebenso wie dem Epiker, die sinnlich anschaulichen Beiwörter als Ausdrucksmittel willkommen sind. Kurz gesagt, der Lyriker darf sich mehr als irgend ein anderer Dichter der verschiedensten Gattungen von Beiwörtern bedienen.<sup>1</sup>

Obschon man gewöhnlich beim lyrischen Dichter eine vorbedachte Wahl weniger voranzusetzen pflegt, so wissen wir doch, dass Heine nach raffinierten Wirkungen gehascht und seine Ausdrucksmittel in durchaus bewusster Weise gewählt hat. "Wie ein grosser Schauspieler spielt er jede Rolle," sagt Carl Busse,<sup>2</sup> "und er spielt sie gut. Und wie ein guter Schauspieler präpariert er sich auf jede mit dem grössten Fleisse. Alle die verblüffend nonchalanten Bewegungen sind sorgsam einstudiert. Wir wissen heute, dass er zur Vollendung eines kleinen Liedes durchschnittlich zwölf Nächte brauchte." Busses Ausführungen sind aber kaum zutreffend, denn im Jahre 1822 hat Heine, abgesehen von der Tragödie *Ratcliff*, mindestens siebenundsechzig und im Jahre 1823 fünfundsechzig Gedichte verfasst.<sup>3</sup> Dazu sind seine Prosaschriften noch in Anschlag zu bringen. Es ergibt sich von selbst, dass er unmöglich durchschnittlich zwölf Nächte auf jedes dieser Gedichte verwenden konnte. Zudem gehören dieselben zum Besten von dieser Gattung, was Heine überhaupt geschrieben hat.

Dass aber Heine auf seine Gedichte den grössten Fleiss verwandte, beweisen die zahlreichen Varianten und die verschie-

<sup>1</sup>) Ich habe in der vorliegenden Arbeit Heines sämtliche poetische Werke in Betracht gezogen; ausser den kürzeren, meistens lyrischen Dichtungen bestehen dieselben aus den Dramen, *Almansor* und *Ratcliff*, den beiden langen satirischen Epen, *Atta Troll* und *Deutschland*, und aus einigen Übersetzungen. Was das Drama anbetrifft, liegt es in Bezug auf die Auswahl der Epitheta an der Grenze zwischen der Epik und der Lyrik.

<sup>2</sup>) Vgl. Carl Busse: *Neuere Deutsche Lyrik*, S. 39.

<sup>3</sup>) Vgl. Elsters Ausgabe, Bd. VII, S. 647.

denen Fassungen einiger der Lieder.<sup>1</sup> Noch dazu haben wir Heines eignes Zeugnis: "Ich selbst bin wirklich immer sehr gewissenhaft im Arbeiten gewesen, ich habe gearbeitet, ordentlich gearbeitet an meinen Versen. . . . Ich lasse mir jetzt Knebels Briefwechsel vorlesen. Da hat mich eine Stelle als sehr komisch frappiert. Es ist ein Brief Ramlers, worin der Gute angiebt, wie er es beim Dichten macht, wie er sich erst den Gedanken schriftlich exponiert, gleichsam sceniert, und dann das Alles gehörig in Verse und Reime bringt. Es ist mir sehr komisch vorgekommen, diese poetische Receptierkunst unserer Väter. Und doch haben die Leute ein grosses Verdienst gehabt: sie haben ihre Verse ordentlich gearbeitet, sie haben ein Studium aus ihrer Arbeit und aus dem Verse gemacht. Die Romantiker hingegen, bei denen alles aus der Urkraft wachsen sollte, nun! bei denen haben wir ja gesehen, was da gewachsen ist."<sup>2</sup> Aus dieser Äusserung geht hervor, dass Heine die Eingebung des Augenblicks allein nicht für ausreichend hielt, sondern eine sorgfältige Revision für nötig erachtete.

Sogar noch auf dem Krankenbett hat sich Heine um die Abrundung seiner Verse fleissig bemüht. Karl Hillebrand, Heines erster Privatsekretär, dem er den ganzen "Roman-zero" diktirte, berichtet darüber:<sup>3</sup> "Das Gedicht war jedesmal ganz fertig am Morgen. Dann aber ging's an ein Feilen, das Stunden lang währte, und wobei ich ihm als Prüfstein diente, oder vielmehr er meine Jugend wie Molière die Unwissenheit Louisons benutzte, indem er mich über Klang, Tonfall, Klarheit u. s. w. befragte. Dabei ward dann jedes Präsens und Imperfectum genau erwogen, jedes veraltete und ungewöhnliche Wort nach seiner Berechtigung geprüft, jede

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. Elsters Ausgabe, Bd. I, S. 494-561, Bd. II, S. 495-549.

<sup>2</sup> Obiges äusserte Heine im Oktober 1850 gegen Adolf Stahr. Vgl. Strodtmann: H. Heines Leben und Werke, I, 511.

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. Gustav Karpeles: Heine und seine Zeitgenossen, S. 235:



Elision ausgemerzt, jedes unnütze Adjektiv weggeschnitten; hier und da auch wohl Nachlässigkeiten hineincorrigiert.”<sup>1</sup>

Sowohl von seinen Zeitgenossen als auch von späteren Literaturhistorikern und Heine-Biographen ist dieses Verfahren verschieden aufgefasst worden. Strodtmann erscheint solcher künstlerische Fleiss im höchsten Grade lobenswert und Hüffer findet darin die beste “Illustration zu dem Satze: Genie ist Fleiss.”<sup>2</sup> Andererseits aber meint Bartels: “Künstlerische Gewissenhaftigkeit ist eine schöne Sache, aber das Heinische Verbessern erinnert denn doch stark an die verschönernde Tätigkeit des Friseurs,”<sup>3</sup> wobei man die antisemitischen Neigungen Bartels’ in Anschlag zu bringen hat. Auch Conrad Ferdinand Meyer feilt seine Gedichte sorgfältig; dasselbe gilt auch von Walt Whitman.

Nach seinem eigenen Geständnis strebte Heine, sich die äussere Form des Volksliedes anzueignen.<sup>4</sup> Da nun das Volkslied durch Knappheit und Einfachheit der Sprache charakterisiert wird, so sind denn in den volkstümlichen Liedern

<sup>1</sup>Jedenfalls bediente sich Heine desselben Verfahrens in seinen früheren Schöpfungen, um seinen Gedichten das Gepräge des mühelos Entstandenen zu geben, wodurch sich seine Zeitgenossen täuschen liessen, wie aus folgendem hervorgeht: Im Jahre 1828 bemerkte Müllner über das “Buch der Lieder”: “Ein Genius ist da, aber er ist noch nicht, wie Schiller ihn will: er entbrennt nicht, thatenvoll dem Stoffe sich zu vermählen, er spannt nicht den Nerv des Fleisses an, um beharrlich ringend dem Gedanken das Element zu unterwerfen. Hinwerfen auf das Papier, was er leicht aufgefasst hat, leicht und angenehm hinwerfen, was er ohne Anstrengung der dichterischen Kraft gestaltet hat, das ist die Thätigkeit, die er liebt”—im “Mitternachtsblatt” Nr. 104, 1. Juli 1828, vgl. Strodtmann, I, 507. Weit richtiger erkannte August Lewald Heines dichterische Methode, von der er sagt: “Wie gern überredete man sich nicht, dass der Dichter sie (die Lieder) hinhauchte, dass der üppige Erguss aus der Fülle seiner Seele immer auch gleich die Gestalt gewinne, die uns erfreuen und entzücken kann. Wer aber die Manuskripte betrachtet, wird anderer Meinung werden. Diese reizende Leichtigkeit, dieser rhythmische Wohlklang, diese scheinbare Nachlässigkeit, es ist alles Frucht des sorglichsten Nachdenkens; die schärfste Kritik, das feinste Ohr wachen über diese Hervorbringungen und geben ihnen ihre liebliche Vollendung”—vgl. Aquarelle aus dem Leben, Bd. II, S. 114. Lewald hat auch das Faksimile der Handschrift von einigen Liedern drucken lassen—in der Zeitschrift “Europa,” 1840, vgl. Strodtmann, I, 508.

<sup>2</sup>Hermann Hüffer: Heinrich Heine—Gesammelte Aufsätze—hrsg. von Ernst Elster, Berlin 1906, S. 99.

<sup>3</sup>Adolph Bartels: Heinrich Heine. Auch ein Denkmal, S. 275.

<sup>4</sup>Vgl. seinen Brief vom 7. Juni 1826 an Wilhelm Müller hinsichtlich des “Intermezzo”: “Ich habe sehr früh schon das deutsche Volkslied auf mich einwirken lassen, späterhin, als ich in Bonn studierte, hat mir August Schlegel viel metrische Geheimnisse aufgeschlossen, aber ich glaube erst in Ihren Liedern den reinen Klang und die wahre Einfachheit, wonach ich strebte, gefunden zu haben. Wie rein, wie klar sind Ihre Lieder, und sämtlich sind es Volkslieder. In meinen Gedichten hingegen ist nur die Form einigermaßen volkstümlich, der Inhalt gehört der konventionellen Gesellschaft an.” Vgl. Bartels: H. Heine, S. 101, auch Elster: H. Heines Buch der Lieder, S. XCVI.



Heines lange, zusammengesetzte, ungewöhnliche Beiwörter nicht zu erwarten. Ziehen wir einige der Gedichte in Betracht, wie z. B.

Es war ein alter König,  
Sein Herz war schwer, sein Haupt war grau;  
Der arme alte König,  
Er nahm eine junge Frau.

Es war ein schöner Page,  
Blond war sein Haupt, leicht war sein Sinn;  
Er trug die seidne Schleppe  
Der jungen Königin.

Kennst du das alte Liedchen?  
Es klingt so süß, es klingt so trüb!  
Sie mussten beide sterben,  
Sie hatten sich viel zu lieb.

NF, I, 215.

In diesem schönen Liede—sogar Bartels, der dem "Juden" Heine jede Bedeutung absprechen will, gibt zu, dass es "nicht zu verachten"<sup>1</sup> ist—spielen die Adjectiva die Hauptrolle und diese Adjectiva sind die einfachsten, welche die deutsche Sprache darbietet. Sie sind aber hier durch geschickte Anwendung bedeutungsschwanger geworden und durch diese gewöhnlichen alltäglichen Beiwörter wird eine Tragödie entfaltet. Besonders die ersten beiden Strophen dieses Gedichtchens sind ein Beispiel des meisterhaften Gebrauches von einfachen Epitheten.

In dem grössten Teile von Heines Dichtungen sind die Beiwörter einfacher Art, besonders da wo er die Liebe besingt oder seinen Schmerz ausdrückt. Man braucht nur "Junge Leiden," "Lyrisches Intermezzo," "Die Heimkehr," "Neuer Frühling" an irgend einer Stelle aufzuschlagen, um sich davon zu überzeugen. Ein paar Beispiele unter vielen sind

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<sup>1</sup>Bartels: Heine, S. 240.

Du bist wie eine Blume  
 So hold und schön und rein;  
 Ich schau' dich an und Wehmut  
 Schleicht mir ins Herz hinein.

Mir ist, als ob ich die Hände  
 Aufs Haupt dir legen sollt',  
 Betend, dass Gott dich erhalte  
 So rein und schön und hold.

Hk, I, 117.

Mädchen mit dem roten Mündchen,  
 Mit den Äuglein süß und klar,  
 Du mein liebes, kleines Mädchen,  
 Deiner denk' ich immerdar.

Hk, I, 118, 27-30.

Ein Fichtenbaum steht einsam  
 Im Norden auf kahler Höh'.  
 Ihn schläfert; mit weisser Decke  
 Umhüllen ihn Eis und Schnee.

Er träumt von einer Palme,  
 Die fern im Morgenland  
 Einsam und schweigend trauert  
 Auf brennender Felsenwand.

LI, I, 78.

Nacht liegt auf den fremden Wegen,  
 Krankes Herz und müde Glieder;—  
 Ach, da fließt, wie stiller Segen,  
 Süßes Mond, dein Licht hernieder.

Hk, I, 134, 1-4.

Diese Beiwörter, wie einfach und allgemein sie auch sein  
 mögen, geben den Gedichten ihren Stimmungsgehalt. Oft übt  
 ein einziges Epitheton auf die Stimmung des ganzen Gedichtes  
 einen starken Einfluss aus, wie

Dort klang es lieb und lieber  
 Und wogt' es hin und her;

Wir aber schwammen vorüber  
Trostlos auf weitem Meer.

LI, I, 82, 1-4.

wo das einzige Adjektiv "weit" das Gefühl der Verlassenheit so stark zum Ausdruck bringt. Die mystisch-romantische Stimmung des Liedes wird dadurch wesentlich erhöht.

Auch wusste Heine, durch verschiedene syntaktische Anwendungen dieser einfachen Beiwörter bedeutende Wirkungen zu erzielen, sei es durch Kontrast:

Es ist eine alte Geschichte  
Doch bleibt sie immer neu

LI, I, 80, 29-30.

durch Wiederholung:

Von düsterer Lieder düstern Melodien

JLT, I, 13, 4.

oder durch Häufung der Epitheta:

ich liebe alleine

Die Kleine, die Feine, die Reine, die Eine.

LI, I, 67, 3-4.

Für nähere Auskunft über diese syntaktischen Mittel siehe unten.

Wenn Heine meistens nur einfache, alltägliche Beiwörter gebraucht, um die Liebe zu besingen, so ist das gerade Gegenteil der Fall, wenn er seinen durch das Meer hervorgerufenen Gefühlen Ausdruck gibt. Mit den eben angeführten Gedichten vergleiche man folgende Stellen aus den Nordseecyklen:

Die glühend rote Sonne steigt  
Hinab ins weit aufschauende,  
Silbergraue Weltmeer;  
Luftgebilde, rosig angehaucht,  
Wallen ihr nach; und gegenüber,  
Aus herbstlich dämmernden Wolkenschleiern,  
Ein traurig todblaues Antlitz,  
Bricht hervor der Mond,

Und hinter ihm, Lichtfünkchen,  
Nebelweit, schimmern die Sterne.

I, 164, 30-165, 8.

Thalatta! Thalatta!

Sei mir gegrüsst, du ewiges Meer!

Sei mir gegrüsst zehntausendmal

Aus jauchzendem Herzen,

Wie einst dich begrüsstest

Zehntausend Griechenherzen,

Unglückbekämpfende, heimatverlangende,

Weltberühmte Griechenherzen.

I, 179, 1-8.

Staunend und seltsam geblendet, betracht'  
ich

Das luftige Pantheon,

Die feierlich stummen, grau'nhaft bewegten

Riesengstalten.

Der dort ist Kronion, der Himmelskönig,

Schneeweiss sind die Locken des Haupts,

Die berühmten, Olymposerschütternden Locken.

I, 187, 21-27.

Von den einfachsten Beiwörtern geht Heine also in den Nordseecyklen zu gehäuften, zusammengesetzten, oft homerischen Epitheten über. Der Unterschied zwischen den Epitheten eines Gedichtes wie "Es war ein alter König" (sieh oben) und denen der eben angeführten Stellen aus den Nordseecyklen ist auffallend; in beiden Fällen hängt die Wirkung der Gedichte in hohem Grade von dem geschickten Gebrauch der Beiwörter ab.

#### ZUSAMMENGESetzte BEIWÖRTER.

Wie gesagt, in den Nordseecyklen kommen viele zusammengesetzte Epitheta vor. Solche Beispiele sind keineswegs auf die



Nordseebilder beschränkt, werden aber in diesen besonders häufig gebraucht, viel häufiger als in den anderen Gedichten. Die Wirkung der Composita wird auf verschiedene Weise erzielt, und zwar

A. Durch die Länge der Zusammensetzungen. Man vergleiche z.B. die oben angeführten "Unglückbekämpfende, heimatverlangende, / Weltberühmte Griechenherzen," NZC, I, 179, 7-8, oder "Geier-gequälet, Felsen-gefesselt," NZC, I, 186, 28, oder "Schellenklingelnd, peitschenknallend," NF, I, 217, 1. Die blosse Länge solcher Ausdrücke, der Raum, den sie im Verse einnehmen, die zur Aussprache erforderliche Zeit, machen auf den Leser und den Zuhörer einen starken Eindruck.

Natürlich bleibt der Inhalt noch immer von der grössten Bedeutung, sonst wird der Effekt komisch. Wenn Heine die Möwen anredet als "Schwarzbeinigte Vögel, / Mit weissen Flügeln Meer-überflatternde, / Mit krummen Schnäbeln Seewasser-saufende, / Und thranigtes Robbenfleisch-fressende," NZC, I, 185, 10-13, so hat er der äusseren Form nach ausgezeichnete Beispiele der homerischen Epitheta ersonnen, poetisch sind sie aber nicht.

Vgl. auch 'Menschen, weissgekleidete, / Palmzweig-tragende,' NEC, I, 178, 26-27; 'Bedächtige Männer, schwarzbe-mäntelt,' NEC, I, 175, 12; 'hohen Altären, / Den wiedergebauten, den opferdampfenden,' NZC, I, 189, 16-17; 'Die heiligrote, prophetengefeierte' Rose, NZC, I, 192, 11; 'Sporenklirrend, schnurrbartkräuselnd,' Hk, I, 132, 7; 'Seelenblendend und verzehrend,' AT, II, 395, 6; 'Mythologisch splitternackt,' AT, II, 393, 30; 'melancholisch menschenleer,' NEC, I, 176, 11-12; 'Durch labyrinthisch vielverschlungne Zimmer,' LI, I, 89, 12; 'banausisch schwerhinwandelndes Hornvieh,' NV, II, 71, 15.

B. Durch neue, unerwartete Zusammensetzungen, wie 'feuer-gelb,' NV, II, 93, 25; das Feuer wird gewöhnlich als rot bezeichnet. 'Strahlenbuhlende,' NZC, I, 184, 12, heisst die Sonne und der Himmel ist 'roteinäugig,' NF, I, 221, 1. Andere Beispiele sind 'goldbesoffen,' NRF, II, 128, 4; 'mondschein-

gefütterte Nachtigallbraut,' NZC, I, 185, 17; 'rokoko-anthropophagisch,' NRF, II, 144, 13; 'kaltumflirret,' JLR, I, 45, 22; 'lustplätschernd,' NL, II, 36, 17; 'luftbefiedert,' A, II, 278, 25; 'süsskrötiges Stimmelein,' NL, II, 36, 23; der philharmonische Katerverein kehrt zur primitiven kunstlosen Tonkunst zurück, zum 'schnauzenwüchsig' Naiven, NZ, II, 183, 8; 'im flammenstillen Gemüt,' NZ, II, 165, 14; 'stadtväterlichst,' NZ, II, 207, 11; die Schmeicheläuglein spielen ins Grüne, 'meerwunderlich mahnend' an Delphine, NL, II, 36, 26; 'dämmersüchtig,' L, I, 416, 17; 'blutfinster,' JLT, I, 20, 18; 'blutdunkler Tränen,' A, II, 256, 3.

C. Durch ungewöhnliche Anwendung: Die Juden schwingen ihre Messer 'wonnegrünzelnd,' HM, I, 474, 16—'wonnegrünzelnd' würde man gewöhnlich nicht auf einen Menschen anwenden. Atta Trolls Töchter sind 'unschuldrein, vierfüß'ge Lilien,' AT, II, 411, 15—eine vierfüß'ge Lilie wäre gewiss etwas Ausserordentliches! Das Weib im Norden hat 'hochgeschürzte' Lippen, NZC, I, 182, 33. 'Pflanzenwüchsig,' NZ, II, 197, 8, ist der deutsche Esel. Die Sonne ist eine 'feuerblühende' Rose, NZC, I, 191, 17. 'Schattenhastig übereilt,' ZO, I, 296, 6, zieht dem Dichter alles im Traum vorüber. Vgl. auch 'flutenkaltes Witwerbett,' NEC, I, 166, 4; 'von stolzen, glückgehärteten Menschen,' NEC, I, 165, 21; 'mein märchentrunkenes Herz,' L, I, 394, 20; 'seiner gottgeküssten Seele,' HM, I, 445, 1; 'wälderfreie Nachtigallen,' NL, II, 26, 21; 'grabentstiegne Totenfreude,' AT, II, 391, 24; 'zahlungsfähige Moral,' R, I, 271, 28.

D. Die Beiwörter verleihen leblosen Gegenständen Leben und menschliches Wesen oder unkörperlichen Ideen eine körperliche Eigenschaft, wie 'Riesenmärchen, totschißlaunig,' NEC, I, 166, 25; 'Runensprüche, so dunkeltrotzig und zaubergewaltig,' NEC, I, 166, 30, dass die Meereswellen jauchzen, 'übermutberauscht,' NEC, I, 166, 33; 'mit krummgeschliffnen Worten,' NZC, I, 180, 23; das weit 'aufschauernde, silbergraue Weltmeer,' NEC, 164, 32-165, 1; 'litaneifromme Weisen, aber wahnsinnwüste Worte,' H, I, 358, 21-22; 'halberstarnte Liebes-

lieder,' NL, II, 38, 24; 'uralte, aschgraue Betrachtungen,' NV, II, 70, 7; 'an ihrer Muskeln sanftgeschwellter Weichheit,' A, II, 274, 10; die 'gedankenstolze Stirne,' HM, I, 438, 16; 'braungestreifte Lüge,' V, I, 232, 9; 'sinnverrücktes Titelblatt,' AT, II, 377, 22. Der Frühling heisst 'der Sonnengeheckte,' NZC, I, 180, 11; 'jungfräulich lustbeklommen,' NF, I, 204, 12, ist der Wald; die Lindenblüten sind 'mondscheintrunken,' NF, I, 216, 9.

E. Dem Compositum liegt ein Vergleich zu Grunde, wodurch der Begriff des Epithetons verschärft wird: Im Saale wurde es 'leichenstill,' JLR, I, 47, 6, d.h. still wie eine Leiche. Stiller als eine Leiche hätte es nun wohl nicht werden können, denn das ist ja der höchste Grad des Stillseins. Durch den Vergleich wird also der Begriff des Beiwortes gesteigert. Der Dichter ist nicht nur elend, sondern 'krüppelend,' HM, I, 452, 30, während Laskaros bleiche Augen 'todestraurig' starren, AT, II, 403, 35. Weitere Beispiele sind 'leichenstumm,' JLT, I, 18, 17; 'mäuschenstill,' JLT, I, 24, 4; 'marmorblass,' JLT, I, 28, 10; 'abgrundtiefer,' HM, I, 454, 16; 'klimperklein,' NV, II, 55, 3; 'kerzensteif,' NRF, II, 131, 14; 'lämmchensanft,' Rf, II, 337, 4; 'taubenmild,' NZC, I, 182, 32; 'spiegelhell,' JLL, I, 33, 10; 'himmelgross,' Hr, I, 152, 10.

F. Eine Art stufenweise Wirkung finden wir in 'Du Immergeliebte,/Du Längstverlorene,/Du Endlichgefundene,' NEC, I, 176, 27-29; oder 'Die kranke Seele, / Die gottverleugnende, engelverleugnende, / Unselige Seele,' NEC, I, 177, 18-20. Ein Beispiel des Wortspieles haben wir zugleich in 'trommelrührend / Und auch trommelfellerschütternd,' AT, II, 358, 3-4, wobei das letzte Wort obendrein zweideutig ist—es bezieht sich hier sowohl auf die Trommel als auch auf das Ohr.

Vgl. auch 'Händedrückend, liebeffüsternd,' Hk, I, 141, 1; 'Sehnsuchtwilden Gesang, / Seelenschmelzend und seelenzerreissend,' NEC, I, 173, 33-34; 'Freudezitternd, freudebrüllend,' AT, II, 414, 11; 'Unglückbekämpfende, heimatverlangende, / Weltberühmte Griechenherzen,' NZC, I, 179, 7-8; 'Kaltumflirret, nachtumwoben,' JLR, I, 45, 22; 'purpurgeputzt / Und



diamantenblitzend, / Und allgeliebt und allbewundert,' NZC, I, 183, 27-29; 'Liebelechzend, lustentglommen,' NZ, II, 181, 14; 'Anmutblühend, schönheitstrahlend,' NL, II, 19, 27; 'Die goldgeschmückten, die purpurgekleideten,' NZC, I, 193, 4; 'Menschen, weissgekleidete, / Palmzweig-tragende,' NEC, I, 178, 26-27.

Beiläufig sei die häufige Anwendung von Zusammensetzungen mit 'Liebe' erwähnt, wie 'liebestrunken,' JLR, I, 36, 23; 'liebumfangen,' LI, I, 81, 12; 'liebesatt,' AT, II, 422, 14, welche verschiedene Phasen der Liebe ausdrücken. Vgl. auch 'liebeswunde,' JLR, I, 48, 23; 'liebeflüsternd,' Hk, I, 141, 1; 'liebeweit,' NEC, I, 171, 32; 'lieberöchelnd,' L, I, 412, 3; 'liebeklar,' A, II, 307, 10; 'liebefromm,' Rf, II, 326, 19; 'liebesicher,' NEC, I, 167, 32; 'liebematt,' NV, II, 70, 27; 'liebselig,' NEC, I, 178, 13; 'liebelechzend,' NZ, II, 181, 14; 'liebeschmeichelnd,' A, II, 262, 29. Die meisten von diesen Beispielen gehören zur Klasse B.

#### EINFACHES EPITHETON DURCH EIN ADVERBIAL GEBRAUCHTES MODIFIZIERT.

In der Mitte zwischen einfachen und zusammengesetzten Epitheten stehen diejenigen Fälle, wo ein unflektiertes Beiwort unmittelbar vor einem anderen Beiwort steht, wie z.B. 'heilig gross,' JLT, I, 25, 15. Diese Fälle machen eigentlich den Eindruck des Compositums, sind aber der äusseren Form nach nur einfache Epitheta. Solcher Formen bedient sich Heine öfters und mit gefälliger Gewandtheit. 'Duftig bunt und hastig regsam' ist der Blumenwald, Hr, I, 157, 13; 'heimlich süss,' JLR, I, 51, 12, dringen ihm ins Herz die Töne der Sängerin; 'vornehm nickend,' L, I, 396, 2, ist der buntgeputzte Pöbel; 'schön gereimte Lippen,' HM, I, 438, 21, hat Jehuda ben Halevy; Almansor ist von weichen Harfenlauten 'süss umklungen,' A, II, 288, 2; Marie ist 'krankhaft reizbar,' Rf, II, 316, 19; 'goldig zart,' NF, I, 206, 9, ist der Sonnenstrahl. Vgl. auch 'bleiern müde,' AT, II, 404, 6; 'grässlich wach,' AT, II, 404, 8; 'idyllisch sicher,' D, II, 471, 7; 'duftig labend,' Hk, I, 133, 20; 'bräutlich blühend,' NRF, II, 126, 1; 'blutrot keek,' NRF, II,



131, 24; 'zärtlich bellend,' A, II, 297, 5; 'hässlich bitter,' JLR, I, 50, 3; 'qualvoll dämmernd,' AT, II, 404, 28; 'selig süß,' JLS, I, 56, 21.

#### EINFACHE BEIWÖRTER.

Auch die einfachen Epitheta wusste Heine ebenso gut anzuwenden als die längeren zusammengesetzten Formen. Wie bei diesen, so kommen auch bei jenen mehrere Elemente in Betracht, wodurch das Beiwort den Gesamteindruck verstärkt:

A. Ein Hauptmittel ist wieder die unerwartete Anwendung des Epithetons; dem Substantiv wird eine höchst überraschende Eigenschaft zugeschrieben. Der Dichter stellt uns 'dialektische Athleten,' HM, I, 440, 4, vor—noch dazu 'ästhetische Pfänderleiher,' NV, II, 82, 8, und 'verklärte Esel,' NZ, II, 197, 17. Weitere Beispiele sind: 'aus lieber Dummheit,' A, II, 272, 3; 'dicke Engel,' AT, II, 379, 25; 'rotes Fett,' AT, II, 403, 26; 'der ritterliche Judas,' AT, II, 414, 27; 'die öden Arme des greisen Gemahls,' NZC, I, 184, 2-3; Aphrodites 'gütiger Leib,' NZC, I, 188, 23; 'das lange wäss'rige Halleluja,' Rf, II, 332, 21; 'die ungedruckte Glaubenszeit,' D, II, 436, 17.

Hierher gehören auch viele Beispiele des Kontrastes, wie 'traurige Lust,' R, I, 267, 17. Das Element des Kontrastes werde ich aber in einem besonderen Kapitel behandeln.<sup>1</sup>

B. Suggestive und schlagende Beiwörter: Der Dichter möchte sich in die Höhe heben, doch muss er am Boden kleben, 'umkrächzt, umzischt von eklem Wurmgezücht,' JLS, I, 61, 32, d.h. von seinen Mitmenschen. In den Tagen seines Leidens dachte Heine an den Tumult der früheren Leidenschaften; er möchte nun noch einmal glücklich sein, da er aber 'unjung,' L, I, 421, 9, sei, müsste er diesmal ohne Lärmen lieben. 'Einsilbig,' L, I, 424, 3, sitzt er da, während seine Kousine darauf los plaudert. Vgl. auch 'die zischelnden Muhmen und Basen,' Hk, I, 103, 27; 'die ungewaschenen germanischen Hände,' NZ, II, 200, 24; 'zweibeinig kluges Ding,' A, II, 294, 9; 'ein modernes flaches Weltkind,' AT, II, 389, 33; 'das blöde dumpf langweil'ge Glockenläuten,' AT, II, 400, 9-10; 'mit ausgehungerten Stimmen,' D, II, 455, 6.

<sup>1</sup>Sieh S. 17.

C. Das Element der Angemessenheit und Innigkeit. Die Epitheta sind so passend und innig, dass wir Gefallen daran finden. 'Süsse, blaue Rätsel,' JLR, I, 49, 26, sind der Geliebten Augen, welche in 'ihrer süssen, klugen Pracht,' Hk, I, 122, 2, leuchten. Vgl. auch die Lieder des 'ambrosischen Homeros,' HM, I, 452, 8; 'die kleine sorgsame Hand,' NEC, I, 167, 27; Rosen, 'wild wie rote Flammen,' Hr, I, 157, 15; 'die rauschende Flutgewalt,' NZC, I, 183, 13; 'in deiner selig süssen, trauten Nähe,' JLS, I, 56, 21; 'lockende Harfenlaute,' NEC, I, 173, 32; 'der smaragdene Frühling,' NZC, I, 180, 11; 'aus grossen siegenden Augen,' NZC, I, 180, 21; die Nichten des Fährmanns sind 'hübsche, herzliche Geschöpfe,' AT, 379, 33; 'bläulich und mailich,' NV, II, 103, 28, ist der Himmel.

D. Das Simplex, wie auch das Compositum, kann leblosen Sachen Leben oder immateriellen Ideen eine materielle Eigenschaft beilegen. 'Mit strahlender Eile,' D, II, 456, 22, bringt die Sonne der Erde Licht. Wie 'ein plätscherndes Geheimnis,' AT, II, 382, 2, schwimmt der Kahn in der Nacht. 'Das klingend helle, goldene Entzücken,' A, II, 274, 7, ist Gold. Es ruht das dumpfe Geräusch der 'schwatzenden, schwülen Gewerbe,' NEC, I, 178, 24. Vgl. auch 'feuchte Wehmut,' JLR, I, 54, 8; 'verwaistes Lied,' JLT, I, 13, 9; 'kolossale Weiblichkeit,' V, I, 235, 10; 'heitres Wissen, holdes Können,' HM, I, 442, 18; 'satte Tugend,' R, I, 271, 27; die Wolken sind 'stolz,' Hr, I, 151, 16; die Lüfte sind 'mitleidvoll,' JLR, I, 35, 5, 'neckend,' LI, I, 88, 31, und 'seiden' Hk, I, 135, 2. Ähnliche Beispiele kommen in Menge vor und sind für Heines Anwendung der Epitheta höchst charakteristisch.<sup>1</sup>

E. Zuweilen trägt der in den Beiwörtern vorhandene Binnen- und Mittelreim zum Effekt des Verses bei. Als der Tod den Dichter ruft, wird ihm angst und bange um die Zukunft seiner Frau und er warnt Mathilde vor den Gefahren der leuch-

<sup>1</sup>Vgl. 'aus der kauenden Betäubnis,' L, I, 396, 8; 'von der wilden, abenteuerlichen Süsse,' HM, I, 442, 10-11; 'von parfümierten Erinnerungen,' NL, II, 42, 19; 'eine dicke Dummheit,' NZ, II, 213, 23; 'das ew'ge Wort, das urgeborne in rosenroter Glorie selig strahlend,' A, II, 292, 4-5; 'sein weisses Elend,' AT, II, 387, 20; 'die schwarze Muttersprache,' AT, II, 420, 8; 'die dummen Kerzen,' Hk, I, 143, 24; 'der eingefrorene Dünkel,' D, II, 435, 22; 'gestirnte Seligkeit,' V, I, 243, 20; 'die magre Wassersuppe' der Philosophie, NZ, II, 219, 8; 'süsser Hoffnung toller Traumtrunk,' NRF, II, 145, 20; 'ein süss Verstummen,' A, II, 274, 3; 'das hübsche, goldne Wort,' JLL, I, 31, 12;

tenden Hauptstadt der Welt, denn 'das singende, springende, schöne Paris,' NL, II, 44, 9, enthält 'viel grimmere, schlimmere Bestien,' NL, II, 44, 7, als Wald und Meer. Weitere Beispiele sind: 'Wohl kenne ich / Dies blühende, glühende Bildnis,' JLR, I, 49, 26; 'klingende, springende Raserei,' L, I, 392, 8, ist der Nixenreigen; 'Die schimmernde, flimmernde Gauklerin,' NRF, II, 148, 22, heisst die schöne Libelle; 'Nach der lieben, alten, schaurigen Klausen, / In dem trüben, kalten, traurigen Hause,' JLR, I, 41, 7-8; 'ich liebe alleine / Die Kleine, die Feine, die Reine, die Eine,' LI, I, 67, 3-4; 'Eine starke, schwarze Barke / Segelt trauervoll dahin. / Die verummten und verstummten / Leichenhüter sitzen drin,' R, I, 268, 9-12; 'Und that sogar recht trutzig und recht stutzig,' JLT, I, 17, 4; 'Wirf um den weiten weisswallenden Schleier, / Und greif in die Saiten der schallenden Leier,' JLR, I, 41, 19-20; 'Mit nasen, blassen Wangen,' LI, I, 81, 10; 'Und die Wellen, wutschäumend und bäumend,' NEC, I, 173, 9; 'Das Schlimmste und das Dummste, / Das trug ich geheim in der Brust,' LI, I, 75, 7.

F. Auch Beispiele der Alliteration kommen öfters vor, wie 'die weissen, weiten Wellen,' NEC, I, 164, 10; 'Im wallend weissen Gewande / Wandelt' er,' NEC, I, 178, 2-3; 'das wüste, wogende Wasser,' NZC, I, 181, 6; 'Leise zieht durch mein Gemüt / Liebliches Geläute. / Klinge, kleines Frühlingslied, / Kling hinaus ins Weite,' NF, I, 205, 25-206, 2; 'Finsternis, so dumpf und dicht,' LI, I, 90, 14; 'Ob das Märchen möglich sei,' NZ, II, 161, 32; 'Und die Lüfte wehen so lind und so lau,' LI, I, 77, 7; 'Wir sprachen von hohen, heimlichen Dingen,' NZC, I, 192, 22; 'Die Lüfte wehen lieb und lind,' JLT, I, 14, 6; 'Der Peter steht so still und stumm,' JLR, I, 37, 17; 'Die bunten Buhlen,' NRF, II, 150, 21; 'mit wilder Wut,' NL, II, 5, 2; 'Bleich Blümchen bleibt immer so bleich,' NL, II, 6, 4; 'Augen, sterblich schöne Sterne,' NL, II, 20, 1.

'der langgezogene, vornehm kalte Laut,' JLT, I, 16, 16; 'du alte, einsame Thräne,' Hk, I, 108, 23; 'die dumme Thräne,' Hk, I, 129, 28; 'mit sel'gem Finger,' Hk, I, 131, 19; 'in blühend stolzen Liedern,' A, II, 291, 5; 'Wasserstürze, ewig schlaflos und verdrüsslich in der Nacht,' AT, II, 372, 31-32; 'melancholisch bleiche Sterne,' AT, II, 381, 31; 'die Bank, die silberne Seele der Stadt,' D, II, 474, 21; 'nach zärtlich weissen Gewändern,' D, II, 480, 34; 'den göttlichsten Schnupfen und einen unsterblichen Husten,' NEC, I, 168, 15-16; 'rotgeküsst vom kecken Lenze' blüht die Insel, NRF, II, 140, 17; die Düfte sind 'leidenschaftlich,' NRF, II, 139, 3; 'die schäumend wilde' Phantasie, JLR, I, 47, 23; 'gefrorne Ewigkeiten,' AT, II, 387, 24; 'höfliche Manschetten,' Hr, I, 151, 2; 'mit kalt unheimlicher Vertraulichkeit,' Hk, I, 138, 26; 'mein westöstlich dunkler Spleen,' HM, I, 444, 16; 'das winterlich starre Gemüt,' NV, II, 68, 6.



## KAP. II.

## KONTRAST.

FÜR Heine war das Leben voller Kontraste. Der Gegensatz zwischen Schmerz und Freude bildet ein Lieblingsthema seiner Lieder. Wenn er im blühenden Monat Mai alles um sich herum lachen sieht und sein eignes Herz aber voll Kummer ist, so ruft er aus:

O schöne Welt, du bist abscheulich!  
 Da lob' ich mir den Orkus fast;  
 Dort kränkt uns nirgends ein schnöder Kontrast

NV, II, 103, 13-15.

Heine selbst lebte und dachte in Kontrasten. Auch die Poesie schien ihm aus Kontrasten zu bestehen. Von dem Dichter Jehuda ben Halevy singt er

Und des Knaben edles Herze  
 Ward ergriffen von der wilden,  
 Abenteuerlichen Süsse,  
 Von der wundersamen Schmerzlust

Und den fabelhaften Schauern  
 Jener seligen Geheimwelt,  
 Jener grossen Offenbarung,  
 Die wir nennen Poesie

HM, I, 442, 9-16.

Die Poesie ist ihm also wilde Süsse, Schmerzlust, Schauern, eine Geheimwelt und doch zugleich eine grosse Offenbarung.

In Heines Gedichten werden gegensätzliche Begriffe wiederholt zusammengebracht, wobei das Beiwort eine bedeutende Rolle spielt. Von der unglücklichen Liebe z.B. behauptet er:

Es ist eine alte Geschichte,  
 Doch bleibt sie immer neu;



Und wem sie just passieret,  
Dem bricht das Herz entzwei

LI, I, 80, 29-32.

Bekanntlicherweise hat Heine seine eigene unglückliche Liebe vielmals besungen. Er sagt selbst:

Aus meinen grossen Schmerzen  
Mach' ich die kleinen Lieder

LI, I, 79, 1-2.

Beim Lesen seiner Gedichte dringt sich uns allerdings der Eindruck auf, dass er mit seinen grossen Schmerzen ganz gehörig kokettiert und dass sie so gross nicht gewesen sein dürften, wie er uns glauben machen möchte.

Die Geliebte wird bezeichnet als

Du Kleine mit grossen Augen

Hk, I, 110, 13.

Wörter, wie 'klein' und 'gross,' werden gewöhnlich angewandt, ohne die Aufmerksamkeit besonders zu erregen. In diesem Falle aber machen sie wegen der Antithese einen starken Eindruck.

Gut ist die Beschreibung von Donna Claras Verführung durch den fremden Ritter:

Mit den weichen Liebesnetzen  
Hat er heimlich sie umflochten!  
Kurze Worte, lange Küsse,  
Und die Herzen überflossen.

Hk, I, 142, 5-8.

Ein ganzes Meer feuriger Leidenschaft wird in dieser Antithese auf knappe, packende Weise zum Ausdruck gebracht.

Durch Gebrauch des Kontrastes versucht Heine also mit den einfachsten Epitheten seinen Versen Leben und Kraft zu geben. Dabei ist zu bemerken, dass der Kontrast in verschiedenen Gestalten vorkommt:—

A. Die kontrastierenden Beiwörter stehen in den entsprechenden Gliedern zweier angrenzender Sätze, was den Versen obendrein einen abgerundeten Wohlklang gibt: "Teurer Freund, du bist verliebt, / Und dich quälen neue Schmerzen; / Dunk-

ler wird es dir im Kopf, / Heller wird es dir im Herzen,'  
Hk, I, 120, 1-4. Hat jemals ein Dichter die Sehnsucht nach  
den Freuden dieses Lebens schärfer ausgedrückt als Heine, wo  
er ruft, 'O Gott! wie hässlich bitter ist das Sterben! /  
O Gott! wie süß und traulich lässt sich leben,' NV,  
II, 89, 16-17.

Wer nie im Leben thöricht war,  
Ein Weiser war er nimmer

NV, II, 78, 23-24.

Dein Arm ist kurz, und der Himmel ist weit

NEC, I, 172, 27.

Der Tod, das ist die kühle Nacht,  
Das Leben ist der schwüle Tag

Hk, I, 134, 9-10.

Das Herz ist voll, der Kopf ist leer

NL, II, 36, 9-10.

Die Geigen geben so lustigen Klang,  
Die Flöten seufzen so traurig und bang

R, I, 275, 1-2.

B. Die betreffenden Epitheta nehmen entsprechende Stellen  
in demselben Satze ein: Friederike soll Berlin verlassen, 'mit  
seinem dicken Sande, / Und dünnen Thee,' V, I, 254,  
23-24. Dem Dichter träumte einst 'von süßen Lippen und  
von bitterer Rede,' JLT, I, 13, 3.

Wenig Fleisch, sehr viel Gemüt

R, I, 280, 24.

In der Hand die kleine Lampe,  
In der Brust die grosse Glut

R, I, 279, 1-2.

Sie sang mit wahrem Gefühle  
Und falscher Stimme

D, II, 431, 14-15.

Von gotischem Wahn und modernem Lug

D, II, 467, 27.

Höchster Lust und tiefsten Leidens

H, I, 363, 12.

C. Die Epitheta stehen nicht in entsprechenden Satzgliedern: 'Du kleines, junges Mädchen, / Komm an mein grosses Herz,' NEC, I, 171, 9-10; 'Der neue Himmel lockt viel alte Sünder,' A, II, 259, 5. In diesen Fällen werden die konträren Eigenschaften nicht nur einander gegenübergestellt, sondern der eine Begriff übt einen Einfluss auf den anderen aus.

Zuweilen werden die entgegengesetzten Begriffe auch in Berührung mit einander gebracht. Diese Berührung kann eine wirkliche körperliche vorstellen, wie 'Und drücke mein glühendes Antlitz / In den feuchten Sand,' NZC, I, 183, 4-5, oder sie kann nur in der Einbildung existieren, wie 'Ohnmacht hat das lichte Bildnis / In ihr dunkles Reich gezogen,' JLR, I, 45, 23.

Der arme alte König,  
Er nahm eine junge Frau

NF, I, 215, 15-16.

Herab auf euer romantisches Haupt  
Des Himmels modernste Blitze

D, II, 436, 25-26.

Und ich darf ein schneeig Kissen  
An das heisse Herz mir drücken

NL, II, 38, 25-26.

In ihr liebes, bleiches Antlitz  
Spielt' das rote Sonnengold

Hk, I, 114, 31-32.

Nur das oft moderne Triller  
Gaukeln durch den alten Grundton

AT, II, 421, 31-32.

D. Der Kontrast bringt enttäuschte Erwartungen zum Ausdruck: 'O weh! statt des glühenden Fünkchens steckt / Im Kelche der Rose ein kaltes Insekt,' NV, II, 66, 5-6, oder Unzufriedenheit mit dem Gegebenen und das Verlangen nach dem geraden Gegenteil: 'Ein traurig Lied. Es ist zu

melancholisch. / Gebt uns ein lustig Hochzeitlied,  
recht lustig,' A, II, 301, 18-19.

die Sonne wirft,  
Statt glühnder Strahlen, lauter kalte Schatten  
A, II, 293, 2.

Ich habe die süsse Liebe gesucht,  
Und hab' den bittern Hass gefunden  
NV, II, 67, 1-2.

Statt der gastlich warmen Zimmer,  
Kalte Wände dich empfahn  
NZ, II, 161, 11-12.

Er hat kein grausam antikes Herz,  
Er hat ein weiches, modernes  
NZ, II, 212, 35-36.

Fort mit dem liederlichen Tanz  
Der Musen, fort! In frömmern Weisen  
Will ich den Herrn der Schöpfung preisen  
NV, II, 87, 6-8.

E. Der Kontrast hat auf einen Wandel Bezug, der bereits  
vor sich gegangen ist, wie 'Das Hündchen, sanft und  
klein, / Ist gross und toll geworden,' Hk, I, 98, 22-23,  
oder bald vor sich gehen wird, wie 'Und nur die Lippen, die  
sind rot; / Bald aber küsst sie bleich der Tod,' LI, I, 67,  
19-20.

Verwelkt und abgefallen  
Der sonst so blühende Leib  
Hk, I, 115, 11-12.

Sein goldnes Haar ward silbergrau  
R, I, 285, 25.

Will ich gesund die kranke Seele baden  
A, II, 300, 6.

Die arme Schönheit ist schwer bedrängt,  
Ich aber mache sie frei  
H, I, 370, 27-28.  
Aphrodite,



Einst die goldene! jetzt die silberne

NZC, I, 188, 20.

F. Konträre Eigenschaften werden demselben Gegenstand beigelegt. Wenn der Dichter sagt, 'die Maid ich fand / So fremd und doch so wohlbekannt,' JLT, I, 14, 16, da wird die Aufmerksamkeit besonders erregt, weil sich die Epitheta 'fremd' und ' wohlbekannt,' welche das gerade Gegenteil bedeuten, hier auf denselben Gegenstand beziehen. 'Das alte, das ewig junge Lied,' NEC, I, 168, 25, heisst die Odyssee.

Sie ist mir nah' und doch so fern

NV, II, 84, 9.

Ihr Deutschen seid ein grosses Volk,

So simpel und doch so begabet

NZ, II, 205, 21-22.

Denn er schaut so trüb' und heiter,

Heiter und zugleich betrübet

V, I, 225, 19-20.

So heimisch ist mir hier, und doch so ängstlich

A, II, 252, 8.

O schöne Welt, du bist abscheulich

NV, II, 103, 13.

G. Der Kontrast entsteht aus der Gegenüberstellung des Epithetons und irgend eines anderen Redeteiles. Natürlich können alle die oben besprochenen Formen auch hier vorkommen: Beiwort und Zeitwort—'Es leuchtet meine Liebe / In ihrer dunkeln Pracht,' LI, I, 83, 9-10; Beiwort und Hauptwort—'Wenn man an dir Verrat geübt, / Sei du um so treuer,' H, I, 328, 1-2.

In mein gar zu dunkles Leben

Strahlte einst ein süßes Bild

Hk, I, 95, 1-2.

Es spielt auf den bleichen Wangen

Das lichte Morgenrot

Hk, I, 148, 29-30.

Die sonst so leichte französische Luft,  
 Sie fing mich an zu drücken

D, II, 484, 7-8.

an jenem kalten Leichnam

Kann sich erwärmen eine ganze Menschheit

A, II, 286, 12-13.

Sie war so schön und doch ein Grau'n

JLT, I, 15, 28.

H. Das Adjektiv wird mit einem Hauptwort entgegengesetzten Begriffes gebraucht, wie 'traurige Lust,' R, I, 267, 17, oder 'entzückende Marter und wonniges Weh,' Sphinx, I, 9, 17. Solche knappen schreienden Gegensätze geben dem Verse das Element des Überraschenden und Fesselnden. 'Ach, der Liebe süßes Elend / Und der Liebe bittre Lust,' NF, I, 208, 21-22, ruft der Dichter, als er sich wieder verliebt; der Spätherbstnebel gleicht 'einer weissen Nacht,' R, I, 273, 3-4.

Auf ähnliche Weise werden Beiwort und Verb, wie 'sie jubelt so traurig, sie schluchzet so froh,' Sphinx, I, 8, 11, oder zwei Beiwörter, wie 'qualvoll süß,' NZC, I, 182, 15, gebraucht.

Vgl. auch 'im heiteren Unmut,' NV, II, 81, 15; 'sanftes Rasen,' NV, II, 77, 27; 'das grosse Wörtlein,' A, II, 286, 29; 'weisses Blut,' A, II, 277, 32; 'O süßes Verderben! O blühendes Sterben,' L, I, 410, 27.

I. Das Adjektiv verleiht dem Substantiv eine zwar nicht an und für sich konträre, doch immerhin stark gegensätzliche Eigenschaft. Die Gipfel des Waldes umflimmert 'ein schmerzlicher Sonnenschein,' NL, I, 31, 8—'schmerzlich' und 'Sonnenschein' sind nicht entgegengesetzte Begriffe, trotzdem aber denken wir uns den Sonnenschein gewöhnlich nicht als schmerzlich. Den Dichter fesselt die 'holde Bosheit,' V, I, 239, 21, der Geliebten.

Vgl. auch 'tödliches Glück,' L, I, 391, 24; 'die schauerliche Treue,' L, I, 398, 17; 'mit freud'gem Schrecken,' NF, I, 204, 4; 'den glücklichsten Laokoon,' NL, II, 9, 24; 'die lachende Thräne,' NEC, I, 163, 23.

### KAP. III.

#### WIEDERHOLUNG.

**I**N der Wiederholung der Epitheta zeigt Heine eine ebenso grosse Gewandtheit und Geschicklichkeit wie in der Figur des Kontrastes oder in der Wahl des einzelnen Epithetons. Dadurch wird der Begriff des wiederholten Beiwortes verstärkt und dem Leser oder dem Zuhörer schärfer ins Gedächtnis eingeprägt.

Ausserdem erhält auch der Vers häufig eine eigentümliche dem Inhalte entsprechende Färbung. Vgl.

In Erfüllung geht die böse,  
Uralt böse Prophezeihung

H, I, 387, 11-12.

Was willst du, thörichter Reiter,  
Mit deinem thörichten Traum

LI, I, 88, 23-24.

Ringsum nur kahle, kahle Heid'

JLT, I, 15, 18.

"Tod ist Almansor," sagten böse Leute,  
Und böser Kunde glaubte böses Herz

A, II, 281, 28-29.

Die blühende Rose am blühenden Rhein

NV, II, 57, 16.

In den meisten Fällen trägt die Wiederholung der Epitheta zu dem sprachlichen Klang der Strophen wesentlich bei. Vgl.

Jetzo ist die rechte Stunde,  
Und es ist der rechte Ort;  
Ja, ich glaube, von den Lippen  
Gleitet mir das rechte Wort.

Hr, I, 156, 33-157, 2.

Schöne Wiege meiner Leiden,  
Schönes Grabmal meiner Ruh',

Schöne Stadt, wir müssen scheiden,—  
 Lebe wohl! ruf' ich dir zu.

JLL, I, 31, 25-32, 2.

Die Begriffsverschärfung bleibt aber der Hauptzweck dieser Figur.

Wenn man die Wiederholung der Beiwörter in Heines Gedichten näher analysieren will, so muss man verschiedene Nebenumstände in Betracht ziehen, wie z.B. die Stelle, die Form und die Zahl der wiederholten Epitheta. Dass Heine bezüglich des Beiwortes dieses syntaktische Mittel durchaus beherrschte, geht aus Folgendem deutlich hervor:

Wiederholung der Epitheta:

A. Innerhalb desselben Satzes:

I. Mit demselben Substantiv:

1. Attributiv:

Die arme, arme Schwester  
 Ging hungrig wieder nach Haus

NRF, II, 122, 5-6.

Ringsum nur kahle, kahle Heid'

JLT, I, 15, 18.

Hat er seinen Dank gestottert  
 Für die grosse, grosse Ehre

AT, II, 417, 11-12 ..

Ich denke immer an die alte,  
 Die alte Frau, die Gott erhalte

Z, I, 319, 23-24.

2. Attributiv und in Apposition:

Ein schönes Weib, königlich schön

NZC, I, 182, 17.

Ein einiges Deutschland thut uns not,  
 Einig nach aussen und innen

D, II, 434, 23-24.

Gebt uns ein lustig Hochzeitlied, recht lustig,

A, II, 301, 19.

Mein süsses Liebchen, so süss und aimabel

LI, I, 76, 20.



3. Im Prädikat:

Ihr seid heut' boshaft, boshaft, Don Antonio

A, II, 271, 10.

O, deine Mutter was so hübsch, so hübsch

Rf, II, 337, 21.

Und elend bist du doch, elend wie ich

LI, I, 73, 4.

Denn er schaut so trüb' und heiter,

Heiter und zugleich betrübet

V, I, 225, 19-20.

4. Attributiv und im Prädikat oder adverbial:

Bleich Blümchen bleibt immer so bleich

NL, II, 6, 4.

Die klugen waren mir viel zu klug

NL, II, 21, 25.

Bis wundersüßes Sehnen

Dich wundersüß bethört

LI, I, 82, 19-20.

Während liebenswürdig' ge Damen

Also liebenswürdig dachten

NL, II, 16, 5-6.

5. Adjektiv und Nomen werden beide wiederholt:

Und ich hör' viel süßes Wort,

Süßes Wort im Wasser sprechen

NV, II, 72, 1-2.

Ich denk' der alten Weise,

Der alten Weise, die uns singt

NV, II, 72, 26-27.

O steh mir bei, barmherziger Gott!

Barmherziger Gott Schaddey

H, I, 371-5-6.

Ach, das ist nur eitel Schnee,

Eitel Schnee, der blöd und kläglich

AT, II, 387, 14-15.

II. Mit verschiedenen Substantiven:

1. Mit grammatisch gleichwertigen:

Vergebliches Schnen, vergebliches Seufzen

NEC, I, 172, 30.

Deutsche Treue, deutsche Hemde

L, I, 417, 27.

Und langen Degen und langen Gesichtern

NEC, I, 175, 14.

Und von seltsamen Völkern

Und von seltsamen Sitten dort

Hk, I, 99, 11.

2. Mit grammatisch ungleichwertigen Substantiven:

Und heil'ge Männer haben heil'ge Zwecke

A, II, 275, 11.

Die neue Zeit

Auch neue Röcke fodert

..

NZ, II, 212, 11-12.

Und schöpfte freien Odem

Erst draussen in der freien Natur

D, II, 469, 34-35.

Und aus dem schwarzen Schlunde steigt

Die schwarze Schar

JLT, I, 20, 5-6.

B. In verschiedenen Sätzen:

Wenn "W" das Element des Satzes, worin das wiederholte Beiwort steht, bezeichnet und "XX" die anderen Elemente des Satzes bedeuten, so finden wir folgende Stellungen:

1. WXX, WXX.

2. XXW, XXW.

3. XXW, WXX.

4. WXX, XXW.

5. XWX, XWX.

6. XXW, XWX oder XWX, WXX u. s. w.

Beispiele:

1. WXX, WXX.

Schöner Traum ist längst verflogen,

Schöner Wahn brach längst entzwei

NRF, II, 159, 15-16.

Erschaffend konnte ich genesen,  
Erschaffend wurde ich gesund

V, I, 254, 21-22.

Zwölf lange Jahre flossen hin,  
Zwölf lange Jahre sind verflossen

Z, I, 320, 2-3.

Ziegelrot ist das Gesichte,  
Ziegelrot ist Hals und Busen

NRF, II, 143, 17-18.

2. XXW, XXW.

Wehe! Wehe! blut'ge Brüder!  
Wehe! Wehe! blut'ges Thal!

JLR, I, 37, 3-4.

Kennst du noch das alte Lied?  
Kennst du noch die alte Weise

HM, I, 443, 20-21.

Und leise, leise sich bewegt  
Die marmorblasse Maid,  
Und an mein Herz sich niederlegt  
Die marmorblasse Maid

JLT, I, 28, 9-12.

Ach! zieh' ich jetzt wohl in Liebchens Arm,  
Oder zieh' ich ins dunkle Grab?  
Die Bergstimm' Antwort gab:  
Ins dunkle Grab!

JLR, I, 35, 19-22.

3. XXW, WXX.

Herrschaft ist das höchste Gut,  
Höchste Tugend ist der Mut

H, I, 338, 17-18.

In meiner Brust bewegte sich's, im Kopfe  
War's ruhig, ruhig schüttelte ich ab  
Den Staub von meinen Reisekleidern

Hk, I, 137, 30-32.

Dann schwebte ein taubenmildes Lächeln  
 Und die hochgeschürzten, stolzen Lippen,  
 Und die hochgeschürzten, stolzen Lippen  
 Hauchten Worte, süß wie Mondlicht

NZC, I, 182, 33-34.

Der grosse Esel, der mich erzeugt,  
 Er war von deutschem Stamme;  
 Mit deutscher Eselsmilch gesäugt  
 Hat mich die Mutter, die Mamme

NZ, II, 197, 25-28.

4. WXX, XXW.

Pechschwarz ist das Haar, die Augen  
 Und die Brauen gleichfalls pechschwarz

NRF, II, 143, 22-23.

Ein schönes Weib ist noch die Mutter,  
 Die Tochter ist ein schönes Kind

V, I, 241, 19-20.

Mein geliebtes Mexiko,  
 Nimmermehr kann ich es retten,  
 Aber rächen will ich furchtbar  
 Mein geliebtes Mexiko

H, I, 388, 29-32.

Fremde Schmerzen, fremde Leiden  
 Steigen auf mit wilder Wut,  
 Und in meinen Eingeweiden  
 Zehret eine fremde Glut

NL, II, 5, 1-4.

5. XWX, XWX.

Die Mönche gingen traurig fort  
 Und kehrten traurig zurücke

H, I, 339, 15-16.

Es schauen die Blumen alle  
 Zur leuchtenden Sonne hinauf;  
 Es nehmen die Ströme alle  
 Zum leuchtenden Meere den Lauf

NL, II, 7, 9-12.



Der Papst hub jammern d die Händ' empor,  
Hub jammern d an zu sprechen

V, I, 249, 5-6.

Der Sohn nahm seufzend das Wachsherz,  
Ging seufzend zum Heiligenbild

Hk, I, 147, 29-30.

6. XXW, XWX, oder XWX, WXX, u.s.w., d.h. die Stellung  
ist keine symmetrische:

Ich weiss es, du falscher Mann,  
Dass meine Kousine, die Rose,  
Dein falsches Herz gewann

NL, II, 12, 22-24

Die Nacht war lang, die Nacht war kalt,  
Es waren so kalt die Steine

Hk, I, 108, 5-6

Ich sah ein rosiges Mädchenbild,  
Den Busen ein rosiges Mieder umhüllt

NV, II, 65, 21-22.

Lass dein weisses Herz mich küssen—  
Weisses Herz, verstehst du mich?

V, I, 232, 11-12.

In den zu diesem Abschnitt gehörenden Beispielen werden oft nicht nur die Beiwörter, sondern auch andere Redeteile, sogar ganze Sätze wiederholt. Aus 343 von mir untersuchten Beispielen (dies umfasst wohl beinahe alle) wird in 172 Fällen, d.h. in 50 Prozent der Fälle, nur das Beiwort wiederholt.

C. Durch Steigerung:

1. Durch eine Steigerungsform:

Du wirst ja blass und blasser

NRF, II, 113, 25.

Gross ist das Meer und der Himmel,  
Doch grösser ist mein Herz

NEC, I, 171, 6-7.

Armer Shylock, ärmerer Lorenz

NL, II, 38, 3.

Dort seh' ich ein schönes Lockenhaar  
 Vom schönsten Köpfchen hangen

JLR, I, 50, 13-14.

2. Durch eine dem Simplex folgende zusammengesetzte Form:

So schoss ich gut und jagte ihm eine warme,  
 Brüh warme Kugel in den schnöden Bauch

L, I, 430, 19-20.

und ich selbst

Wälze mich am Boden elend,  
 Krüppel elend

HM, I, 452, 30-31.

Denkst du der Heimat, die so ferne,  
 So nebelferne dir verschwand

V, I, 262, 17-18.

O süßes Frätzchen, wundersüßes Mädchen

JLS, I, 61, 9.

3. Das wiederholte Simplex wird durch ein Adverb verstärkt:

In Erfüllung geht die böse,  
 Uralt böse Prophezeiung

H, I, 387, 11-12.

Und selig, dreimal selig ist Almansor

A, II, 308, 22.

Ein Gemetzel, das sich langsam,  
 Schaurig langsam, weiter wälzte

H, I, 378, 6-7.

Du wolltest glücklich sein, unendlich  
 glücklich

Hk, I, 107, 14.

4. Das Simplex folgt der Steigerungsform:

Ich weiss nicht, war Liebe grösser als Leid?  
 Ich weiss nur, sie waren gross alle beid'!

LI, 73, 23-24.

Doch still davon. Da rufen schönre Töne,  
Und meine schöne Donna darf nicht warten

A, II, 267, 27-28.

Ich, der ärmste aller Götter,  
Und mein armes Mexiko

H, I, 387, 27-28.

widerstehen

Können nicht die stärksten Pforten.  
Ich bin keine starke Pforte

H, I, 329, 20-21.

D. In verschiedenen Formen:

1. Das Simplex kommt als Teil des Compositums vor:

Neue Melodien spiel' ich  
Auf der neugestimmten Zither

V, I, 238, 13-14.

Ich hegte keinen Zweifel, dass mein Freund,  
Der Gleichgesinnte, gleichem Beispiel  
huld'ge

A, II, 266, 35-36.

während grün,

Grüngestreift das linke Bein

NRF, II, 144, 36-145, 1.

Und dennoch brachte keiner dieser Boten  
Der Heissgeliebten meine heissen Grösse

A, II, 276, 10.

2. Teilweise Wiederholung der Composita:

Die gottverleugnende, engelverleugnende,  
Unselige Seele

NEC, I, 177, 19-20.

Haus und Hof ist wohl bestellt,  
Wohlversorgt ist Stall und Keller,  
Wohlbeackert ist das Feld

NL, II, 13, 6-8.

Hier sassen wir so himmelhoch,  
Und auch so himmelselig

V, I, 227, 17-18.

Sinn berauschend, sinn betäubend

NRF, II, 127, 22.

3. Der Begriff des Epithetons wird in einem Zeitwort oder Hauptwort desselben Stammes wiederholt:

Ein Thor ist immer willig,

Wenn eine Thörin will

Hk, I, 104, 27-28.

Die lieben Freunde liebten mich

L, I, 424, 17.

Traurig unter Trauer weiden

H, I, 382, 7.

Mensch mit menschlichen Gefühlen

HM, I, 433, 25.

E. Umstellung der wiederholten Beiwörter: dieselben Epitheta werden in umgekehrter Reihenfolge wiederholt. Die Wirkung wird also dadurch verstärkt:

Klar und kalt war deine Stimme,

Kalt und klar war deine Stirne

NL, II, 37, 25-26.

Uns beiden ist so bang' und wehe,

So weh' und bang'

NF, I, 205, 11-12.

So hold und schön und rein,

So rein und schön und hold

Hk, I, 117, 22-118, 6.

O Gott! wie süß und traulich lässt sich leben

In diesem traulich süßen Erdenneste

NV, II, 89, 17-18.

F. Häufung der wiederholten Epitheta. Hierher habe ich die Fälle, wo ein Beiwort mehr als zweimal vorkommt, gestellt. Durch eine solche Häufung wird natürlich ein noch grösserer Nachdruck auf den wiederholten Gedanken gelegt:

Neuer Boden, neue Blumen!

Neue Blumen, neue Düfte

H, I, 372, 17-18.



Mitten drin in meinem Herzen  
Steht ein kleines, güldnes Tischchen,  
Um das kleine güldne Tischchen  
Stehn vier kleine güldne Stühlchen.

Auf den güldnen Stühlchen sitzen  
Kleine Damen, güldne Pfeile  
Im Chignon.

AT, II, 377, 3-9.

‘Tot ist Almansor,’ sagten böse Leute,  
Und böser Kunde glaubte böses Herz

A, II, 281, 28-29.

Das ist das Leben, Kind! ein ewig Jammern,  
Ein ewig Abschiednehmen, ewiges Trennen!

Hk, I, 127, 9-10.

G. Wortspiel durch Epitheta desselben Stammes:

Weine lieber, liebe Seele,  
Weil das Weinen leichter ist

NF, I, 215, 11-12.

Du bist so recht die rechte Sorte

V, I, 258, 29.

Durch Epitheton und Substantiv desselben Stammes:

Kinds Kindheit ist kindisch

NZ, II, 164, 10.

Mein Mäuschen, du bist mausetot

NRF, II, 148, 7.

Durch ähnliche Laute:

Sie tragen die Köpfe geschoren egal,  
Ganz radikal, ganz rattenkahl

NZ, II, 203, 12.

## KAP. IV.

## HÄUFUNG DER BEIWÖRTER.

**A**BGESEHEN von dem Inhalt, welcher aber immer von der grössten Wichtigkeit bleibt, ist auch die Anzahl der Epitheta in Heines Gedichten in Anschlag zu bringen, wenn man die Mittel betrachtet, wodurch die Wirkung der Verse erzielt wird.

Je zahlreicher die Epitheta vorkommen, desto grösseren äusseren Eindruck machen sie, d.h. auf das Auge und auf das Ohr. Zu gleicher Zeit gewinnen sie auch an innerer Bedeutung, indem sie immer mehr zum Hauptträger der Gedanken werden.

Im allgemeinen lassen sich zwei Klassen von Häufung der Beiwörter unterscheiden: 1. Mit demselben Substantiv. 2. Mit verschiedenen Substantiven.

1. Die Anwendung von drei oder mehr Epitheten mit demselben Substantiv nenne ich ein Beispiel der Häufung, denn der Gebrauch von nur einem oder zwei ist bei weitem der gewöhnlichere. Vgl.

Du bist wie eine Blume

So hold und schön und rein

Hk, I, 117, 21-22.

Schöne, helle, goldne Sterne,

Grüsst die Liebste in der Ferne,

Sagt, dass ich noch immer sei

Herzekrank und bleich und treu

NL, II, 7, 17-20.

Du musst mit mir wandern

Nach der lieben, alten, schaurigen Klause,

In dem trüben, kalten, traurigen Hause

JLR, I, 41, 6-8.

Doch in ihrem schwarzen Auge

Loderte ein grauenhaftes

Und unheimlich süßes Feuer,  
Seelenblendend und verzehrend

AT, II, 395, 3-6.

Alles blühend und lebendig,  
Farbenglänzend, blühend, brennend,  
Und wie himmlisch angestrahlt  
Von dem heil'gen Lichte Irans

H, I, 365, 25-28.

2. Hier hängt die Häufung von der grossen Anzahl der Beiwörter im Verhältnis zu den anderen Redeteilen ab. Besonders in den Nordseebildern kommen die Beiwörter häufig vor:

Es lebt ein Weib im Norden,  
Ein schönes Weib, königlich schön.  
Die schlanke Cypressengestalt  
Umschliesst ein lüstern weisses Gewand;  
Die dunkle Lockenfülle,  
Wie eine selige Nacht  
Von dem flechtengekrönten Haupt sich  
    ergiessend,  
Ringelt sich träumerisch süß  
Um das süsse, blasse Antlitz;  
Und aus dem süssen, blassen Antlitz,  
Gross und gewaltig, strahlt ein Auge,  
Wie eine schwarze Sonne

NZC, I, 182, 16-27.

In obiger Strophe sind neunzehn Epitheta gegenüber zwölf Hauptwörtern und vier Zeitwörtern, und dies ist kein ungewöhnliches Beispiel. Überhaupt sind die Epitheta sehr zahlreich in der Beschreibung der äusseren Erscheinung der Menschen:

Ich liebe solche weisse Glieder,  
Der zarten Seele schlanke Hülle,  
Wildgrosse Augen und die Stirne  
Umwogt von schwarzer Lockenfülle

V, I, 258, 25-28.

Ein Kind mit grossem Kürbiskopf,  
 Hellblondem Schnurrbart, greisem Zopf,  
 Mit spinnig langen, doch starken Ärmchen,  
 Mit Riesenmagen, doch kurzen Gedärmchen

Z, I, 312, 23-26.

Wie ein greiser Wald sein Haupthaar,  
 Abenteuerlich beschattend  
 Das bekümmert bleiche Antlitz  
 Mit den geisterhaften Augen

HM, I, 455, 5-8.

Und überall seh' ich den Edward Ratcliff,  
 Den bleichen, blutigen, mit seinen starren,  
 Dolchspitzen Augen, mit dem Zeigefinger  
 Gespenstisch aufgehoben, langsam  
 schreitend

Rf, II, 340, 2-5.

Auch wendet der Dichter die Epitheta gern an, um uns die umgebende Natur zu versinnlichen:

Der Mai ist da mit seinen goldnen Lichtern  
 Und seidnen Lüften und gewürzten Düften,  
 Und freundlich lockt er mit den weissen  
 Blüten,  
 Und grüsst aus tausend blauen Veilchenaugen,  
 Und breitet aus den blumreich grünen Teppich,  
 Durchwebt mit Sonnenschein und Morgentau

Hk, I, 135, 1-6.

Aber nicht nur in Schilderungen von konkreten Dingen finden wir viele Beiwörter, sondern auch in der Darstellung der abstrakten Begriffe, wie wo Heine sich über die Franzosen ausdrückt:

Sanftes Rasen, wildes Kosen,  
 Tändeln mit den glühnden Rosen,  
 Holde Lüge, süsser Dunst,  
 Die Veredlung roher Brunst,  
 Kurz, der Liebe heitre Kunst—  
 Da seid Meister ihr, Franzosen

NV, II, 77, 27-32.



oder wo er die Poesie so schön besingt, sich S. 17.

Schliesslich möchte ich ein Gedicht anführen, welches wir die Pforte zu Heines Dichtungen nennen können, nämlich das erste Gedicht der 'Jungen Leiden,' die Zueignung zu den 'Traumbildern.' Es ist eine interessante Tatsache, dass die meisten Momente, die wir in den obigen Kapiteln behandelt haben, d. h. Häufung der Epitheta, Wiederholung, Kontrast und auch mehrere der im Abschnitt über die Wahl der Beiwörter besprochenen Züge uns schon hier, auf der Schwelle gleichsam, entgegentreten:

Mir träumte einst von wildem Liebesglühn,  
Von hübschen Locken, Myrten und Resede,  
Von süssen Lippen und von bitterer Rede,  
Von düstrer Lieder düstern Melodien.

Verblichen<sup>1</sup> und verweht<sup>1</sup> sind längst  
die Träume,  
Verweht<sup>1</sup> ist gar mein liebstes Traumgebild!  
Geblieben ist mir nur, was glutenwild  
Ich einst gegossen hab' in weiche Reime.

Du bliebst, verwaistes Lied! Verweh jetzt auch,  
Und such das Traumbild, das mir längst entschwunden,  
Und grüss es mir, wenn du es aufgefunden—  
Dem luft'gen Schatten send' ich luft'gen Hauch  
JLT, I, 13, 1-12.

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<sup>1</sup>Da 'verblichen' immer intransitiv und 'verwehen' entweder intransitiv oder transitiv ist, wäre man vielleicht geneigt, die obigen Formen einfach für das Aktiv Perfektum zu halten, wie z. B. 'gegangen' in 'er ist gegangen.' Sie bezeichnen aber in diesem Falle keine Handlung, sondern vielmehr das Ergebnis derselben. Ich habe also die betreffenden Formen unter die participialen Adjectiva gestellt.

## KAP. V.

## KRITISCHE BETRACHTUNGEN.

AUS dem Vorhergehenden sehen wir, dass Heine besonders viel mit dem Beiworte arbeitet, wobei er auch die syntaktischen Mittel des Kontrastes, der Wiederholung und der Häufung der Epitheta gern anwendet, so dass die Stimmung der Verse in hohem Grade durch die Beiwörter hervorgerufen wird. Es ist aber die Frage, ob die Wirkung immer eine glückliche ist.

Dass Heine häufigen Gebrauch von den mehr äusserlichen Momenten macht, ist vielleicht hauptsächlich auf seine orientalische Abkunft zurückzuführen, denn der Morgenländer liebt es, Schärfe mit Milde, Kälte mit Wärme, das Alter mit der Jugend, u.s.w. in Gegensatz zu bringen—der Jude hat eine Vorliebe für sinnreiche Wendungen, ihm gefällt die witzige Sprache und die Überschwänglichkeit des Ausdrucks.

Der Gebrauch von solchen äusserlichen Mitteln ist an und für sich keineswegs zu tadeln, sonst müsste man vieles von den grössten Dichtern missbilligen. Schiller z. B. benutzte öfters die Antithese<sup>1</sup> und beiläufig sei an die bekannten Zeilen Goethes erinnert:

Freudvoll  
Und leidvoll,  
Gedankenvoll sein;  
Langen  
Und bangen  
In schwebender Pein;  
Himmelhoch jauchzend,  
Zum Tode betrübt;  
Glücklich allein  
Ist die Seele, die liebt.

Egmont, III, 2.

<sup>1</sup>Vgl. Elster: Heinrich Heines Buch der Lieder, S. XCIV—nach Elster soll die Antithese bei Heine 'lange nicht so stark' wie bei Schiller hervortreten.

Falls sich aber der Poet dieser Mittel nur des sinnreichen Effektes halber bedient, wenn die Wirkung seiner Epitheta eine rein äusserliche ist, so artet er zum Dichterling, zum Worttändler aus. In dieser Beziehung wollen wir jetzt das Beiwort in Heines Gedichten näher untersuchen und uns zunächst mit dem Element des Kontrastes befassen.

In dem Liede vom alten König, der eine junge Frau nahm, ist wahre Poesie enthalten. Es ist dem Dichter geglückt, den Geist des Volksliedes in das Gedichtchen einzuweben. (Sieh S. 5.) Die Adjectiva, welche dem Liede seinen ganzen Stimmungsgehalt geben, sind meistens gegensätzlicher Natur—‘alt, jung, grau, blond, schwer, leicht.’ Sie stehen aber zu dem Stoffe in solch engem Zusammenhang, dass der Dichter gerade diese, und keine anderen, gebrauchen musste. Weil der König alt, seine Frau aber jung war, weil er graue Haare und ein schweres Herz hatte, während der Page blond und leichten Sinnes war, eben daraus entsteht die Tragik der Situation. Dass ein Kontrast in den Adjektiven vorkommt, ist also notwendig.

Auch in der Beschreibung von Donna Claras Entführung finden wir eine Antithese, wogegen nichts einzuwenden ist. Nach einer Myrtenlaube führt der fremde Ritter die Alkaldentochter und

Mit den weichen Liebesnetzen  
Hat er heimlich sie umflochten!  
K u r z e Worte, l a n g e K ü s s e,  
Und die Herzen überflossen.

Hk, I, 142, 5-8.

Was man auch von dem Thema und dem ganzen Gedichte denken mag, jedenfalls muss man zugeben, dass die Antithese sehr passend ist, denn sie bezeichnet gerade das, was wirklich vorgefallen ist, und zwar auf höchst suggestive, bündige Weise.

Heine ging es, wie es anfangs den jungen Leuten gewöhnlich geht, deren Liebe unerwidert bleibt, er sehnte den Tod herbei, wenigstens schien ihm das Leben wertlos. Er fühlte

sich unendlich traurig, der Weltschmerz erfüllte sein Herz und er sang:

Der Tod, das ist die kühle Nacht,  
Das Leben ist der schwüle Tag.  
Es dunkelt schon, mich schläfert,  
Der Tag hat mich müd' gemacht

Hk, I, 134, 9-16.

Wie die Jugend aber solch ein Unglück in der Regel überlebt, so überwand auch Heine seine hoffnungslose Leidenschaft und fand doch Gefallen am Leben. Und als sich der Tod wirklich naht, als der Dichter auf dem Sterbebette liegt, da kommt ihm das Leben nicht mehr so schwül, der Tod nicht mehr so schön kühl vor. Nein, im Gegenteil, jetzt ruft er

O Gott! wie hässlich bitter ist das Sterben!  
O Gott! wie süß und traulich lässt sich leben  
In diesem traulich süssen Erdenneste

NV, II, 89, 16-18.

Auch diese beiden Gegensätze nenne ich gut und treffend. Wenn wir aber den Umstand in Betracht ziehen, dass sich Heine dieses Mittels unausgesetzt bedient, so können wir uns des Verdachtes kaum erwehren, dass es ihm nur um den Effekt zu tun ist. Für sich betrachtet sind beide Fälle aber schicklich.

Annehmbare Beispiele des antithesischen Bildes fehlen auch nicht. Ein solches ist der 'Sonnenuntergang' (sieh S. 7), wo es dem Dichter gelungen ist, durch kontrastierende Epitheta den Sonnenuntergang am Meere anschaulich zu schildern.

In allen diesen Fällen, welche wir für Beispiele vom glücklichen Gebrauch des Kontrastes halten, ist der im Kontraste hervorgehobene Begriff mit dem Stoffe aufs engste verbunden. Die Wirkung ist keineswegs bloss äusserlich—wir fühlen, dass der Dichter sich des Kontrastes aus innerer Nötigung bedient.

Leider ist dies aber bei Heine nicht immer der Fall. Es kommen häufig Antithesen vor, welche nichts als das Suchen nach rein äusserlichem Effekt verraten. Vgl.



Ein Jüngling liebt ein Mädchen,  
Die hat einen andern erwählt;  
Der andre liebt eine andre,  
Und hat sich mit dieser vermählt.

Das Mädchen heiratet aus Ärger  
Den ersten besten Mann,  
Der ihr in den Weg gelaufen;  
Der Jüngling ist übel dran.

Es ist eine alte Geschichte,  
Doch bleibt sie immer neu;  
Und wem sie just passieret,  
Dem bricht das Herz entzwei.

LI, I, 80, 21-32.

Dieses Gedicht gleicht gewissermassen dem vom alten König mit der jungen Frau: beide bestehen aus drei Strophen, wovon die ersten zwei eine unglückliche Liebe schildern—in der dritten Strophe überwiegen in ersterem die Betrachtungen des Dichters—in dem letzt erwähnten Gedichte besteht die letzte Strophe sogar ausschliesslich aus diesen. Welch ein Unterschied aber im Werte der einander gegenübergestellten Epitheta! Im Liede vom alten König bilden diese, wie schon gesagt, den Kern des ganzen Gedichtes, während sie in dem anderen gar nichts zur Entwicklung des Motivs beitragen. Noch dazu ist die Antithese durchaus platt und trivial. Die dritte Strophe ist als Abrundung des Gedichtchens beabsichtigt. Der Dichter hat in den ersten beiden seine Geschichte erzählt—er will sie nun schön zuspitzen und dem sonst etwas schwachen Liede einen starken Schluss geben. Dies versucht er vermittelst des Kontrastes. Wenn er eine und dieselbe Sache alt und doch zugleich neu nennt, dann drückt er sicher etwas Ungewöhnliches und Geistreiches aus. Was er aber wirklich sagt, macht auf uns keinen grossen Eindruck.

Nachdem Heine seine Liebe zu seiner Kousine wiederholt besungen hatte, fiel es ihm ein, auch diese dichterische Tätigkeit

selbst zu besingen, wozu er freilich das Recht hatte. Was aber dabei zustande gekommen, ist

Aus meinen grossen Schmerzen  
Mach' ich die kleinen Lieder;  
Die heben ihr klingend Gefieder  
Und flattern nach ihrem Herzen.

Sie fanden den Weg zur Trauten,  
Doch kommen sie wieder und klagen,  
Und klagen, und wollen nicht sagen,  
Was sie im Herzen schauten.

LI, I, 79, 1-8.

Hier steht der Kontrast gleich im Anfang des Liedes statt am Ende wie im vorhergehenden Gedichte. Die Antithese lässt uns aber ziemlich kalt, denn sie ist ein nur zu deutliches Haschen nach künstlichem Effekt in einer Wortsammlung, welcher poetischer Wert und Tiefe des Gefühls gänzlich fehlen, und erregt deshalb Zweifel an der Grösse seiner Schmerzen.

Dass Heine grosse Schmerzen empfand, ist nicht erstaunlich, denn er besass ja ein grosses Herz, wie er in den Nordseebildern selbst unbefangen bekennt:

Du kleines, junges Mädchen,  
Komm an mein grosses Herz;  
Mein Herz und das Meer und der Himmel  
Vergehn vor lauter Liebe.

NEC, I, 171, 9-12.

Ja, wir wissen wohl, dass sein Herz gross genug für mehr als ein kleines Mädchen war. Solch ein gemachter Kontrast gefällt nur albernen Mädchen, alten Jungfern, verliebten Jünglingen und dergleichen sentimentalén Leuten.

Zweifel an der Tiefe von Heines Liebe zu seiner Kousine dürften erlaubt sein; trug er doch selbst keine Bedenken, über seine *passion grande* gelegentlich zu spotten, wobei er die Antithese gleich zur Hand hatte:

Teurer Freund, du bist verliebt,  
Und dich quälen neue Schmerzen;  
Dunkler wird es dir im Kopf,  
Heller wird es dir im Herzen.

Hk, I, 120, 1-4.

Obschon das seinen Zustand wohl richtig beschreiben mag, so ist es doch ohne poetischen Gehalt. Es ist bloss Reimerei.

Als Heine in späteren Jahren die Tochter seiner früheren Geliebten Amalie sieht, wird er durch ihren Anblick so gerührt, dass er die Leier schlägt und singt:

Es blüht hervor die Erinnerung—  
Ach! damals war ich närrisch und j u n g—  
Jetzt bin ich a l t und närrisch—Ein Stechen  
Fühl' ich im Aug'—Nun muss ich sprechen  
In Reimen sogar——es wird mir schwer,  
Das Herz ist v o l l, der Kopf ist l e e r !

NL, II, 36,5-10.

Das einzige, was wir darüber zu sagen haben, ist, dass man in demselben Zustand der Dunkelheit und Leerheit, worin Heine sich befand, sein müsste, um die Schönheit dieser Gegensätze richtig zu schätzen.

Heines Neigung zur witzigen Wirkung des Kontrastes kommt auch stark zum Vorschein in seiner Beschreibung von Psyche, wie sie den nackten Gott der Liebe überrascht:

In der Hand die k l e i n e Lampe,  
In der Brust die g r o s s e Glut,  
Schleicht Psyche zu dem Lager  
Wo der holde Schläfer ruht.

R, I, 279, 1-4.

Den Pffiff, eine kleine Lampe grosser Leidenschaft gegenüberzustellen, kann man wahrlich Haschen nach Effekt nennen.

Ich möchte noch ein paar Beispiele anführen, welche meiner Meinung nach bloss äusserlich wirken, wo von innerer Nötigung des Dichters zum Gebrauch des Kontrastes keine Rede sein kann:

Es liegt der heisse Sommer  
 Auf deinen Wängelein;  
 Es liegt der Winter, der kalte,  
 In deinem Herzchen klein.

Das wird sich bei dir ändern,  
 Du Vielgeliebte mein!  
 Der Winter wird auf den Wangen,  
 Der Sommer im Herzen sein.

LI, I, 84, 9-16.

Clara starret, Tod im Antlitz,  
 Kaltumflirret, nachtumwoben;  
 Ohnmacht hat das lichte Bildnis  
 In ihr dunkles Reich gezogen.

JLR, I, 45, 21-24.

Es leuchtet meine Liebe  
 In ihrer dunkeln Pracht,  
 Wie'n Märchen, traurig und trübe,  
 Erzählt in der Sommernacht.

LI, I, 83, 9-12.

Tapfer schlugen zwar die Spanier  
 Jeden Sturm zurück. Doch täglich  
 Ward berennt die Burg aufs neue,  
 Und ermüdend war das Kampfspiel.

Nach dem Tod des Königs stockte  
 Auch der Lebensmittel Zufuhr;  
 Kürzer wurden die Rationen,  
 Die Gesichter wurden länger.

H, I, 376, 17-24.

Selbstverständlich ist vom poetischen Standpunkt aus folgendes wertloses Zeug schlimmer als gar nichts:

Stehst du in vertrautem Umgang mit Damen,  
 Schweig, Freundchen! still, und nenne nie Namen;  
 Um ihretwillen, wenn sie fein sind,  
 Um deinetwillen, wenn sie gemein sind.

NV, II, 78, 13-16.



Ich habe verlacht, bei Tag und bei Nacht,  
So Männer wie Frauenzimmer,  
Ich habe grosse Dummheiten gemacht—  
Die Klugheit bekam mir noch schlimmer.

Die Magd ward schwanger und gebär—  
Wozu das viele Gewimmer?  
Wer nie im Leben thöricht war,  
Ein Weiser war er nimmer.

NV, II, 78, 17-24.

Welcher Frevel, Freund! Abtrünnig  
Wirst du deiner fetten Hanne,  
Und du liebst jetzt jene spinnig  
Dürre, magre Marianne!

Lässt man sich vom Fleische locken,  
Das ist immer noch verzeihlich;  
Aber Buhlschaft mit den Knochen,  
Diese Sünde ist abscheulich!

Das ist Satans böse Tücke,  
Er verwirret unsre Sinne:  
Wir verlassen eine Dicke,  
Und wir nehmen eine Dünne!

NL, II, 40, 16-27.

Schliesslich möchten wir mit einem Worte der Fälle gedenken, wo das Adjektiv dem Substantiv eine gegensätzliche Eigenschaft verleiht. Die Bezeichnung des Nebels als eine 'weisse Nacht,' R, I, 273, 4, ist plastisch und gut; wenn der Dichter aber vom 'schmerzlichen Sonnenschein,' NL, II, 31, 8, spricht, sehen wir wieder das Streben nach Effekt. 'Als Herold, die lachende Thräne im Wappen, / Diene dir mein Humor,' NEC, I, 163, 23-24, ist gesucht. Ausdrücke für die Liebesregungen wie 'entzückende Marter, wonniges Weh,' Sphinx, I, 9, 17, 'süßes Elend, bittre Lust, himmlisch quälend,' NF, I, 208, 21-23, 'süsse Qual, bittre Wonne,' H, I, 349, 19-20, 'holdes Zit-

tern, süßes Beben,' NF, I, 214, 9, sind dilettantisch und abgedroschen. Tiefe der Leidenschaft spüren wir nicht darin; sie bleiben aber immerhin ein süßliches Gericht für liebessieche Menschen.

Es ist kaum nötig, noch mehr Beispiele anzuführen, die Ausstellungen zu beweisen, dass die kontrastierenden Epitheta in Heines Gedichten vielmals bloss äusserlich wirken und nur zur oberflächlichen Belebung der Verse dienen.

Die Vorliebe für frappierende Ausdrücke und gewürzten Stil war allerdings für die damalige Zeit charakteristisch. Freiligrath z. B. bedient sich gern der Kontraste. R. M. Meyer sagt darüber: "Die Menge lechzte nach Poesie, nach bewegtem Leben, nach Buntheit. Es ist daher besonders bezeichnend für Freiligrath wie er es liebt, überall Buntheit zu erzielen. Kontraste werden fortwährend gesucht und gehäuft. Kulturkontraste....Geräuschkontraste....am liebsten aber—und das vor allem ist charakteristisch—Farbenkontraste, oft mit aufdringlicher Deutlichkeit. Der schwarze Arm ist goldumreift...."<sup>1</sup>

Aber diese Vorliebe Freiligraths für Farbenkontraste verspottet Heine deutlich in *Atta Troll*:

Wie die scharlachrote Zunge,  
Die ein schwarzer Freiligräth'scher  
Mohrenfürst verhöhrend grimmig  
Aus dem düstern Maul hervorstreckt:

Also tritt der Mond aus dunklem  
Wolkenhimmel.

AT, II, 372, 25-30.

Farbenkontraste wendet Heine nicht häufig an—seine Kontraste sind mehr witzige Wendungen, welche den Versen eine sinnreiche Künstlichkeit verleihen.

Die Wiederholung der Epitheta in Heines Gedichten zeigt dieselben Schwächen, welche wir im Gebrauch des Kontrastes finden, d. h. er wendet sie hauptsächlich nur wegen der äusser-

<sup>1</sup>R. M. Meyer: *Die d. Lit. des 19. Jhrs.*, 2. Aufl., S. 335.

lichen Wirkung an, welche den Mangel an innerem Gehalt ersetzen soll; und selbst wenn der Vers nicht ohne tiefere Bedeutung ist, wird er doch durch diese Unart entstellt. Das Element der Wiederholung ist natürlich ein allgemeines und zur Begriffsverschärfung ganz berechtigtes Ausdrucksmittel, nur darf es nicht zu oft gebraucht werden. Dass es bei Heine zur Manier wird, beweisen die oben beigebrachten zahlreichen Belege. Wir wollen jetzt ein paar Fälle näher untersuchen.

Wenn Heine in der Schilderung der Einöde, in der er sich im Traume befand, sagt

Es lag so bleich, es lag so weit  
Ringsum nur kahle, kahle Heid'

JLT, I, 15, 17-18.

so wird durch den zweimaligen Gebrauch von 'kahl' die unheimliche Einsamkeit der Umgegend stark betont.<sup>1</sup>

Dasselbe gilt auch von den Versen

Pechschwarz ist das Haar, die Augen  
Und die Brauen gleichfalls pechschwarz  
NRF, II, 143, 22-23,

oder

Und aus dem schwarzen Schlunde steigt  
Die schwarze Schar

JLT, I, 20, 5-6,

wo die wiederholte Eigenschaft verschiedenen Objekten beigelegt wird.

Gleichfalls berechtigt ist die Wiederholung in  
Verblichen und verweht sind längst die Träume,  
Verweht ist gar mein liebstes Traumgebild

JLT, I, 13, 5-6,

wo sie eine Klimax herbeiführt.

Auch Zeilen wie

Von düsterer Lieder düstern Melodien

JLT, I, 13, 4,

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<sup>1</sup>Im übrigen ist hier der Reim schlecht, denn das "d" im Worte "Heid" ist nicht stimmlos wie z. B. in "Geld," da es normaler Weise nicht im Auslaute steht. Es widerstrebt uns, das Wort "Heid" als "Heit" auszusprechen.

sind noch zu billigen, obschon der Begriff 'düstre Melodie' mit dem Begriff 'düstres Lied' bereits gegeben ist.

Wenn sich aber Heine in diesem kurzen Gedicht zum dritten Male dieses schwachen Mittels bedient

Dem l u f t ' g e n Schatten send' ich l u f t ' g e n Hauch  
JLT, I, 13, 12,

was noch dazu an das reine Wortspiel grenzt, so ist dieses wohl doch zu rügen, trotzdem das Gedicht im Ganzen genommen ziemlich wirkungsvoll ist.

Auch in anderen Gedichten finden wir das Element der Wiederholung häufig angewandt, weil der Dichter nichts anderes zu sagen weiss und doch dem Drange zu dichten nicht widerstehen kann. Vgl. z. B. Folgendes aus den Nordseebildern:

Durch die offne Luke schau' ich  
Droben hoch die hellen Sterne,  
Die geliebten, süssen Augen  
Meiner süssen Vielgeliebten.

Die geliebten, süssen Augen  
Wachen über meinem Haupte,  
Und sie blinken und sie winken  
Aus der blauen Himmelsdecke.

Nach der blauen Himmelsdecke  
Schau' ich selig lange Stunden,  
Bis ein weisser Nebelschleier  
Mir verhüllt die lieben Augen.

NEC, I, 172, 9-20.

Hier findet zudem eine fortwährende Wiederholung der Substantiva statt. In der ersten Strophe ist witziges Wortspiel, in den beiden anderen abgeschmackte Wiederholung; das Gedicht bleibt rein äusserlich.

Dieselbe Spielerei, dasselbe Haschen nach Effekt treffen wir wieder an in



So hast du ganz und gar vergessen,  
Dass' ich so lang dein Herz besessen,  
Dein Herzchen so süß und so falsch und so klein,  
Es kann nirgend was Süßeres und Falscheres  
sein.

So hast du die Lieb' und das Leid vergessen,  
Die das Herz mir thäten zusammenpressen.  
Ich weiss nicht, war Liebe grösser als Leid?  
Ich weiss nur, sie waren gross alle beid'!

LI, I, 73, 17-24.

Hierher gehört auch Folgendes:

Auf meiner Herzliebsten Äugelein  
Mach' ich die schönsten Kanzonen.  
Auf meiner Herzliebsten Mündchen klein  
Mach' ich die besten Terzinen.  
Auf meiner Herzliebsten Wängelein  
Mach' ich die herrlichsten Stanzen.  
Und wenn meine Liebste ein Herzchen hätt',  
Ich machte darauf ein hübsches Sonett.

LI, I, 71, 1-8.

Beide Beispiele sind leeres Wortgeklingel, alles, nur kein Gedicht.

Zuweilen geht Heine so weit in seiner Wiederholung, dass sie fast komisch wirkt. Vgl.

Ist denn mein Rehlein tot?  
Tot! Tot! mein weiches, weisses Rehlein tot!  
Die süßen Sternlein ausgelöscht und tot!  
Mein totes Rehlein!

A, II, 307, 12-15.

Diese Stelle kommt allerdings in der Tragödie *Almansor* vor, auf die selbst Heines inbrünstige Anbeter kein sehr grosses Gewicht legen. Aber vielleicht das lächerlichste Beispiel findet sich in den berühmten Nordseebildern. Das allumfassende Auge der Muse übersieht auch die Möwen nicht. Der Anblick dieser schwarzbeinigten Vögel bewegt Heine wieder zum hundertsten Male von seiner Liebe zu singen:

Eu'r Leben ist bitter wie eure Nahrung!  
 Ich aber, der Glückliche, koste nur Süßes!  
 Ich koste den süßen Duft der Rose,  
 Der Mondschein-gefütterten Nachtigallbraut,  
 Ich koste noch süßeres Zuckerbackwerk,  
 Gefüllt mit geschlagener Sahne;  
 Und das Allersüßeste kost' ich,  
 Süße Liebe und süßes Geliebtein.

NEC, I, 185, 14-21.

In welche Enge ist unser Dichter getrieben, in welcher zweifelten Lage muss er sich befinden, wenn er seine süße Leidenschaft der bittren Nahrung der Möwen gegenüberstellt und sie noch dazu in einem Atem mit Zuckerbackwerk und Schlag-sahne nennt! Die reine Windbeutelei! Es kommt wohl daher, dass er aus dem Kopfe (oder sollen wir sagen, aus dem Magen?) statt aus dem Herzen singt.

Öfters wenn Heine eine glückliche Wendung trifft oder etwas wirklich Gutes sagt, finden wir gleich daneben eine seiner charakteristischen Wiederholungen, wodurch die Gesamtwirkung verdorben, oder wenigstens vermindert wird. Poetisch ist die Bezeichnung von dem Auge des Weibes im Norden als eine 'schwarze Sonne'; aber bei dem Versuch das Weib so anschaulich wie möglich darzustellen, kann Heine nicht ohne Wiederholung fertig werden:

Die dunkle Lockenfülle

\* \* \* \* \*

Ringelt sich träumerisch süß  
 Um das süße, blasse Antlitz;  
 Und aus dem süßen, blassen Antlitz,  
 Gross und gewaltig, strahlt ein Auge,  
 Wie eine schwarze Sonne.<sup>1</sup>

NZC, I, 182, 20-27.

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<sup>1</sup>Der heere Eindruck, den das Weib mit der dunklen Lockenfülle gleich einer seligen Nacht auf uns macht, wird überdies durch ihr 'lüsterns weisses Gewand' beeinträchtigt.

Oft trank der Dichter Begeistrungsflammen aus dieser schwarzen Sonne und taumelte, feuerberauscht—

Dann schwebte ein taubenmildes Lächeln

Um die hochgeschürzten, stolzen Lippen,

Und die hochgeschürzten, stolzen Lippen

Hauchten Worte, süß wie Mondlicht

NZC, I, 182, 32-35.

Heines Gebrauch des Kontrastes, um seine Sehnsucht nach den Freuden dieses Lebens auszudrücken, haben wir oben gut und treffend genannt. Gleich darauf folgt aber die ewige Wiederholung, diesmal mit erkünstelter Umstellung der wiederholten Epitheta:

O Gott! wie hässlich bitter ist das Sterben!

O Gott! wie süß und traulich lässt sich leben

In diesem traulich süßen Erdenneste

NV, II, 89, 16-18.

Selbst das bekannte, viel komponierte Liedchen, 'Du bist wie eine Blume,' hat für mich etwas Gesuchtes und Gemachtes im Gebrauch der Adjectiva:

Du bist wie eine Blume

So hold und schön und rein;

Ich schau' dich an, und Wehmut

Schleicht mir ins Herz hinein.

Mir ist, als ob ich die Hände

Aufs Haupt dir legen sollt',

Betend, dass Gott dich erhalte

So rein und schön und hold.

Hk, I, 117, 21-118, 6.

Gerade diese Wiederholung ist charakteristisch für Heine. Die Wiederholung an und für sich wäre sinnig. Man hat jedoch den Eindruck, dass die Umstellung nur des Reimes wegen da sei. Deshalb macht sie uns stutzig und lässt die bewusste Manier erkennen.

Als Hauptgrund für Heines Gebrauch von den mehr äusserlichen Momenten, wie Kontrast und Wiederholung der Epitheta,

ist wohl, wie schon gesagt, seine orientalische Abkunft anzunehmen. Ausserdem müssen wir, wenigstens in Bezug auf die Liebeslieder, die Tatsache in Betracht ziehen, dass er aber und abermals dasselbe Thema behandelt. Wer Gedichte über die unglückliche Liebe zu Dutzenden schreiben will, muss eine ungeheuer tiefe Leidenschaft empfinden und ungewöhnliche Erfindungsgabe besitzen, sonst erschöpft er bald seine Ausdrucksmittel. Heine wusste sich durch witzige, sinnreiche Wendungen zu helfen, wodurch seine Gedichte wenigstens eine äussere Wirkung hervorbringen.

Übertreibung in irgend einer Sache ist immer ein Fehler; selbst des Guten kann man zu viel tun. Ich möchte in Bezug auf die Sprache nur daran erinnern, dass dieser Fehler im Gebrauch der Epitheta schneller als bei den anderen Redeteilen auffällt. Das Beiwort ist nicht, wie das Hauptwort oder das Zeitwort, ein absolut notwendiger Teil des Satzes; seinem Namen nach ist es ein Zusatz, etwas Hinzugefügtes. Deshalb muss man in der Häufung der Epitheta besonders vorsichtig verfahren. Jeder Schriftsteller muss mehr oder weniger mit diesem Umstande rechnen. Der Zeitungsstil z.B. erfordert Knappheit des Ausdruckes und der Journalist darf sich daher des Adjektivs nur sparsam bedienen. Wie oft sagen wir von einem Schriftsteller, dass sein Stil überladen sei, wenn er von seinen Epitheten zu freigebigem Gebrauch macht. Selbst der Poet darf bei all seiner dichterischen Freiheit in dieser Hinsicht gewisse Grenzen nicht überschreiten.

Wie wir in obigem Kapitel schon angedeutet haben, finden sich in Heines Gedichten viele Beispiele von Häufung der Epitheta. Sie ist besonders häufig und auffallend in den Nordseebildern. Es unterliegt keinem Zweifel, dass die Wirkung der Nordseegedichte grossenteils durch die Beiwörter erzielt wird.

Heine wurde als der erste grosse deutsche Meerdichter begrüsst und viele halten die Nordseecyklen für das Beste, was er überhaupt geschaffen hat; es ist wohl sicher, dass man sie noch lesen wird, nachdem viele von seinen anderen Dichtungen schon



lange vergessen sind. In den Nordseebildern singt Heine aber nicht nur vom Meere—seine Muse durchschweift das Weltall und die meisten Epitheta beziehen sich also nicht auf die See, sondern auf das, was dem Dichter gerade in den Sinn kommt. Die, welche das Meer schildern, bezeichnen die Farbe, die Bewegung oder das Geräusch der Wellen. Jules Legras sagt darüber:<sup>1</sup> Henri Heine est très sensible aux couleurs de la mer, mais il ne les détaille pas; ou plutôt, il n'en note presque jamais la nuance fondamentale; il se contente de fixer d'un mot les reflets fugitifs qui passent à la surface. Il note ainsi, avec persistance, la sensation de blanc que lui donne la crête des vagues qui déferlent, ou bien il fixe, soit les reflets du ciel sur la mer, soit l'aspect sombre des profondeurs. La mer, cette changeante Mer du Nord, nous est ainsi représentée obstinément sous les trois aspects les plus fréquents de sa surface: le blanc de l'écume, l'or fondu du soleil reflété, le noir vert des vagues sous la tempête.

In beinahe jedem der von Legras angeführten Beispiele dieser drei Erscheinungen der Oberfläche des Meeres ist die betreffende Farbe natürlich durch ein Epitheton ausgedrückt: (I) weisse Wellen, 164, 10, und 183, 14; weisse Meerkinder, 166, 31; weisser Tanz der Wellen, 170, 4; weisse Wasserberge, 173, 11; weisse Wellenrosse, 181, 8; weissgekräuselte Wellen, 191, 10. (II) Die Sonne .... warf / Glührote Streifen auf das Wasser, 164, 8-9; Die Sonnenlichter spielten / Über das weithinrollende Meer, 168, 17-18; Ihre Strahlen / Wirft die Sonne auf das Wasser, / Und im wogenden Geschmeide / Zieht das Schiff die grünen Furchen, 174, 11-14; Die Sonne goss eilig herunter / Die spielenden Rosenlichter, 179, 11-12; Die wogenden Wasser sind schon gefärbt / Von der dunkeln Nacht, / Nur noch die Abendröte / Überstreut sie mit goldnen Lichtern, 183, 9-12; Abendlich blasser wird es am Meer, 184, 27; Vollblühender Mond! In deinem Licht, / Wie fließendes Gold, erglänzt das Meer, 187, 7-8; Die Rose des Himmels, die feuerblühende, / Die freudvoll im Meer sich bespiegelte, 191, 17-18. (III) Schwarze Abgründe, 173, 15; schwarzgrüne Rosse, 191, 9.

<sup>1</sup>Jules Legras: Henri Heine Poète, S. 105 ff.

Legras fährt fort: Si l'on peut tirer de ces exemples une conclusion, c'est, sans doute, la suivante: le poète ne cherche jamais à peindre la mer dans le détail de ses aspects; il veut seulement la prendre pour cadre de ses tableaux. Au lieu d'y étudier les dégradations des nuances, comme eût fait un peintre, et comme ferait aujourd'hui, sans doute, un écrivain descriptif, il se contente de saisir rapidement une couleur frappante sur laquelle se détache la scène qu'il veut traduire. Il renonce donc courageusement aux adjectifs colorés, et sa palette peut, de la sorte, se contenter de trois tons simples. Comment se fait-il donc qu'avec ces moyens limités, Henri Heine soit parvenu à donner de la mer une impression aussi vivante? C'est que, justement, s'il renonce à étudier ce qu'il y a de plus extérieur et de plus fugitif dans son aspect, c'est-à-dire la symphonie des nuances, il reporte tout son effort sur la peinture de ce qui est plus vivant et plus saisissable: le mouvement et le bruit. Au lieu donc de peindre avec des *adjectifs*, il peint avec des *substantifs* et des *verbes*. La mer ne nous est pas présentée comme une surface colorée de tons multiples et tendres, mais, avant tout, comme un être bondissant et bruisant.

Heine arbeitet also am besten mit Substantiven und Verben statt mit Adjektiven, um uns das Meer anschaulich zu machen. Die Beispiele, welche Legras anführt, sind: Das weitaufschau-  
ernde Weltmeer, 164, 31; Dass die weissen Meerkin-  
der / Hoch aufspringen und jauchzen / Übermut-berauscht, 166, 31-33;  
Das weithinrollende Meer, 168, 18; Die Well'n, wutschäumend  
und bäumend, / Türmen sich auf, und es wogen lebendig / Die  
weissen Wasserberge, 173, 9-11. Ausdrücke wie 'weitauf-  
schauend,' 'übermut-berauscht,' 'weithinrollend,' 'wutschäu-  
mend und bäumend,' sind participiale Adjectiva und gehören  
demnach in die Kategorie der Epitheta. Als Beispiel, wie es  
Heine geglückt ist, das Geräusch der Wellen in seinen Versen  
aufzufangen, führt Legras folgende Stelle an:

Ein seltsam Geräusch, ein Flüstern und Pfeifen,  
Ein Lachen und Murmeln, Seufzen und Sausen,  
Dazwischen ein wiegenliedheimliches Singen

164, 13-15.

Das allerdings durch Zusammensetzung mit zwei Substantiven gebildete Eigenschaftswort, 'wiegenliedheimlich,' macht wohl von allen diesen den tiefsten Eindruck.

Ich bin auf Legras' Ausführungen so umständlich eingegangen, um zu zeigen, dass meine obige Behauptung über die Bedeutung der Epitheta in den Nordseegedichten auch von den wenigen Versen gilt, welche wirklich vom Meere handeln. Es ist doch merkwürdig, wie wenige der Verse sich direkt auf das Meer beziehen, in runder Zahl etwa 80 aus 1050, ungefähr  $7\frac{1}{2}$  Prozent. Eine charakteristische Stelle, welche zeigt, was für Gedanken der Anblick des Meeres in Heine hervorruft, und welche auch als Beispiel der Häufung der Epitheta dient, ist

Ich aber lag am Rande des Schiffes,  
Und schaute, träumenden Auges,  
Hinab in das spiegelklare Wasser,  
Und schaute tiefer und tiefer—  
Bis tief im Meeresgrunde,  
Anfangs wie dämmernde Nebel,  
Jedoch allmählich farbenbestimmter,  
Kirchenkuppel und Türme sich zeigten,  
Und endlich, sonnenklar, eine ganze Stadt,  
Altertümlich niederländisch,  
Und menschenbelebt.  
Bedächtige Männer, schwarzbemäntelt,  
Mit weissen Halskrausen und Ehrenketten,  
Und langen Degen und langen Gesichtern,  
Schreiten über den wimmelnden Marktplatz  
Nach dem treppenhohen Rathaus,  
Wo steinerne Kaiserbilder  
Wacht halten mit Zepter und Schwert.  
Unferne, vor langen Häuserreihn,  
Wo spiegelblanke Fenster  
Und pyramidisch beschnittene Linden,  
Wandeln seidenrauschende Jungfern,  
Schlanke Leibchen, die Blumengesichter  
Sittsam umschlossen von schwarzen Mützen



Und hervorquellendem Goldhaar.  
 Bunte Gesellen, in spanischer Tracht,  
 Stolzieren vorüber und nicken.  
 Bejahrte Frauen,  
 In braunen, verschollnen Gewändern,  
 Gesangbuch und Rosenkranz in der Hand,  
 Eilen trippelnden Schritts  
 Nach dem grossen Dome,  
 Getrieben von Glockengeläute  
 Und rauschendem Orgelton.

175, 1-34.

Der stärkste Eindruck, welchen diese Epitheta machen, ist ein objektiver—der Dichter wendet sich an unsre Sinne—wir sehen die ganze altertümliche Stadt mit ihrem ruhigen und doch regsamen Leben vor unsren Augen—wir hören das Geläut der Glocken und das Rollen der Orgel.

Ich möchte auch auf die anderen oben angeführten Stellen aus den Nordseebildern hinweisen.<sup>1</sup> Es ist in der Hauptsache nicht das Meer, welches Heine in den Nordseebildern beschreibt, sondern es sind die Gedanken und Träumereien, die der Anblick des Meeres in ihm erregt, welche er zum Ausdruck bringt.

Ohne Zweifel hat Heine hier und da glückliche Wendungen getroffen. Sehr ausdrucksvoll finde ich Bezeichnungen wie 'seidenrauschende Jungfern,' 175, 22; 'verschollne Gewänder,' 175, 9; 'die kleine, sorgsame Hand,' 167, 27; 'ein taubenmildes Lächeln,' 182, 32; 'melancholisch menschenleer,' 176, 12; 'ein wiegenliedheimliches Singen,' 164, 15; 'das weithinrollende Meer,' 168, 18; 'das weit aufschauende, silbergraue Weltmeer,' 164, 31-165, 1.

Doch im grossen Ganzen genommen ist für mich die Wirkung der Epitheta in den Nordseegedichten mehr äusserlich als innerlich. Ich fühle darin dasselbe Suchen nach künstlichem Effekt, welches wir in Heines Gebrauch des Kontrastes und der Wiederholung finden. Besonders eins von den Gedichten beweist nur zu deutlich, mit welcher Objektivität Heine seine

<sup>1</sup>S. 7, 8, 36.



Epitheta handhabt, gleich einem Zimmermann, der Bretter zusammennagelt. Ich meine die Stelle, wo der Dichter zu den Möwen spricht:

Schwarzbeinigte Vögel,  
Mit weissen Flügeln Meer-überflatternde,  
Mit krummen Schnäbeln Seewasser-saufende,  
Und thranigtes Robbenfleisch-fressende,  
Eu'r Leben ist bitter wie eure Nahrung!

185, 10-14.

Die Lust zur Wortmalerei hat Heine in diesem Falle lächerlich weit geführt; er fertigt haufenweise Epitheta an, je länger, desto besser. Und der Ausdruck 'Robbenfleisch-fressende' zeigt, dass wir es hier nicht mit Anschauung, mit gefundener Charakteristik, sondern mit gesuchter Schilderung zu tun haben.

Dasselbe Suchen Heines nach witzigem Effekt sehen wir auch im Gebrauch des Binnen- und Mittelreimes und der Alliteration, welche Momente an und für sich rein äusserliche Mittel sind. Stellen wie

Nach der lieben, alten, schaurigen Klause,  
In dem trüben, kalten, traurigen Hause

JLR, I, 41, 7-8.

ich liebe alleine

Die Kleine, die Feine, die Reine, die Eine

LI, I, 67, 3-4.

Eine starke, schwarze Barke

Segelt trauervoll dahin.

Die verummten und verstummten

Leichenhüter sitzen drin

R, I, 268, 9-12.

gefallen dem Ohre vielleicht, befriedigen aber den ästhetischen Sinn nicht.

Zuweilen finden wir Beispiele der Alliteration, welche nicht des Stimmungsgehalts ermangeln, wie

Finsternis, so dumpf und dicht, LI, I, 90, 14.

Die weissen, weiten Wellen, NEC, I, 164, 10.

Das wüste, wogende Wasser, NZC, I, 181, 6.

Im wallend weissen Gewande

Wandelt' er

NEC, I, 178, 2-3.

Aber auch hier wurde Heine wohl hauptsächlich durch den äusseren sprachlichen Wohlklang zur Wahl der betreffenden Epitheta bestimmt.

In einigen Fällen, besonders im 'Intermezzo,' zeigt Heine eine Neigung, Ausdrücke aus der Umgangssprache zu gebrauchen, was Elster dem Streben nach einer grösseren Natürlichkeit zuschreibt.<sup>1</sup> Vgl.

Sie haben mich gequälet,  
Geärgert bla u und bla s s ,  
Die einen mit ihrer Liebe,  
Die andern mit ihrem Hass

LI, I, 83, 25-28.

oder

Und hat mit zärtlichen Armen umschlungen  
Als Bräut 'gam den d ü m m s t e n der d u m m e n  
Jungen.

Dass ich von solchem Lieb konnt' weichen,  
War der d ü m m s t e von meinen d u m m e n Streichen

LI, I, 76, 25-26, 31-32.

Es ist möglich, dass Heine durch diese Ausdrücke in seinen Versen eine grössere Natürlichkeit angestrebt hat; er hat aber dabei die poetische Schönheit ausser Acht gelassen. Solche Stellen bieten einen weiteren Beweis, wie Heine mit seinen Epitheten spielt.

Lächerlich komisch wird der Gebrauch französischer Lehnwörter, die zu Heines Zeit in der Rheingegend und wohl auch im übrigen Deutschland gang und gäbe gewesen sein mögen, wie z. B.

Die Erde war so lange geizig,  
Da kam der Mai, und sie ward s p e n d a b e l ,  
Und alles lacht und jauchzt und freut sich,  
Ich aber bin nicht zu lachen k a p a b e l .

<sup>1</sup>Sieh Elsters Ausgabe I, 82.

Die Blumen spriessen, die Glöcklein schallen,  
Die Vögel sprechen wie in der Fabel;  
Mir aber will das Gespräch nicht gefallen,  
Ich finde alles *miserabel*.

Das Menschenvolk mich ennuyieret,  
Sogar der Freund, der sonst *passabel*;—  
Das kömmt, weil man Madame tituliert  
Mein süßes Liebchen, so süß und *aimabel*.

LI, I, 76, 9-20.

Es liegt klar auf der Hand, dass Heine durch den Gebrauch dieser Wörter eine komische Wirkung erzielen will, und zeigt somit gleichfalls in welch bewusster Weise er in der Wahl seiner Epitheta zu Werke ging.

Natürlich ist bei Heine das Beiwort nicht immer das bedeutendste Wirkungsmittel. Es kommen Strophen vor, die keine oder nur wenige Epitheta enthalten, oder wo dieselben von untergeordneter Bedeutung sind. Solche sind aber nur in seltenen Fällen in den besten Gedichten anzutreffen, die Heine geschrieben hat. Vgl.

Eine grosse Landstrass' ist unsere Erd',  
Wir Menschen sind Passagiere;  
Man rennet und jaget, zu Fuss und zu Pferd,  
Wie Läufer oder Kuriere.

Man fährt sich vorüber, man nicket, man grüsst  
Mit dem Taschentuch aus der Karosse;  
Man hätte sich gerne geherzt und geküsst,  
Doch jagen von hinnen die Rosse.

Kaum trafen wir uns auf derselben Station,  
Herzliebster Prinz Alexander,  
Da bläst schon zur Abfahrt der Postillon,  
Und bläst uns schon auseinander.

JLR, I, 54, 17-28.

Den König Wiswamitra,  
Den treibt's ohne Rast und Ruh,'  
Er will durch Kampf und Büssung  
Erwerben Wasischtas Kuh.

O, König Wiswamitra,  
O, welch ein Ochs bist du,  
Dass du so viel kämpfest und büssest,  
Und alles für eine Kuh!

Hk, I, 117, 5-12.

Was man auch immer von diesen Gedichten denken mag,  
Poesie ist jedenfalls nicht viel in denselben enthalten.

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(To be continued.)



## AUGUST WILHELM SCHLEGEL AND GOETHE'S EPIC AND ELEGIAC VERSE.

It is proposed in this paper to determine as nearly as possible the exact nature and extent of the influence of August Wilhelm Schlegel's prosodic theories and practice upon Goethe's epic and elegiac verse. This does not involve a study of Goethe's classic poems in accordance with any recent metric theories, but rather a definite determination of Schlegel's theories of classic versification in German at the time when such influence might have been exerted, a determination, so far as known, of what he actually insisted upon in his talks and correspondence with Goethe, and finally an examination of Goethe's poems in classic meters, the *Römische Elegien*, *Elegien II*, *Episteln*, *Venediger Epigramme*, etc., *Reineke Fuchs*, *Hermann und Dorothea*, and the fragment, *Achilleis*, to discern whether any changes of practice occurred, which indicate a movement in the direction of Schlegel's special views, and to fix the date at which they occur, whether before or after the acquaintance with Schlegel began.

Of the poems in the lesser groups mentioned above, the *Elegies*, etc., written for the most part soon after the poet's return from Italy, some appeared in print as early as 1791, but the major portion issued first in Schiller's *Horen* for 1795; *Reineke Fuchs* was published by Unger, Berlin, 1794; *Hermann und Dorothea* appeared Oct. 1797, in Vieweg's *Taschenbuch für 1798*; and the *Achilleis*, *Erster Gesang*, was composed in March, 1799. Goethe frequently attempted revisions of these works, sometimes alone, but more often with the aid and counsel of such critical friends as Wilhelm von Humboldt, A. W. Schlegel, the younger Voss, Riemer, and Götting. Only a comparatively small portion of these emendations are to be found embodied in the text of Goethe's poems.

An examination must make clear the relations of Schlegel to Goethe, the origin and conditions of their intimacy, etc. Goethe, as he tells us in his *Kampagne in Frankreich*, translated

the *Reineke Fuchs* into hexameters, as a relief from the horrors of the French Revolution and as mere practice in the classic meters. He knew little of the theory of hexameter verse, followed Klopstock in the main, made his verses wholly according to the ear, and waited for learned criticism of his faults to reveal to him the finer requisites of their perfect structure. He confesses later to a certain feeling that Klopstock's practice must be defective, that Voss, in fact, must have in his possession a sure receipt for an improved variety, but was keeping it from the public out of respect for the venerable poet of the *Messias*. Voss' *Luise*, again, was evidence that better verses could be made, and if Goethe had been younger he might have undertaken a pious pilgrimage to Eutin to learn the secret of this improvement, but, left to himself and his own ear, he wrote the rather careless but certainly readable hexameters of his *Reineke Fuchs*. This work received some lukewarm recognition from Voss, but when Goethe wished some specific criticism of his metrical usage Voss was not disposed to undertake the well-nigh impossible task, because, as he confessed to another friend, if he were asked to point out the bad hexameters in the epic, he would have to mark them all. But this opinion was not transmitted to Goethe himself, who therefore got no profit from the secrets preserved at the classic headquarters of Eutin.

Schlegel's purely speculative essay on *Poesie, Silbenmass und Sprache* in the *Horen* for 1795, could give him no aid in this practical problem. It seems to have left no impression upon Goethe. It was otherwise with his review, in the *Jen. Allg. Litt. Zeit.* early in 1796, of those issues of the *Horen* for 1795, which contained Goethe's *Episteln I and II, Römische Elegien*, and Schiller's *Sparziergang*. Schiller felt a sense of relief when he heard that August Wilhelm Schlegel was to be substituted for Schütz as reviewer of the poetical portions of the journal, and Goethe was rather pleased to have his works fall into the hands of a man of the younger generation, from whom more was to be expected than from Schütz.<sup>1</sup> Schiller was not wholly confident

<sup>1</sup>Letters of Schiller to Goethe, Dec. 23, 1795, Dec. 25, 1795, and Goethe to Schiller, Dec. 26, in reply.

of the result, but both poets were, in the main, content with the review when it finally appeared. Particularly the first part, devoted to an estimate of the poems themselves as literary phenomena, was quite satisfactory. But Schlegel had not failed to add a second portion dealing with metrical matters.

Goethe read the review, but it is through Schiller alone that we learn anything of the impression it made upon him. The two poets were together in Jena, as so frequently during the rest of Schiller's life, from the 2nd to the 17th of January, 1796. During this visit they received the review, read and discussed it together, and it is in letters of Schiller to the reviewer himself and to their principal friend in the classical field, Wilhelm von Humboldt, that we learn what they thought of it. To the former he says:

“Ihre Erinnerungen, die Metrik in meinen und Goethes Gedichten betreffend, finde ich, in den meisten Punkten, sehr richtig; nur in wenigen Kleinigkeiten sind wir verschiedener Meinung. So ist der halbe Pentameter: “Die zwischen mir und dir,” freilich kein guter Vers, aber “Die” als Relativum muss offenbar lang sein. Das Zeitwort in dem halben Pentameter: “Dir gilt es nicht,” wird dadurch entschieden kurz, dass auf “Dir” ein doppelter Accent liegt. Es wäre ganz unmöglich, jenes “gilt” bei gehöriger Deklamation nicht merklich zu verkürzen. Ich bin darin völlig von Moritz’ Meinung, dass in unserer Sprache der Verstandesgehalt die Länge und Kürze bestimmt.

“Sonst bin ich übrigens weit davon entfernt mich meines Hexameters gegen Ihre Kritik sehr anzunehmen, denn ich selbst habe es von jeher mit der rigoristischen Partei gehalten, und wenn ich dagegen excipiere, so ist es nicht, weil ich dem Dichter das Spiel leichter, sondern weil ich es dem Kritiker schwerer machen will; denn offenbar ist noch zu viel Willkürliches in unsern prosodischen Gesetzen, etc.,——”

“Goethe, der eben hier ist, war mit Ihrer Recension, so wie überhaupt mit Ihrer Art zu urteilen sehr zufrieden, nur dass auch er so wohl gegen Ihre als gegen die Vossische Prosodie



noch manches einzuwenden hat. Er glaubt, und muss *seiner* Natur nach diese Meinung haben, dass in Rücksicht auf den Versbau den Forderungen des Moments und der Convenienz des individuellen Falles müsse nachgegeben werden.”<sup>2</sup>

That this represents the true state of their conviction is confirmed by a letter of like date to Humboldt:

“Sie (die Recension) enthält viel Gutes und Gedachtes, und es ist gar keine Frage, dass wir lange hätten suchen müssen, um einen besseren Beurteiler zu finden, *aber befriedigt hat sie mich doch nicht ganz*, und ich vermute, es wird Ihnen auch so sein. — Mit seinen Kritiken den Versbau betreffend, werden Sie auch wohl nicht durchaus einig sein. Goethe hat zwar auch vieles gegen die Recension einzuwenden, besonders in Rücksicht auf das, was an seinen Versen getadelt wird, im Ganzen aber ist er sehr wohl damit zufrieden und hat eine gute Meinung von Schlegeln bekommen.”<sup>3</sup>

Though Goethe and Schiller on the one hand, and August Wilhelm Schlegel on the other, agree in certain respects in matters of prosody, it seems clear enough that at this date a great difference of attitude exists. Both parties are rigorous in their demand for a perfect elegiac distich, a perfect hexameter. Both are eager to study the laws of their structure in order to establish a canon for practice. For both the Greek poets are the ultimate masters. But, for Goethe und Schiller, a good hexameter is not merely one which scans perfectly to the eye or to the understanding when certain formal rules are applied, but one which, *when properly declaimed* in harmony with its meaning and poetic intention, fills the ear also with the melody of the Homeric verse, without doing violence to the spirit of the German language. A good pentameter is one that fulfils the laws of the pentameter for the ear, though not necessarily for the eye. For Schlegel, on the other hand, a good hexameter may or may not sound well when declaimed, but it must bear careful inspection of its individual syllables and feet. It is not so much

<sup>2</sup>Letter of Schiller to Aug. Wilh. Schlegel, Jan. 9, 1796, in *Schillers Briefe*, Jonas, Bd. IV, p. 386.

<sup>3</sup>Schiller to Wilh. v. Humboldt, Jan. 9, 1796 *Schillers Briefe*. pp. 387f.



the sense of the words, nor of the whole verse, which determines excellence, but its visible form. Certain words are always long, certain others always short, still others, a limited number, may be either as convenience dictates. For Goethe and Schiller, any word whose meaning is more important than that of adjacent words can properly fill an arsis, though it may belong to a class of words usually of slight meaning, which generally fall into the thesis. A word of two syllables like 'zwischen,' 'oder', or 'über', may fall into the thesis of a dactyl, if the preceding word be important enough for the understanding. The second element of compounds like 'Vorwelt', 'rückwärts', 'Uhrwerk', etc., is subordinated to the first for the understanding, and therefore not to be excluded from a dactyl, if the meaning, the natural order of words, the normal development of a thought, or the demands of poetic 'Anschaulichkeit' in any given case require it. For Schlegel, the natural order of words may be violated, the thought itself changed a little, the beauty of the poetic conception altered (generally marred), rather than an impure dactyl may be admitted. The caesura must be determined largely by the *sense*, in many cases at least, thought Goethe and Schiller. Schlegel would alter the sense, if need be, to avoid an ill-balanced verse. While agreeing in many things, there was this potential gulf between the parties. Schlegel was a mechanical formalist and became more and more confirmed as time went on. Goethe demanded inner form, and was ready to tolerate considerable laxity in outer mechanical details. Yet, being committed to Hellenism in general, he must have been interested in these formal details from the first, and also implicitly committed to their proper observance. The exact degree to which the Greek measures should be transformed by the spirit of the German language and its peculiar prosody, was not yet a settled question, and until it should be, Goethe was compelled to retain a constant and active interest in prosodic doctrines, however reluctant to follow any mechanical theory. Hence his interest in Schlegel's utterances on the question of prosody from this time on.

Goethe probably read the review of Voss' *Homer* with interest. He followed the views there expressed with some sympathy. A degree of intimacy sprang up between poet and critic, especially on Schlegel's settlement at Jena, which led to occasional personal intercourse and to occasional letters from May, 1797, onward.

At first there is no evidence of serious consultations on metrical matters, but in May, 1798, Schlegel, after practical activity in the translation of certain short Greek pieces, announces to Goethe that he has been particularly interested in the elaboration of his pentameters, but is not ready to dogmatize upon their structure in German.<sup>4</sup>

Somewhat later in the year comes Schlegel's review for the *Jen. Allg. Litt. Zeit.* of Von Knebel's translation of Propertius. This work was in a sense a foster-child of Goethe's, who constantly encouraged the translator, and the review led to a triangular correspondence which shows Goethe's growing interest in the critic's prosodic views. To Schlegel himself he praises the review, admits that his friend, Von Knebel, holds somewhat erroneous views in matters of grammar and prosody, and wishes that Schlegel might have an opportunity to convert him.<sup>5</sup>

To Von Knebel he sends Schlegel's review, commends the latter's prosodic views in general, and expresses the wish that he might come into personal relations with this critical friend, particularly for the sake of aid in his pending translation of Lucretius.<sup>6</sup>

Von Knebel thanks Goethe for the promptness of the reviewer, expresses general satisfaction with the work, but feels that the purely mechanical technique has been unduly emphasized. He would be glad for a critical friend to consult in regard to Lucretius, but doubts whether Schlegel can aid him, aside from purely mechanical matters of prosody.<sup>7</sup> He is content, however, to make a trial, transcribes the first book of his new translations, and sends it to Goethe to be transmitted, at

<sup>4</sup>Letter of A. W. Schlegel to Goethe, May 9, 1798.

<sup>5</sup>Goethe to A. W. Schlegel, Dec. 28, 1798.

<sup>6</sup>Letter of Goethe to von Knebel, Dec. 31, 1798.

<sup>7</sup>Von Knebel to Goethe, Jan. 12, 1799. Also Jan. 17, 1799.

the poet's discretion, to Schlegel. Goethe is pleased with his friend's decision and comforts him with the remark that we must usually be content with partial sympathy.<sup>8</sup> He forwards the manuscript to Schlegel a few days later,<sup>9</sup> who in turn sets to work quite promptly upon the task of comparing the translations with the original and jotting down his criticisms and suggestions. At the same time Schlegel informs Goethe that his views in regard to translations from the ancients have undergone a considerable change, principally as a result of his own practice.<sup>10</sup>

Goethe visited Jena from Feb. 7, 1799, to Feb. 28. During this period Schlegel made at least two calls upon him, one on the 10th and one on the 19th.<sup>11</sup> In discussing the Greek elegy, as they did, they could scarcely fail to talk of the formal structure of the elegiac distich and its laws, but we have no additional testimony in respect to these conferences.

Schlegel found the task imposed upon him in behalf of Von Knebel no easy one, and it is the middle of March before Goethe can promise the return of Lucretius, Book I, to its author.<sup>12</sup> Even this promise is vain, for it is the 7th of November, 1799, before it finally returns.<sup>13</sup> Von Knebel sends his thanks through Goethe, but gives no uncertain condemnation of many of the demands of Schlegel's prosody, both in his letter to the critic himself, and in that to Goethe.<sup>14</sup>

During Goethe's stay in Jena from March 21, 1799, to April 10, he was in frequent conference with August Wilhelm Schlegel, though generally the nature of their discussions is not in-

<sup>8</sup>Goethe to von Knebel, Jan. 14, 1799.

<sup>9</sup>Goethe to von Knebel, Jan. 22, 1799. Cf. Goethe to A. W. Schlegel, of same date.

<sup>10</sup>A. W. Schlegel to Goethe, Feb. 4, 1799. Cf. also Schlegel's review of Voss' Homer, Werke, Bd. X, pp. 115ff.

<sup>11</sup>Goethe's *Tagebuch*, under dates named.

<sup>12</sup>A. W. Schlegel to Goethe, Mar. 8, 1799; also March (middle), 1799; also Goethe to von Knebel, Mar. 15, 1799.

<sup>13</sup>Goethe to A. W. Schlegel, Oct. 14, 1799; A. W. Schlegel to Goethe, Oct. 22, 1799; Goethe to von Knebel, Oct. 23, 1799; A. W. Schlegel to Goethe, Nov. 5, 1799; Goethe's *Tagebuch*, Nov. 7, 1799.

<sup>14</sup>Von Knebel's long letter to Goethe, Nov. 18, 1799; also "Beilage an August Wilhelm Schlegel" in a letter of von Knebel to Goethe, Nov. 30, 1799.



icated.<sup>15</sup> In the next visit, May 1 to May 27, 1799, no such calls were made. Early in August of this year, however, Goethe began to revise, collect and edit his lesser poems, those of the preceding decade, the elegies, epigrams, etc. This editorial work was accompanied by metrical studies.<sup>16</sup>

Goethe's mood at the time was neither poetical nor critical, and little progress could be made in revision. In such occupation, where skilled manipulation of mechanical details of the language was of greatest need, it was but natural that Goethe should himself consult Schlegel. Accordingly we find him in Jena from Sept. 13 to Oct. 14, 1799, in frequent conference with him on metrical matters, going through the Elegies and Epigrams with him, and making metrical alterations.<sup>17</sup>

On Goethe's return to Weimar he continues to occupy his thoughts with corrections of these early attempts in classic verse, but finding himself in no mood to do very effective work himself, he sends a copy of the elegies back to Schlegel at Jena, with such corrections as he has been able to hit upon, for a second inspection, which the latter is very willing to undertake.<sup>18</sup> The manuscript reaches Schlegel promptly, is gone through at once, and returned with corrections.<sup>19</sup> Goethe accepts most of the suggestions with thanks, and immediately sends the second collection of Elegies, with a complaint of his own unpoetical and uncritical condition.<sup>20</sup> With equal promptness suggestions are made and the manuscript returned.<sup>21</sup> Schlegel now eagerly awaits the next packet, which, about a fortnight later, brings him the *Venetian Epigrams*, the *Weis-*

<sup>15</sup>"Mar. 23. Spazieren mit Rath Schlegel." "Mar. 29. Mittags bei Rath Schlegel." "Mar. 31. Die Flaxmanusche Kupfer, durch Rath Schlegel communiciert, ging ich durch und dictierte etwas darüber." "Apr. 5. Mit Rath Schlegel früh spazieren." "Apr. 6. Rath Schlegel und Magister Steffens aus Kopenhagen." From Goethe's *Tagebuch* for 1799.

<sup>16</sup>Goethe's *Tagebuch*, Aug. 6, August 23, 1799. Also letter of Goethe to von Knebel, Sept. 17, 1799.

<sup>17</sup>Goethe's *Tagebuch*, Sept. 22, Sept. 24, Sept. 25, Sept. 26, Sept. 27, Sept. 28, Sept. 29, Oct. 6, and Oct. 12, 1799.

<sup>18</sup>Goethe to A. W. Schlegel, Jan. 1, 1800; A. W. Schlegel to Goethe, Jan. 7, 1800; Goethe to A. W. Schlegel, Feb. 26, 1800.

<sup>19</sup>A. W. Schlegel to Goethe, Feb. 28, 1800.

<sup>20</sup>Goethe to A. W. Schlegel, Mar. 5, 1800.

<sup>21</sup>A. W. Schlegel to Goethe, Mar. 8, 1800.



*sagungen des Bakis*, and the *Metamorphose der Pflanzen*.<sup>22</sup> This seems to have been a more serious task, for it is April 1 before the manuscript returns to Weimar. On returning this last packet, Schlegel expresses regret that the delightful task is now at an end, but ventures to suggest that the *Reineke Fuchs* might be wrought over in accordance with the newer metrical principles.<sup>23</sup> Goethe leaves the decision in regard to this undertaking to some future date, and hopes to discuss the matter with him more fully face to face. To this Schlegel readily accedes, since the work would gain little by the alteration, and any change would be chiefly a compliment to the recent advances in metrical theory.<sup>24</sup>

The direct result of Schlegel's influence, according to the above historical outline, will necessarily be found in these revisions of the Elegies, Epigrams, Epistles, etc., an attempted elaboration of the *Reineke Fuchs*, which proceeded so far as the first four cantos, possibly certain features of the original metrical structure of the *Achilleis* fragment, and occasional alterations made while preparing the various works, as well as *Hermann und Dorothea*, for later editions.

The most direct evidence of the nature and extent of this influence is preserved in a manuscript of August Wilhelm Schlegel in the Goethe Archives, which contains the metrical observations, with the reasons for them, which he made in respect to the second collection of the Elegies (beginning with *Alexis und Dora*), the Epistles, and the Epigrams. Of course these observations were made in 1799 and 1800, and are a product of Schlegel's prerigoristic period.<sup>25</sup> A muster of these recommendations, and of Goethe's action upon them, will show in a clear light what features of Goethe's metrical practice were condemned and corrected. In what follows, the version first given is always the original, or at least an early form of the verse, by Goethe.

AuD. 3. "Lange Furchen hinter sich ziehend," etc.

<sup>22</sup>Goethe to A. W. Schlegel, Mar. 20, 1800; A. W. Schlegel to Goethe, Mar. 23, 1800.

<sup>23</sup>A. W. Schlegel to Goethe, Apr. 1, 1800.

<sup>24</sup>Goethe to A. W. Schlegel, Apr. 2, 1800, and the reply, Apr. 4.

<sup>25</sup>It was not until about 1804, that Schlegel demanded the total exclusion of trochees from the German hexameter, and became hypercritical on the subject of impure dactylis.

This contained several trochaic words at the beginning of the line. To remedy this, Schl. suggests: "Weithin furchend die Gleise des Kiels," or "Hinter sich furchend," etc. Neither was adopted. The final form, however, "Langhin furcht sich die Gleise des Kiels," avoids the trochaic feet.

AuD. 7/8. "Alle Gedanken sind | vorwärts gē|richtet, || wie  
Flaggen und Wimpel;

Nur ein Trauriger steht || rückwärts gē|wendet  
am Mast."

This contained two heavy dactyls, a feminine caesura in the fourth foot, and a weak trochee at the beginning of the pentameter. G. corrected thus:

"Vorwärts dringt der Schiffenden Geist, || wie  
Flaggen und Wimpel;

Einer nur steht zurück || traurig gewendet am  
Mast."

which avoided the original difficulties, but created a new one by substituting 'zurück' for 'rückwärts', since the contrast with 'vorwärts' of the seventh verse was lost, and the sense not quite faithfully rendered. Schl. suggested:

"Traurig nur steht | rückwärts || einer gewendet  
Mast."

G. adopted 'rückwärts' with its improper accent, but kept the word-order of his own version, as above.

AuD. 27. "Jeden freut die seltne Verknüpfung || der zierlichen Bilder."

G. was dissatisfied, perhaps on account of its trochaic movement, or for its caesura, and replaced it by: "Jeder ahndet besondern Gehalt im verschränkten Geheimnis." Though it removed the objectionable caesura, this seems not to have been satisfactory, and he returned to the original wording, but with a bold transposition, thus:

"Jeden freut die seltne, der zierlichen Bilder Ver-  
knüpfung."

and Schl. commends the boldness warmly.

AuD. 33. "Lange harrete das Schiff befrachtet, || auf günstige  
Winde."

To avoid the feminine caesura of the fourth foot, G. tried: "Lange befrachtet, harnte das Schiff," etc., but Schl. found a new evil in the tripartite structure of the resulting verse, recommended: "Lange harnte, befrachtet das Schiff," etc.; or with still fuller rhythm: "Lange schon harnte," etc. G. adopted the last.

AuD. 47. G. introduces 'ja' at Schl.'s suggestion, to reduce the number of trochaic feet in the verse and render a false scan-sion impossible.

AuD. 49. "Sich an Ihnen erfreut, und | in dem | ruhigen Busen."

At the suggestion of Schl. this was changed to " | innēn im | ruhigen Busen," thus strengthening the foot and making the verse more dactylic.

AuD. 111. "Seine Tochter, die Göttin der Liebe; || die Grazien standen"

Schl. suggested elision to 'Lieb' in order to avoid the objectionable caesura, but G. did not adopt it.

AuD. 116. "In der Werkstatt gleich || reiche das himmlische Pfand."

Schl. objected to the similarity of sound of 'gleich' and 'reiche', and suggested the substitution of 'schnell' for 'gleich'. G. substituted 'ordne' for 'reiche' instead.

AuD. 133. "Stücke köstlicher | Leinwand. Du | sitztest und nāhest und kleidest."

To avoid the impure dactyl Schl. corrected to "Stücke köstlicher Linnen" or suggested the retention of the better word by transposition, "Köstlicher Leinwand Stücke." G. adopted this.

AuD. 152. "Trefte dein leuchtender Blitz | dīesēn ūn|glücklichen Mast."

Schl. objected to the impure dactyl, but advised no change, because no better version occurred to him. It remained thus.

Paus. 54. "Jeden Morgen; es welkt || früher als Abend die Pracht."

In an effort to improve this G. used the word 'Mittage' as

⌣—⌣ Schl. suggested: "Jeden Morgen; die Pracht||welkt vor dem Abende schon," or, if 'Mittag' must be used, then: "Morgens früh; Mittägs || welket die Pracht schon dahin." G. adopted the former, rejecting the false accent.

Paus. 60. "Den dü mīr, dēn Schmāus || lieblich umwandelnd, gereicht."

Schl. suggested: "Welchen du mir" to break the trochaic series, and it was adopted.

Paus. 103/4. "Und so welkte der Kranz, dein erstes Geschenk!  
Ich vergass nicht  
Ihn im Getümmel, ich hing || neben dem Bett  
mir ihn auf."

Schl. preferred: "Ich vergass ihn Nicht im Getümmel," but G. rejected the suggestion, preferring to let a distinct stress fall on 'ihn' rather than upon the negative.

G. removed the feminine caesura from the fourth foot of Euphrosyne, 65, at the suggestion of Schl.

Wied. 13. "Schmerzlich war's am Abend zu scheiden, traurig die lange."

While admitting that there is no violation here of the laws of the caesura, Schlegel did not like the bucolic dieresis, and thought the line might be improved by transposing thus: "Schmerzlich war's zu scheiden || am Abende, || traurig die lange," etc., making a true caesura in the third foot and the *tnesis bucolica* follow a dactyl instead of a trochee. The change was made.

MdP. 75. "Denke, wie mannichfach bald | diēsē, bald | jene Gestalten."

Schl. objected to the use of 'bald' as a short syllable, and proposed: "bald *die*, bald *jene*," etc. G. adopted it.

MdP. 79. "Gleicher | Ansicht dēr | Dinge, damit in harmonischem Anschau."

Schl. suggested: "Ähnlicher Ansicht auch," or "Ähnlicher | Wēltān|sicht," or "Gleichem Blick auf die Dinge," as means of avoiding the impure dactyl, but none found favor with G.

Schl. objected to trochaic beginnings in eight different verses of MdP., but only two were changed by G. by the introduction of one more dactyl, i. e., v. 63 and v. 65.



HuD. 5. "Dass ich Natur und Kunst zu schauen mich  
treulich bestrebe."

Schl. disliked the succession of three amphibrachs at the close of the verse, and suggested the contraction of 'schauen' to 'schaun'. G. accepted the change.

HuD. 7. "Dass des Lebens bedingender Drang nicht den Menschen verändert."

Objection was made here to the word 'bedingend' because it belongs to the technical terminology of philosophy, but no substitute was offered. No change was made.

HuD. 9. "Solcher | Fëhlër, die | dū, o Muse, so emsig gepfleget."

Schl. objected to the scansion here, and advised the omission of 'o', although even this would not have guaranteed a correct reading. No change was made.

HuD. 42. "Des Jahrhunderts, wen || hat das Geschick nicht geprüft."

Schl. preferred the fuller inflection 'Jarhundertes' as demanded by the old classic pentameter. The change was made for the edition of 1800, but the verse was altered to "Das Jahrhundert; wen," etc., for the edition of 1808.

Epist. 8. "Doch so fähret der Fischer dem hohen | Mëër zū,  
sō | bald ihm"

Schl. objected to this heavy dactyl in the fifth foot, and suggested: "dem Meer entgegen, so bald ihm," but G. rejected the change.

Epist. 16. "Ernst und wichtig erscheint mir die Frage, ||  
doch trifft sie mich eben."

Objection was made again to the feminine caesura of the fourth foot, and this suggested: "Wichtig erscheint mir die Frag' und ernst, doch," etc. G. rejected this wording, but altered to: "Eine wichtige Frage fürwahr! Doch," etc., for the edition of 1808. In later editions the original version is restored.

Epist. 23. "Und vīel | tiefër | präget sich nicht der | Eindrūck  
dër | Lettern."

Schl. objected to the antispast in the beginning, and to the heavy dactyl in the fifth foot, and suggested the removal of the latter by the close: "von den Lettern der Eindruck," a most unnatural transposition. G. rejected the change.

Epist. 24. "Die, so sagt man, der Ewigkeit trotzen, || denn freilich an viele"

Schl. objected to the caesura and suggested: "Die der Ewigkeit trotzen, so heisst's; denn freilich," etc. G. rejected this but later omitted 'denn', thus introducing the bucolic dieresis.

Epist. 31. "O so ist's mit Büchern nicht besser, || es liest nur ein jeder"

Same objection raised. Schl. suggested: "So ist's auch mit Büchern bewandt; || es liest," etc. G. did not accept this but made later a bucolic dieresis by altering to: "Mit den Büchern ist es nicht anders. || Liest doch nur jeder."

Epist. 38. "Soll ich sagen, wie ich es denke, || so scheint mir, es bildet"

Same objection. Advised: "Soll ich sagen, wie es mir scheint? || So denk' ich, es bildet." G. rejected, but removed the caesura to the third foot later by the rendering: "Sag' ich, wie ich es denke, || so scheint durchaus mir, es bildet"

Epist. 40. Schl. suggested "|Uns're | Meinung" for "|Unsre | Meinung" to make the verse more dactylic, but G. did not accept.

Epist. 41. "Aber wir meinen nicht, weil wir hören, | denn was uns zuwider"

Schl. advised the omission of 'denn' to remove the improper caesura, but G. recast the verse later thus: "Aber das Hören bestimmt nicht die Meinung; || was uns zuwider," so attaining the same result, a bucolic dieresis.

Epist. 47. "Was sie wünschen || und was sie selber || zu leben beehrten"

Schl. makes no specific objection to this verse, but the feminine caesura in the fourth foot, and the trisection of the hexameter must have seemed faulty, for he advised the transposition of phrase as follows: "Was sie wünschen, || und was sie zu leben || selber beehrten." G. rejected the change.

Epist. 50/51. G. had feminine caesurae in the fourth foot, and Schl. suggested: "Wer er sei, und klinget nicht stets im hohen Palaste," etc.; but G. wrote 'immer' for 'stets', restoring the objectionable caesura, while improving the original in other respects.

Epist. 53. Schl. objected to the introduction of 'da' into a dactyl, because not truly short. G. introduced it nevertheless to make the scansion more definite in "da | wo sich dër | Bürger versammelt."

Epist. 57. "Jener Neptunischen | Städt, || die | dën gë|flügel-  
ten Löwen"

This puts a definite article without stress in the arsis of the fourth foot, or, if read normally, omits the thesis of the third altogether at the caesura. At this time Schl. reckoned the relative pronoun 'die' as short, so he suggested: "|| die|ēinën gë|flügelten Löwen," or still better: "die dën | mächt || ig gë|flügelten Löwen." G. altered for the edition of 1808 to. "||all|wō man gë|flügelte Löwen."

Epist. 58. "Göttlich verehrt, ein Märchen erzählen. || Im  
Kreise geschlossen"

To remove the objectionable caesura, Schl. proposed: "Stehend im Kreise." But even then the verse would remain poorly articulated, being trisected. The original was allowed to stand.

Epist. 60. "Einst, so sprach er, ward ich verschlagen || ans  
Ufer der Insel"

To avoid the same difficulty Schl. suggested: "Einst, so sprach er, verschlug mich ein Sturm || ans Ufer der Insel."

G. adopted this, but with the definite article instead of the indefinite. The trochaic series at the beginning is also broken up.

Epist. 62. "Dieser Gesellschaft|jēmāls bē|trēten; || sie lieget  
im Meere."

G. himself altered to 'jemals betrat' in order to avoid offending against the laws of the caesura. This Schl. approved, but he still objected to '|jēmāls bē|-' as a dactyl, and advised 'je betrat', though this would increase the number of trochees. G.

retained his own correction. Both the earliest form and the first published form had the objectionable caesura.

Epist. 66/7.

"Ich hatte des Kammers

Und dēr | Noth vollkommen ver|gēssēn: || dā |  
fing sich in Stellen"

Schl. suggested: "Ich hatte vollkommen  
Allen Kummer vergessen und Noth: || da fing,"  
etc.

G. corrected: "Ich hatte des Kammers  
Völlig vergessen und jeglicher Noth: || da fing,"  
etc.,

thus accomplishing the end sought by Schl.

Epist. 68/9.

"Wie wird die Zeche dir leider

Nach der | Mählzēit bē|kommen?"

Schl. suggested:

"Wie wird nach geendigter Mahlzeit  
Dir die Zeche bekommen,"

but was sorry to sacrifice the word 'leider'. G. rejected the suggestion *in toto*.

Epist. 70. "Weniger bat ich den Wirt mir zu reichen; || er  
brachte nur immer"

Schl. suggested: "Weniger bat ich zu reichen den Wirt; ||  
er," etc. G. was probably not pleased with the word-order and  
hit upon the change to "Reiche mir weniger! bat ich den Wirt;  
|| er," etc., which removed the caesura condemned.

Epist. 82. "Sollt' ich solche Beleidigung dulden || im eigenen  
Hause?"

Schl. suggested: "Sollt' im eigenen Haus' ich || solche Be-  
leidigung dulden?" clearly to escape the faulty caesura, but G.  
would have nothing to do with such unnatural word-order,  
especially in an epistle whose style is to represent the freedom  
and natural ease of friendly communication. The original with  
the feminine caesura in the fourth foot was retained.

Epist. 88. "Müset ihr euch erst würdig beweisen || und tüch-  
tig zum Bürger"



Schl. suggested: "Müsst ihr euch würdig beweisen zuvor, || und tüchtig," etc. G. retained the original.

Epist. 88/91.

"Ich habe leider mich niemals  
Gerne zur | Arbēit gē|fügt. So hab' ich auch  
keine Talente,  
Die den Menschen bequemer ernähren; || man  
hat mich im Spotte,"

Schl. proposed:

"Ich habe leider zur Arbeit  
Niemals gern mich gefügt. So hab' ich auch  
keine Talente,  
Die den Menschen zu nähren bequem; || man,"  
etc.; but G. retained the original with the heavy dactyl and the feminine caesura.

Epist. 96/7.

"dass nicht ein schändlicher Rückfall  
Dich zur | Arbēit vēr|leite."

Schl. advised:

"dass nicht dich ein schändlicher Rückfall  
Zum Ar|bēitēn vēr|leite."

but for G. such a violation of accentuation was worse than an impure dactyl, and the advice was not accepted.

Epist. 100. "Aber auf dem Markte zu sitzen, || die Arme geschlungen"

Schl. offered:

"Aber zu sitzen auf offenem Markt, || die," etc., but G. rejected it.

Epist. 107. "Würdiger Freund, du runzelst die Stirne; || dir scheinen die Scherze,"

At the suggestion of Schl. the 'e' was elided before the caesura, thus: 'Stirn'; || die," etc.

Epist. 109/10. "Und besonnen verlangst du die | Antwort; || dā | wēiss ich, beim Himmel!  
Nicht wie eben sich mir der Schalk im Busen bewegte."

The double fault indicated induced Schl. to suggest:

“Und änt|wörtēn auch | soll ich besonnen dir; ||  
 weiss ich, beim Himmel  
 Doch nicht, wie sich da eben der Schalk mir  
 im Busen bewegte.”

G. rejected, and rightly, for the improper accentuation, the utterly artificial order of words, the very considerable alteration in thought, and the ugly antispast which Schl. himself would condemn.

Epist. 112. “Meinetwegen die Menge sich halten || im Leben und Lesen.”

Schl. objected to the caesura and to the series of amphibraches. He recommended: “Meinetwegen die Meng’ || im Leben und Lesen sich halten.” G. retained the original.

Epist. 117/20. “Was zu schaffen. || Da gieb nur dem einen ||  
 die Schlüssel zum Keller,  
 Dass es die Weine des Vaters besorge, || sobald  
 sie vom Winzer  
 Oder vom | Käufmänn gē|liefert, die weiten  
 Gewölbe bereichern.  
 Manches zu schaffen hat ein Mädchen, || die  
 vielen Gefässe,” etc.

This passage contains three feminine caesurae in the fourth foot, one impure dactyl, and one trisected verse. G. rejected, however, the following amendment proposed by Schl.

“Was zu schaffen. || Da gieb nur die Kellerschlüssel dem einen,  
 Dasz es die Weine des Vaters besorgt, || sobald  
 sie, vom Kaufmann  
 Oder vom Winzer geliefert, || die weiten Gewölbe  
 bereichern.  
 Manches zu schaffen hat die Jungfrau; || all die  
 Gefässe,”

Epist. 124. “Leicht die Öffnung des Fasses erreichen, || sich trinkbar und helle.”

Schl. corrected to: “Leicht erreichen die Öffnung im Fass,

|| sich trinkbar, etc.," but G. rejected the inversion and, later, very properly omitted 'sich', making a bucolic dieresis.

Epist. 128/9. "Lass' die andre die Küche besorgen; || da |  
giëbt ës währ|haftig  
|Ärbëit gë|nug, etc.,"

To remove the defects noted, Schl. suggested:

"Lass' die andre die Küche versehn; || da giebt  
es der Arbeit

Wahrlich genug, etc.,"

G. rejected this version, but altered the original to: "Lass' der andern die Küche zum Reich; etc.," thus removing the faulty caesura but retaining the condemned dactyls.

Epist. 133. "Alles was die | Jährszëit ihr | bringt."

Schl. suggested: "Alles was ihr die Jahrszeit bringt." G. adopted this, but substituted 'giebt' for 'bringt.'

Epist. 135/7.

"Klug zu wechseln, und | kaūm || rëift | ihr der  
Sommer die Früchte,  
Denkt sie schon an | Vörräth dës | Winters. ||  
Im kühlen Gewölbe  
Gähret | schmäckhäft dër | Kohl, etc.,"

The illogical stress on 'ihr' in the first verse, or the omission of the entire thesis from the third foot when properly read, the impure dactyls, and the faulty caesura of the second verse, were thus avoided by Schl.:

"Klug zu wechseln, und denkt, wenn kaum der  
Sommer die Frucht reift,  
Vorrath schon für den Winter, sich aus. || Im  
kühlen Gewölbe  
Gährt ihr der | Köhl schmäck|häft, etc."

Of course G. could not endure this version as a whole, but he made certain alterations, removing all difficulties except that of the caesura, as follows:

"und reift nur eben der Sommer die Früchte,  
Denkt sie an Vorräth schon für den Winter. ||

Im kühlen Gewölbe  
Gährt ihr der kräftige Kohl, etc."

Epist. 140. "Und wenn | ētwās mīs|līngt, dann ist's ein grö-  
sseres Unglück".

Schl. suggested: "Und mis|līngt ēt|wās, dann | ist es, etc." or "sō | ist es," or, if 'etwas' is at all permissible as a trochee: "Und mislinget ihr etwas, so ist es ein, etc." Of course G. rejected the former, and modified the latter to: "Und mislingt ihr etwas, dann ist's ein, etc." This still leaves a questionable dactyl, either " | ētwās, dānn | ", or " | dānn ist's ēin | ".

Epist. 141. " | Als wēnn dēin | Schuldner dā | vōngeht || und |  
dir den Wechsel zurücklässt."

Schl. suggested: "Als wenn dir der Schuldner entgeht und den Wechsel zurücklässt", which removes all the difficulties of scansion. G. virtually accepts this, merely substituting 'ein' for 'der' and 'entläuft' for 'entgeht', thereby restoring approximately the original thought.

Epist. 142. "Immer sō ist das Mädchen beschäftigt || und  
reift im Stillen"

Schl. suggested: "Immer beschäftigt das Mädchen sich so || und reift im Stillen." G. rejected, and merely transposed 'so ist' to 'ist so', retaining the feminine caesura in the fourth foot.

Epist. 146/8.

"Eine Schwester besorgt den Garten, || der schwer-  
lich zur Wildnis,

Deine Wohnung | romantisch | und feucht zu |  
umgeben | verdammt ist,

Sondern in zierliche Beete getheilet, || als | Vör-  
hof dēr | Küche."

The caesurae in the first and third verses, the series of amphibrachs in the second, and the impure dactyl in the last, could be avoided by rendering thus:

"Eine der Schwestern besorgt den Garten, || wel-  
cher als Wildnis

Schwerlich dein Haus romantisch und feucht || zu  
umgeben verdammt ist,



Sondern in zierliche Beete getheilt, || der Küche  
zum Vorhof."

G. rejected all but the contracted form 'getheilt' and retained the rest in the original form.

Epist. 152/3. "Hast du der Töchter noch mehr, die lieber  
sitzen, und stille  
Weibliche | Arbeit vër|richten, etc."

Schl. suggested:

"die lieber weibliche Arbeit  
Stille sitzend verrichten, etc."

G. would not sacrifice the meaning to avoid the impure dactyl, and rejected it *in toto*.

Epist. 156. "Wie vermehrt sich das Nähen und Flicken, || das  
Waschen und Biegeln."

G. himself altered to: "Wie sich das Nähen und Flicken vermehrt," to remove the feminine caesura, but Schl. suggested further the contraction of 'Nähen' to 'Nähn', doubtless to break up a series of amphibrachs. G. made no further change.

Epist. 161/2. "Niemals wär' ich verlegen um | Ärbëit, || sie  
| machen sich selber |  
Ärbëit ge | nug, etc.,"

Schl. proposed:

"Arbeit wüsst' ich wohl immer für sie, || sie  
machen der Arbeit  
Selbst sich genug, etc."

G. compromised thus:

"Niemals wär' ich verlegen um Arbeit, || sie machen  
sich Arbeit

Selber genug, etc.," removing one impure dactyl, but retaining the other and the caesura.

Ep. 5. "Cymbeln, Trommeln erklingen; | wir sêhen | und  
hören | den Märmor."

Schl. suggested the form 'sehn' for 'sehen' in order to break the series of amphibrachs. G. rejected.

Ep. 9. "So bezwinget Fülle den Tod, etc.,"

Schl. objected to the trochees, and offered as a substitute:

"So überwältigt Fülle den Tod, etc.," G. adopted it.

Ep. 13. "Kaum erblickt' ich den blaueren Himmel, || die glänzende Sonne,"

Noting the caesura G. corrected to: "Kaum an dem blaueren Himmel || erblickt' ich die glänzende Sonne." Schl. thought this might seem too dactylic, and suggested that one might keep nearer to the original, thus: "Kaum erblickt' ich die glänzende Sonn' an dem blaueren Himmel", or, to reduce the dactyls still further, "am blaueren Himmel". G. retained his own correction.

Ep. 43. "Ruhig sasz ich in meiner Gondel || und | führ durch die | Schiffe."

G. corrected as follows: "In der Gondel lag ich gestreckt, || und fuhr durch die Schiffe." Schl. objected still further to the trochaic beginning of the line, especially to the weak first foot, 'In der,' and also to the heavy dactyl in the fifth foot. He suggested: "Ruhig gestreckt" or "Ruhig gelehnt in der Gondel, durchfuhr ich die Reihen der Schiffe," or, "Still in der Gondel lag ich gestreckt, etc.," The latter removed but one difficulty, the former removed all, except that 'Reihen der Schiffe' did not express the original poetic conception. G. adopted it for the edition of 1800, but returned later to his own correction.

Ep. 55/8. "Diese Gondel vergleich' ich der Wiege, || sie schaukelt gefällig,

Und das Kästchen darauf scheint ein geräumlicher Sarg.

Wohl so schweb', ich als | Mench || zwischen | Sarg und der Wiege,

Auf dem grossen Kanal träumend ins Leben dahin."

The caesura in the first verse, the five feet, or the want of a thesis, in the third, needed attention, and G. corrected to:

"Diese Gondel vergleich' ich der | sänft ein | schaukelnd | Wiege,

Recht so! Zwischen der Wieg' und dem Sarg  
wir schwanken und schweben

\_\_\_\_\_."

Schl. approved these changes as happily made, though we have here one of the comparatively rare instances of a very questionable accentuation deliberately chosen by Goethe. The two words really form a compound 'sanfteinschaukelnd', and the rhythm of the verse may here raise the third syllable slightly above the second with no great offense to the understanding or the ear. Later, at Riemer's suggestion, 'träumend ins Leben' gave way to 'sorglos durchs Leben', which renders the idea better, but restores a dactyl which Schl. must have condemned.

Ep. 63. "Warum treibt sich das Volk und schreit so? || Es  
will sich ernähren."

G. corrected thus: "Warum treibt das Volk sich schreiend umher? Es will, etc." But this verse has seven feet, and is very trochaic. Schl. advised the transposition of 'so' to a place following 'Volk', as "das Volk so und schreit", and G. made the change.

Ep. 67. "Dasz man komme, dasz män || pläppre, wie gestern  
so heut."

If one reads this verse with normal, logical stress, as one is inevitably led to do by the recurrence of 'dasz man', which the meter requires to be read 'dász män' the second time, one has, as Schl. remarked, a trochaic dimeter: "Dász män kōm-mē, | dász män pläpprē." He suggested: "Dasz man komme, doch jā || pläppre." It may be slightly easier to follow the metrical scheme, now that the words are different, but logical declamation still inevitably leads to the same trochaic dimeter. G. tried to effect an improvement by making it: "Dasz man komme, nur jā || pläppre, wie gestern so heut", which is still liable to the same objection.

Ep. 87. "Mache zum Herrscher sich der, der seinen | Vör-  
thēil vēr|steht."

Schl. suggested with doubts: "Herrscher möge der sein, der Kenner des eigenen Vortheils", or "kundig des eigenen

Vorteils"; otherwise the original with its impure dactyl must stand. G. kept the original.

Ep. 95. "Jeder Edle Ve|nēdīgs känn | Doge werden, etc.,"

Schl. objected to 'känn' used as a short syllable in a dactyl, but confessed his inability to offer an improvement, since all is so light and so natural. G. made no alteration.

Ep. 100. "Klein wird neben dem Paar || Pforte, Thurm und Kanal."

Schl. suggested the introduction of 'und' before 'Thurm' to make the necessary anapest in the last hemistich of the pentameter. G. substituted 'wie' for 'und', thus meeting the objection without creating the hiatus 'Pforte und'.

Ep. 117. "Nur durchwässre mir nicht dies Büchlein: || es sei mir ein Fläschchen,"

Schl. suggested: "Nur durchwässre dies Büchlein mir nicht: || es sei, etc.," G. adopted this for the edition of 1800, but returned later to the original.

Ep. 125/6. "Übēräll | ist Sardinien, wo man al|lēin schläft,  
 ünd | Tibur  
 Übēräll | ist est, Freund, || wo dich die Liebliche weckt."

The difficulties here were so great that G. was inclined to sacrifice the whole epigram. Schl. suggested, however, the scansion of 'Überall' as an anapest, and then several good renderings would be possible. G. adopted the following from Schl.:

"Ist überall ja doch Sardinien, wo man allein  
 schläft,  
 Tibur, Freund, überall, || wo dich die Lieb-  
 liche weckt."<sup>20</sup>

Ep. 127. "Oft sind alle Neune gekommen, || ich meine die Musen,"

Partly of his own motion, partly at the suggestion of Schl., G. changed this to: "Alle Neun, sie winkten mir oft, || ich, etc."

<sup>20</sup>See the whole discussion. Goethe's Werke, Weimar Edition, I, I, pp, 448 9.



Ep. 131. "Aber der Himmel ist voll von Göttern, || du kamst  
mir zu Hülfe,"

Schl. suggested and G. adopted this version: "Doch von  
Göttern ist voll der Olymp; || du, etc."

Ep. 140. "Nur der | Mäisterschäft | nah || bracht' ich ein ein-  
zig Talent."

G. tried to alter this to remove the impure dactyl but Schl.  
preferred the original with the syllable 'schaft' short. So G.  
retained it. Later at Riemer's suggestion the same dactyl was  
transferred to the second hemistich.

Ep. 161. "Diese fünf natürlichen Dinge || verlang' ich vor  
allen,"

G. substituted 'wünsch' for 'verlang' to avoid the feminine  
caesura, but Schl. suggested: "Diese fünf natürlichen Ding'  
|| erbitt' ich vor allen", or the original with its faulty caesura  
rather than the new version with so many trochees. G. kept the  
original.

Ep. 163. "Dasz ich hören könne und lesen || der Völker  
Gewerbe,"

G. changed, with the approval of Schl., to: "Dasz ich der  
Völker Gewerb', || und ihre Geschichten vernehme."

Ep. 165. "Wollt ihr mir | Änsēhn beim Volke, mir | Einflūsz  
bei | Mächtigen geben."

G. altered, with Schl's. approval, to: "Ansehn gebt mir im  
Volke, verschafft bei Mächtigen Einflusz."

Ep. 195. "Gauklerin! Da ersah ich in dir das | Urbild der  
| Bübchen,"

G. altered to "in dir die Bübchen im Urbild", but Schl. fur-  
ther objected to the double occurrence of 'in', and suggested  
"in dir von den Bübchen das Urbild" or "zu den Bübchen,"  
which last G. accepted.

Ep. 206. "Denn du bist | alles zugleich || und bist ein | Engel  
dazu."

Schl. objected to the use of 'bist' where a short syllable is  
required. The first instance is not so bad, but the second, oc-  
curring between two still shorter syllables, could not be per-

mitted to stand. At the critic's advice G. adopted the following:  
 "Die du alles zugleich || bist, und ein Engel dazu."

Ep. 220. "Tönend die | Nēügiēr mīt | Macht || in dēm vēr |  
 wunderten Ohr."

Schl. suggested avoidance of the impure dactyl by mere transposition of the ideas, thus: "Singend, mit | Mächt Nēü | giēr || in dem, etc." Strangely enough G. adopted this false accentuation, though Schl. was very hesitating in his advice. Nothing was done by either to remove the more serious defect of an unstressed word following the caesura.

Ep. 236. "Wieder stehest und läufst, || eben als wär' nichts geschehn."

Schl. felt that 'nichts' had greater logical content than 'wär', and to make the logical rendition coincide with the metric form, suggested 'eben ob nichts wär' geschehn'. G. adopted this, but with undoubted loss of clearness.

Ep. 242/3. "Eben als flechtest du laut || bēi dēn fünf | Wunden des Herrn.

Bei dem Herzen der seligsten | Jüngfräü, || bēim |  
 heiligen Anton,"

To remove the heavy dactyls and the feminine caesura Schl. suggested:

"Eben als flechtest du laut bei den Mirakeln  
 Antons,

Bei den fünf Wunden des Herrn, dem Herzen der  
 seligsten Jungfrau,"

or better still, "Bei des Herrn fünf Wunden". G. adopted this distich with the last mentioned phrase as the first hemistich of the hexameter.

Ep. 247. "Dichten ist ein lustiges | Händwērk; || nūr | find'  
 ich es teuer,"

Schl. suggested "ein lustig Gewerb'", but G. was not entirely pleased with the new term. However, he altered to "ein lustig Metier", thus removing the metrical difficulties, though falling short of the original in naturalness.

Ep. 253/4.

"Denn Gaukler und Dichter  
 Sind gar nahe verwandt, || ziehen sich |

überall | an."

Schl. objected to 'überall' as a dactyl, when it had been used twice so recently as an anapest. One might transpose to: "ziehen sich an überall", but that would be no real improvement. He suggested instead "suchen und finden sich gern", and this G. adopted.

Ep. 351. "Einen Dichter meint es zu bilden, || es wär' ihm gelungen,"

Schl. suggested: "Einen Dichter zu bilden, || die Absicht wär' ihm gelungen," or, if not this, then the feminine caesura must stand. G. adopted the amendment.

Ep. 378. "O so lász' | Frëchhëit ünd | Ernst || ferne vom Herzen dir sein."

Schl. asked whether 'so' could not be spared here, and G. struck it out.

Ep. 379. "*Die* will Amorn verjagen, in *der* gedenkt ihn zu fesseln,"

Schl. advised the use of italics, and G. followed the advice, though it must have seemed scarcely necessary.

Ep. 380. "Siehe, da lächelt ein Gott || beiden das | Gëgentheil | zu."

G. tried a correction which omitted 'beiden'. Schl. thought 'beiden' necessary to the sense, the true intention of the verse, and suggested: "Siehe, das Gëgentheil || lächelt da beiden der Gott." G. rejected this, but accomplished the removal of metrical difficulties by writing: "Beiden das Gëgentheil || lächelt der schelmische Gott."

Ep. 382. "Bleibe das Auge doch wach, || wenn mir es Amor nicht schlieszt."

Schl. preferred the indicative, 'bleibt', to the subjunctive, 'bleibe', and G. made the change.

Ep. 445. "Ach, mein Hals ist ein wenig geschwollen! || So sagte die Beste."

Schl. noted the improper caesura but could make no amendment. G. left it so. The same remarks apply to Ep. 461.

WdB. 61. "Auch Vergangenes zeigt euch Bakis; || denn selbst das Vergangne,"

Schl. advised the omission of 'denn' to avoid the feminine caesura, but G. refused to make the change, the sense requiring that conjunction.

WdB. 62. "Ruht, verblendete Welt, || oft als ein Rätsel vor dir."

Schl. suggested: "Ruht ja verblendete Welt, etc.," to remove the trochee from the first hemistich, but G. rejected this.

WdB. 103. "So den | Maulwurf, die | Wespe, die Würmer, || das Teufelsgezüchte,"

Schl. noted the impure dactyl, but not the caesura, probably because of a similar pause in the third foot, and declared that it would be hard to correct. G. altered to: "Maulwurf, Erdflöh, Wespe, die Würmer, das Teufelsgezüchte," thus avoiding the heavy dactyl.

WdB. 108. "Die sich am Ofen dir || leis' um die Ohren bewegt."

This might very readily be divided into hemistichs by placing the caesura between 'leis' and 'um'. To render this division impossible even for the unlearned reader, Schl. suggested: "Die am Ofen sich dir || leis' etc." G. rejected this for later editions, but accepted it for the MS. version.

WdB. 121. "Ein beweglicher Körper erfreut mich; || er wendet sich ewig."

Schl. suggested and G. adopted: "Erfreut mich; || ewig gewendet."

Jhrsz. 7/8. "Viele Veilchen binde zusammen, || das Sträuszen erscheint

Als eine Blume; du bist, || häusliches Mädchen, gemeint."

Schl. made several suggestions to avoid the caesura:

"Viele der Veilchen verknüpft in eins; || das Sträuszen erscheint

Blume nun erst: du bist, || etc.," or,

"Viele der Veilchen zusammen geknüpft; || etc.," or,

"Viele der Veilchen zusammen geknüpft; || es erscheint als Blume



Erst der Strausz; du bist, || etc." or, perhaps, instead of 'du bist, etc.' "ihr seid, || häusliche Mädchen, gemeint." Out of these suggestions G. made finally:

"Viele der Veilchen zusammen geknüpft; das  
Sträuszen erscheint  
Erst als Blume; du bist, || häusliches Mäd-  
chen, gemeint."

Jhrs. 12. "Ist es Ge | fühl? Öder | ist's || Muthwill? Wır  
| wissen es nicht."

Strange to say Schl. vetoed any change, unless it were to follow 'Muthwill' with a pronoun which begins with a vowel, as: "Muthwill? Ihr rathet es nicht." This was adopted.

Jhrs. 33. "Deine liebliche | Kleinhēit, dein | holdes Auge, sie  
sagen"

Schl. disliked the dactyl with three diphthongs in it, and suggested the substitution of 'und' for 'dein'. G. rejected it. Jhrs. 37. "Grausam handelt Amor mit mir, etc.,"

Schl. suggested 'erweiset — an' for' handelt — mit', to break up the series of trochees, and G. accepted.

Jhrs. 42. "Lebhaft treibet und reift, || sō wār dīe | Neigung  
zu dir."

Schl. considered 'so war die' as an entirely inadmissible dactyl, and suggested the omission of 'war', and the change to "Also die Neigung" or 'so auch die Neigung', but G. kept the original.

Jhrs. 49/50. "Schwer zu be|siegen ist | schon die | Nēigung;  
|| gē|sellet sich aber  
Gar die Ge|wōnhēit zū | ihr, || unüberwind-  
lich ist sie."

With the fullest approval of Schl. G. removed the faulty caesura and the most imperfect dactyl thus:

"Neigung besiegen ist schwer; || gesellet sich  
aber Gewohnheit,  
Wurzelnd allmählich zu ihr, || unüberwindlich  
ist sie."

Jhrs. 51. "Welche Schrift ich | zweimāl, jā | dreimal hinter-  
einander"

With approval of Schl. G. changed to 'zwei — ja dreimal.'  
 Jhrs. 57/8. "Eyn Ēpī | grāmm sēi zū | kurz, mir herzliche  
 Dinge zu sagen?"

Wie, mein Geliebter, ist denn || nicht nōch viēl |  
 kürzer der Kusz?"

Both verses were imperfect, but Schl. could suggest nothing to improve the hexameter. The pentameter he ventured to alter so: "Ist, mein Geliebter, denn nicht || kürzer um vieles der Kusz?" G. wrote later:

"Ein Epigramm sei zu kurz, mir etwas Herz-  
 liches zu sagen?"

Wie, mein Geliebter, ist nicht || kürzer der  
 herzliche Kusz?"

Jhrs. 65. "Alles wünscht' ich zu | hābēn, ūm | mīt ihr | alles  
 zu theilen."

Schl. remarked the logical stress must fall upon 'ihr', not 'mit', and suggested the transposition, "mit ihr um alles zu theilen." G. adopted this for the editions of 1808 and 1816, but, undoubtedly to restore the meaning which had been destroyed by the change, later editions returned to the original.

Jhrs. 97. "Schādliche | Wāhrhēit, wē | zieh' ich sie vor dem  
 nützlichen Irrthum."

Schl. objected to 'Wahrheit' in a dactyl unless followed by a truly short syllable with initial vowel, and offered: "Wahrheit, ich wähle sie mir vor, etc.," or "ich ziehe sie vor, etc.," and G. adopted the latter.

Jhrs. 116. "Wērth, mit zūm | Zwecke zu gehen, || mich nur  
 als Mittel begreift,"

Schl. insisted that the separable verb-particle 'mit' is certainly long, and suggested: "Mit zum Zwecke zu gehn || werth, nur als Mittel mich fasst." G. retained his own version, as being certainly more natural.

Jhrs. 143. "Fehlt die | Einsicht vōn | oben, der gute Wille  
 von unten"

To remove the impure dactyl Schl. suggested the omission of 'von' and the expansion of 'fehlt' to 'fehlet', thus: "Fehlet

die Einsicht oben," and G. adopted the recommendation, though it involved a distinct loss of symmetry and meaning.

Jhrsz. 145/6. "Republiken hab' ich gesehen, || und das ist die beste,

Die dem regierenden Theil || Lasten, nicht |  
Vörthēil gē|währt."

The defects were apparent here, but Schl. could find no improvement to offer. G. left the dactyl, but contracted to 'gesehen' to avoid the feminine caesura.

Jhrsz. 147/8. "Bald kennt, jeder den eigenen | Vörthēil, ||  
ünd | gönnet dem andern  
Seinen | Vörthēil, sō | ist || ewiger Friede ge-  
macht."

Here the same difficulties occurred, and Schl. suggested as follows, since he could find nothing better:

"Bald, es kenne nur jeder den eigenen, || gönne  
dem andern  
Seinen | Vörthēil, sō | ist || etc.," which G.  
adopted.

Jhrsz. 181. "Euch, Präconen des Pfuschers, Verkleinerer des  
Meisters, euch wünscht' ich"

Schl. objected to the elision in 'Verkleinerer' and to the use of 'euch' as short, suggested the omission of the latter, and certain changes of word-order, thus:

"Euch, Präconen des Pfuschers, des Meisters Ver-  
kleinerer, wünscht' ich," and G. changed ac-  
cordingly.

Jhrsz. 182. "Blas und in | Ohnmächtsgē|fühl || stümm hīēr  
ām | Ufer zu stehen."

Schl. said nothing in regard to the dactyls, but objected to the use of both words 'blass' and 'stumm'. He suggested: "Im ohnmächt'gen Gefühl || stumm hier am Ufer zu stehn", or, "Im ohnmächtigen Muth." G. changed later to 'Mit ohnmächtiger Wuth.'

Jhrsz. 192. "Freue des Meisters dich || ünd sō gē | niesze des  
Tags."

G. feared that the last hemistich would be usually read "und 50 gëniesze des Tags." Schl. voted for the retention of the original, though his reasons are not stated. G. made no change. Jhrs. 197. "Schwimme nur hin, du mächtige Scholle, || und kommst du als Scholle"

To avoid the feminine caesura G. corrected to: "Mächtige Scholle, schwimme nur hin, || und etc.," but Schl. objected to the resulting trisection of the hexameter, and suggested: "Schwimme, du mächtige Scholle, nur hin, || und etc." G. adopted this version.

If now we sum up this material, we find that fifty-five recommendations made are for the removal of a feminine caesura from the fourth foot of an hexameter. Of these twenty-three were accepted by G. and twenty-two rejected, a ratio of 3:2. Sixty-one recommendations are for the removal of impure dactyls. Of these thirty-one were accepted and thirty rejected, a ratio of 1:1. Twenty-two suggestions were made for the avoidance of a series of two or three trochaic feet at the beginning of a verse. Of these G. adopted thirteen and rejected nine, a ratio of about 4:3. Four were for the removal of weak trochees of the form | ♪ ♪ |, either at the beginning of the verse or in its body, and all were acted upon favorably. Eleven suggestions were made to make the logical stress of declamation coincide with the metrical scheme of the hexameter or pentameter, and only two were rejected by G. On the other hand, of the five recommendations to break up series of several amphibrachs, only one was acted upon favorably.

These one hundred and fifty-eight corrections affect one hundred and thirty-seven verses out of a total of one thousand five hundred and eighty-one verses in Goethe's *Elegien II*, *Episteln I, II*, *Epigramme*, *Weissagungen des Bakis*, and *Jahreszeiten*; i. e. only one verse in a dozen, on the average, was the subject of criticism, and for each verse usually only one error was condemned, though the ratio stands 1:1:14. Only ninety-one corrections were made either by a direct acceptance of a suggestion or by later efforts of Goethe himself, i. e. one to every seventeen verses.



This is certainly a very slight alteration, but it does not tell the whole story. In the first place, it is tolerably apparent that the rejection of a goodly number of changes suggested was based upon some other ground than a lack of validity in the criticism. The suggested alteration frequently brought in new evils as serious, at times more serious, than the one to be removed. It seems quite clear that Goethe acknowledged the illegitimacy of the feminine caesura in the fourth foot of an hexameter, though it was not to be banished at the expense of an awkward, unnatural, unmusical wooden verse. There is more uncertainty about his attitude toward the use of impure dactyls. Where they could be removed without too great cost in loss of naturalness and vivacity of thought, and symmetry of poetic structure, he was disposed to eliminate them, especially from the fifth foot.

In the second place, we must remember that these criticisms of Schlegel are merely an aftermath, so to speak. Goethe went through these poems himself, making many corrections here and there. Of these, when successfully made, Schlegel made no note at all, except in a few rare instances. His work was confined to such lines in need of revision as may have escaped Goethe's eye, or proved entirely refractory, or which may have been altered in some way not quite satisfactory to the metrical specialist.

If we examine the alterations of Goethe's own hand, in these same poems, we find them even more numerous than those recommended by Schlegel, no less than one hundred and ninety-one corrections being made, and, as will appear, almost all directly in line with those made at the latter's suggestion.

Numerous alterations are made to remove the feminine caesura from the fourth foot. Sometimes the mere elision of an unstressed 'e', as, *Liebe* > *Lieb* or *'gesehen'* > *'gesehn'*, makes the caesura masculine. Sometimes the expansion of a word by developing an unstressed 'e', or the omission of a monosyllabic word like 'so' or 'da', or the substitution of a word beginning with the stressed stem for one beginning with an unstressed

prefix, changes the offending caesura into the bucolic dieresis. Sometimes a simple transposition brings a monosyllable or an iambic word into the fourth foot, thus making a masculine caesura, where a trochaic word had made a feminine. When the change was so simple as this Goethe rarely failed to make it, unless an unpleasing hiatus resulted or the word-order became offensively unnatural. Sometimes a considerable alteration of phraseology was necessary, sometimes even a sacrifice of meaning or beauty. Here, Goethe balanced. If the change was readily suggested to his mind, and a version faultless in form could be made with no notable loss of poetic value, or one which was nearly as good, but seemed on the whole an improvement, he usually revised. If not, the feminine caesura was retained, not as good in itself, but relatively justifiable.

Instances of all these types of corrections occur in Goethe's own revision as follows: *Alexis und Dora*, vv. 17, 23, 39, 53, 57, 67, 75, 83, 89, 93, 99, 103, 107, 109, 157; *Der neue Pausias*, vv. 11, 23, 105; *Euphrosyne*, vv. 13, 31, 33, 51, 57, 67, 77, 99, 103, 115; *Das Wiedersehen*, vv. 3, 15; *Episteln I, II*, v. 42; *Epigramme*, vv. 17, 39, 79, 83, 141, 203, 205, 237, 251, 253, 255, 269, 271, 335, 393, 407, 417, 427, 441, 443, 461; *Weissagungen des Bakis*, v. 65; *Die Jahreszeiten*, vv. 27, 47, 53, 81, 93, 139, 167, 177, 189; a total of sixty-two instances. If we add these to the list corrected at Schlegel's suggestion, we have ninety-five corrections made, as against twenty-two positively rejected (95:22). Since only thirty-nine instances of this pause still exist in these groups of poems, and a few of these are due to restorations after they had been corrected for earlier editions, we see how critical the hunt after these errors was. Out of about one hundred and thirty-five in the original ninety-five were removed, or a little more than 70 per cent.

If we note the distribution of these remaining thirty-nine feminine caesurae, we may see still more clearly, perhaps, the principle on which the revision proceeded. There remain, in *Alexis und Dora*, four, (4:158); in *Der neue Pausias*, one, (1:128); in *Euphrosyne*, two, (2:152); in *Das Wiedersehen*,

*Amyntas*, and *Metamorphose der Pflanze*, none, (0:142); in *Hermann und Dorothea*, three, (3:46); in *Episteln I, II*, sixteen, (16:113); but since these are all hexameters a true comparative ratio is 8:163; in *Epigramme*, twelve, (12:466); in *Weissagungen des Bakis*, one, (1:128); in *Jahreszeiten*, none, (0:198). In the epistles and epigrams, where naturalness, ease of movement, or point and pregnancy are required, less change could be tolerated for mere form's sake. The total number of feminine caesurae removed from the first seven poems was about forty-four, the number remaining, ten, (44:10, or 77.3 per cent). From the remaining poems about sixty-one were removed, and twenty-nine remain, (61:29, or 67.7 per cent). It appears then that in poems of pure art Goethe practically acknowledged the universal validity of the demand that a feminine caesura should be avoided in the fourth foot of an hexameter.

If we turn to the second most important criticism of Schlegel, that respecting pure dactyls, we find that Goethe's own revision proceeded measurably in the same spirit. We find alterations made which remove the following heavy dactyls: in *Alexis und Dora*, vv. 15, 17. ' | Augenblick | ', v. 20, ' | Dieser all- | ', v. 43, 'Er | schien erst dem | ', v. 70, ' | denkbar be- | ', v. 110, ' | ja sie stand | ', v. 119, ' | Ausserdem | ', v. 149, ' | Diesmal, o | ' ; in *Der neue Pausias*, v. 85, ' | Zufall veh- | ' ; in *Euphrosyne*, v. 55, ' | Dankbar die | ' ; in *Das Wiedersehen*, v. 16, ' | Zehnmal der | ' ; in *Metamorphose der Pflanze*, v. 52, ' | Zwiefach her- | ' ; in *Episteln I, II*, v. 43; 'Ge | müth weit vor- | ', v. 46, ' | Scheitholz, wie | ', v. 47, ' | Schnell drang die | ', v. 50, ' | Strafe, Fahr | ', v. 51, ' | niemals ent- | ', v. 73, ' | Frühling mit | ', v. 76, ' | Sehnsucht im | ', v. 84, ' | einsam das | Leben durch | ', v. 89, ' | beten will | ', v. 113, ' | Wachsthum dem | ', v. 130, ' | seitwärts nach | ', v. 185, ' | nie hat nach | ', v. 211, ' | Krumm steht der | ', v. 222, ' | vorwärts zu | ', v. 238, ' | Armuth, sie | ', and ' | Armuth und | ', v. 249, ' | Müsiggang | ', v. 252, ' | Handwerk ver- | ', v. 262, ' | Willkür für | ', v. 270, ' | Welt erst so | ', v. 271, ' | Beispiel ge- | ', v. 276, ' | unklug



zu |', vv. 278/9, ' | ungeschickt |', v. 283, ' | Wahnsinn und |', v. 284, 'Pro | bierstein nicht |', v. 286, ' | Frankreich so |', v. 296, ' | unrein, so |', v. 306, ' | keiner mag's |', v. 313, ' | haben vier |', v. 319, 'ge | sehn hat der |', v. 338, ' | froh wollt ich |', v. 364, ' | nehm' er dies |', v. 367, ' | Zeit hat und |', v. 377, ' | rein ohne |', v. 380, ' | jene will |', v. 387, ' | aber bald |' v. 398, ' | traulich um- |', v. 412, marked for correction ' | Regel, fast |', v. 426, ' | rückwärts den |', v. 427, ' | südwärts. Doch |', v. 431, ' | Gott zū: be- |', v. 432, ' | Lüftchen, wenn |', v. 443, ' | Schicksal, ihr |', and 'er | trag ich dies |'; in *Weissagungen des Bakis*, v. 15, ' | Kahn dann ent- |', v. 48, 'Ge | rechtigkeit |'; in *Jahreszeiten*, v. 99, ' | Irrthum wohl |', v. 100, ' | Immer ist's |', v. 105, ' | keiner sei |', v. 114, ' | diesmal: leb' | wohl |', v. 118, ' | hinwirft: so |', v. 123, ' | Lutherthum |', v. 124, ' | Franzthum in |', v. 130, ' | niemals nach |', v. 132, ' | Vortheil er |', and ' | Gleichgewicht |', v. 164, ' | Schlafend, wo |' v. 172, ' | schlich nur tief |', and v. 190, ' | Feldherrn er- |'. Here are seventy-two instances of impure dactyls removed by Goethe himself. Added to the thirty-one removed at Schlegel's suggestion, we have the remarkable number of one hundred and three alterations made to thirty rejected (103:30), 77.4 per cent. This must be corrected however by further considering the number and kind of impure dactyls still remaining in the text. Not merely the thirty which Schlegel condemned and Goethe retained for various valid reasons, but many more of exactly the same class remain, which neither Schlegel nor Goethe touched, either because no emendation occurred to either, or by oversight, or by a desire on the critic's part not to seem hypercritical, or for whatever cause it may have been. There remain no less than one hundred and forty-five such dactyls, not counting many which are almost as objectionable and would have been condemned by Schlegel, a few years later, as entirely inadmissible. Of these dactyls, twenty-seven contain noun or adjective or verbal compounds like Knoblauch, Vortheil, Abscheu, Kunstwerk, vielfach, hinwirft; sixteen contain monosyllabic verbs as one short syllable, as ' | dich hat die |', ' | Menschen sind |', ' | so war die |', 'Ve | nedigs kann |', ' | nichts wär' ge- |', ' | Fromm bin und |'; ten contain strong adverbs, etc.,



as 'Regel, fast|', '|Stumm hier am|', '|etwas, dann|', '|wird hier vers|'; twelve contain lighter adverbs as 'wie', 'so' and 'da', which might readily be pardoned even by the severe critic; thirteen contain demonstratives, relative and interrogative pronouns, as 'Ge | heimnis, was |', '| hab' er dies |', '| nun ist dies |', 'ge- | sprochen, wer |', '| kennte, der (*rel.*)|'; two contain the conjunctions 'dasz' and 'denn'; eight are single words of three syllables, or contain words of two syllables which Schlegel considered long, as *Nachtigal*, *ungewisz*, *Schnupftabak*, *überall*, *Pilgrime*, '| jemand ge- |', '| diesen ün- |', '| Abends be- |'; fifty six contain one of the following suffixes as a syllable of the thesis, *ling*, *keit*, *heit*, *mal*, *mals*, *sam*, *bar*, *los*, *sal*, *schaft*. If the scansion were made still more strict the list might be increased considerably, but the attempt was made to include only such dactyls as were actually corrected from time to time by Goethe himself, or were recommended for correction by Schlegel at this time. Taking this list as a basis for comparison, Goethe corrected one hundred and three cases and left one hundred and forty-five standing (103:145, or 41.5 per cent).

The third principal criticism of Schlegel concerned the frequent occurrence of series of trochaic feet in the hexameter, especially at the beginning of the verse. It seems that he noted only a few of the offending verses, because they were too frequent to make criticism feasible. Of the twenty-two instances noted, thirteen were amended slightly. In Goethe's own revision we find but little attention devoted to this matter. In *Euphrosyne*, vv. 3, 73, are made more dactylic, and v. 125, was marked for correction on account of trochees. In *Amyntas*, v. 3; in *Metamorphose der Pflanze*, vv. 63, 65; in *Episteln*, I, II, vv. 6, 14, 80, 102; in *Epigramme*, vv. 1, 21, 45, 81, 89, 97, 105, 109, 139, 207, 233, 299, 327, 329, 335, 342, 371, 393, 415, 418, 419, 437, 451, 459; in *Weissagungen des Bakis*, v. 67; in *Jahreszeiten*, v. 129; in all, thirty-six changes, most affecting but a single foot, i. e., one verse in forty-four (1:44).

Weak trochees occurring in the body of a verse, or sometimes in the first foot, were condemned by Schlegel, and Goethe adopted every suggestion for their removal. His own work

shows evidence of the same condemnation. In *Alexis und Dora*, v. 84, effort is made to remove 'und die', from the first foot; in *Der neue Pausias*, v. 61, ' | दें दू | ' > ' | welchen du | ', and v. 79, ' | ॐ ich | ' > ' | dich nur | '; in *Epigramme*, vv. 11, 85, ' | immer | ', v. 99, ' | वॉ दें | ', are avoided, v. 119, ' | eine | ' > ' | jene | ', v. 151, ' | alle | ' > ' | sämtliche | ' ; in all only eight, a quite negligible number, though in a small number of other cases, changes made primarily to remove other faults, may add a few more to the list. We may assume that such weak feet rarely occurred in the body of Goethe's verse, so that few needed removal. They occurred with great frequency in the initial foot, and here they were tolerated by the poet with little scruple, since the Greek classics show a like toleration of irregularities here.

Schlegel's recommendations to make the normal accent, or logical stress, congruent with the metrical scheme, were not only generally accepted by Goethe, but he himself seems to have criticized his verse in the same spirit. This is particularly true of the pentameters, in which the caesura must be marked by two syllables of decided length occurring together in a framework of short syllables, such that he who runs may read without missing the melody or failing to feel the poetic content. Only ten such corrections were made by Goethe himself, but this is a fair number, considering how rarely he erred in accentuation except in the pentameter.

Goethe seems to have made no effort to ferret out series of amphibrachs in order to break them up.

Thus we see clearly that Goethe's own antecedent revision was proceeding upon the general principle of Schlegel's prosody. But we know further that his revision of the *Römische Elegien* was made while in personal association with Schlegel, and that the latter's counsel and suggestions were considered beneficial. An examination in detail reveals the fact, that Goethe was seeking the same kind of errors, and removing them in the same way here as in the pieces just examined and for which we have documentary evidence of Schlegel's work.

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(To be continued.)

WILHELMINE VON ZENGE  
UND HEINRICH VON KLEIST.

Von allen Personen, die den Lebensgang Heinrichs von Kleist kreuzten, wirkte keine so bestimmend auf sein Geschick ein, wie Wilhelmine von Zenge. Dass sie solchen Einfluss nicht beabsichtigte, nicht erstrebte, und dass sie ihn nur kurze Zeit ausübte, schwächt dessen Wichtigkeit nicht ab. Auch dass Wilhelmine von Zenge weniger durch das, was sie leistete oder ihrem Verlobten war, als vielmehr durch das, was er von ihr erwartete, was sie ihm werden sollte, ja wozu er sie erst heranbilden wollte, so nachdrücklich wirkte, beeinträchtigt die Bedeutung ihres Einflusses nicht. Sie führte einen Wendepunkt in Kleists Entwicklung herbei. Ohne ihr ungewolltes Eingreifen in seine Bahn wäre er, wie wir seinen Weg kennen, auf diesem noch einige Zeit und mit mehr Ruhe verharret. Sie wurde die Kraft, die ihn in beschleunigter Bewegung seinem wahren Ziele zutrieb. Das Verlöbniß zwang ihn, seine Fähigkeiten genauer zu prüfen und zu messen und dadurch seinen eigentlichen Beruf zu erkennen. Dass wir die einzelnen Phasen dieses seelischen Vorganges mit ziemlicher Deutlichkeit verfolgen oder unsere Kenntniss desselben aus den dadurch bedingten äusseren Ereignissen zu ergänzen vermögen, verdanken wir den Briefen, die Kleist seiner Braut in beiderseitigem Interesse glaubte schreiben zu müssen. Ohne diese wüssten wir über die Zeit, in der er aus dunklem Fühlen und triebkräftigem Ahnen zu immer hellerer Erkenntnis seiner Bestimmung sich hindurchrang, kaum etwas. Der schriftliche Verkehr mit Ulrike könnte eine Lücke an dieser Stelle niemals ausfüllen. Die Art, wie Ulrike, durch die Geschwister und sonstige Verwandte voreingenommen, sich zu ihrem Bruder verhielt, war einmal nicht oder doch wenig geeignet, den von Natur schon verschlossenen, schweisgsamen Mann zu rückhaltlosem Vertrauen, zu offener Aussprache der innersten Gedanken zu bewegen, zum andern machte der Umstand, dass Kleist mit seiner Schwester zusammen war, sei es, dass beide



im Elternhause lebten, sei es, dass sie mit einander reisten, einen brieflichen Gedankenaustausch überflüssig. Zu bedauern bleibt, dass Kleist die Mutter zu früh verlor. Den dürftigen Nachrichten zufolge, die über sie erhalten sind, war sie eine Frau von tiefem und zartem Gemüt, von liebevollstem Herzen. Ohne Zweifel hätte der Sohn ihr sein Herz ausgeschüttet, hätte sie ihn verstanden; sie hätte ihm werden können, was einem kaum weniger bedeutenden und sicher nicht weniger unglücklichen Künstler die Mutter, was Henriette Feuerbach ihrem Sohne Anselm war und bis über das Grab hinaus blieb.

Heinrich von Kleist war sich, wie aus seinen Briefen hervorgeht, dessen bewusst, dass Wilhelmine von Zenge eine tiefgehende Wirkung auf sein Dasein ausübte. Anfangs glaubte er zwar, sie würde nur eine reichere und schönere Erfüllung seines Lebensplanes, eine glücklichere Entfaltung seiner Natur bedingen; je mehr er aber versuchte, sie, unter Förderung ihrer Wesensart, seinem Willensbereiche einzubeziehen, um so deutlicher fühlte er, dass dies, wollte er seinem andern Ideale nicht untreu werden, eine erlebliche Aenderung, vielleicht völlige Neugestaltung seines Lebensplanes zur Folge haben müsse. Als diese schliesslich zur Notwendigkeit wurde, schied Wilhelmine von Zenge aus seinem Gedankenkreise. Sie war der Mittelpunkt einer Episode gewesen, zwar der glücklichsten und bewegtesten im Leben des Dichters, aber doch nur einer Episode. Der glücklichsten; denn mit dem Sonnenschein dieser Zeit hat Kleist noch lange hausgehalten; wie er nachmals selbst bekannte, hätte er

"nicht um Rom und seine Tempel,  
Nicht um des Firmamentes Prachtgebäude  
Des lieben Mädchens Laube hingetauscht."

Ob Frau Professor Krug etwas des tiefen Wehs verspürte, das in Erinnerung an ein unwiderbringlich verlorenes Glück seinem Herzen entquoll, als sie seine bange Frage las?:

"Wann kehrt ihr wieder, o ihr Augenblicke,  
Die ihr dem Leben einz'gen Glanz erteilt?  
So viele jungen, lieblichen Gestalten,  
Mit unempfundnem Zauber sollen sie  
An mir vorübergehen? Ach, dieses Herz!  
Wenn es doch einmal noch erwarmen könnte!  
Hat keine Schönheit einen Reiz mehr, der  
Mich rührt? Ist sie entflohn, die Zeit der Liebe?"



Wie aber beurteilte Wilhelmine von Zenge ihre Beziehungen zu Heinrich von Kleist, was ist Kleist ihr gewesen? Die wenigen Aeusserungen, die als Erwiderung hierauf hätten gelten können, stammten aus weit vorgerückter Zeit und waren von des Dichters erwachendem Ruhme wohl nicht ganz unabhängig. Ihr "grösster Wunsch war es, dass er an der Seite eines anderen weiblichen Wesens glücklich werden möchte." "Wunderbare Fügungen des Himmels," meinte sie, "haben mich von Kleist getrennt." Entschuldigend erinnerte sie an sein "unglückliches Gemüt", beteuerte, er werde ihrem "Herzen immer wert bleiben," und hat, wie sie 1823 erklärte, es "nie bereut, nicht seine Frau geworden zu sein." Soviel also ist sicher, dass Wilhelmine von Zenge, wenn überhaupt, ziemlich spät geahnt hat, was sie ihrem Kleist werden sollte: nicht nur das geliebte, liebende Weib, die Mutter seiner Kinder, die fürsorglich schaffende Gehilfin; sondern vielmehr der treueste Gefährte und beste Freund, und endlich die göttliche Muse, der Kern seines Liedes, das lauschende Volk, die strengste und höchste Richterin.

Die angeführten Aussprüche wurden, wie bemerkt, zwei Briefen entlehnt, die ein Jahrzehnt und mehr nach dem Tode Kleists geschrieben sind. Ausser diesen kannte man noch einen, an Heinrich von Kleist gerichteten Brief, der, wenn er auch deutliche Züge Kleistschen Einflusses aufweist, im übrigen jenen jüngeren auffallend ähnlich ist. Wilhelmine von Zenge ist sich also merkwürdig gleich geblieben. Dies bestätigt auch ein vierter Brief, den Dr. Martha Krug-Genthe im vorigen Jahre in dieser Zeitschrift veröffentlichte. In diesem neuen Briefe schilderte sie ihrem späteren Gatten Traugott Krug ihre Jugendzeit, wobei sie natürlich vor allem die obige Frage beantwortete, indem sie ihre Stellung zu Heinrich von Kleist erörterte. Ihren Worten wohnt, da sie noch unmittelbar unter dem Eindrucke aller Erlebnisse einer jungen Vergangenheit stand, ein besonderer Wert inne. Dr. Martha Krug-Genthe hat sich durch die Bekanntmachung jenes Schreibens ein Verdienst erworben, dem man, meines Erachtens, am besten da-

durch gerecht wird, dass man diese Mitteilung durch Vergleiche mit den Ergebnissen der Kleistforschung würdigt.

Wilhelmine von Zenge schrieb diesen Brief an Krug in der Gewissheit, dass sie in einen neuen Lebensabschnitt eintrete. Die Beziehungen zu Kleist waren gelöst; das lag als abgetan hinter ihr, und sie beurteilte ihr Verhältnis zu ihm mit einer unverkennbaren Kühle. Der Schatten, der sich über das Vergangene breitete, wurde in dem Masse tiefer, in welchem das Licht heller erstrahlte, das sie vom Zukünftigen erhoffte. Sie zog vor Krugs -Augen das Facit in dem Hauptbuche ihrer Jugend und empfand es mit Befriedigung, dass das "Soll" hinter dem "Haben" zurückstände.

Der Brief<sup>1</sup> des Fräuleins von Zenge setzte eine Aussprache fort, welche sie mit Krug am Abend des 15. Juni 1803 im Hause des Predigers Ahlemann<sup>2</sup> gepflogen hatte. Wenn Krug wünschte, sie "möchte weniger geheimnisvoll sein," so wollte er mit dieser prononcirtten Wendung doch nichts anderes als eine Aufklärung über ihr Verhältnis zu Kleist erzielen; denn dass sie diesem nahe gestanden, war in dem kleinen Frankfurt a. d. Oder und am wenigsten in den Kreisen, in welchen Offiziere und Gelehrte einander begegneten, nicht verborgen geblieben. Sie verstand die leise Anspielung auch in dem beregten Sinne; denn sie bemühte sich, ihm den "wichtigsten und interessantesten" Teil ihres Lebens zu beschreiben. Hält man nun ihre ersten Worte: "Ihnen werde ich nie etwas verheimlichen"; "es hängt ganz von Ihnen ab, alles, was meine Person betrifft, von mir zu erfahren. Da ich so sehr wünsche, dass Sie mir ganz Ihr Vertrauen schenken"—mit Aussprüchen wie "mit Ihrer näheren Bekanntschaft fühle ich immer mehr, dass ich für Sie und Sie für mich geschaffen wären, ich war so glücklich, Ihnen zu gefallen und hoffe Ihrer nicht unwert zu sein," und ich kann "versichern, dass ich noch nie so von

1) In dem Druck im 'JOURNAL' (Vol. VI, Nr. 3; April 1907) glaube ich ein paar. Versehen berichtigen zu können: auf S. 438, Zeile von oben ist doch wohl 1 "Wunsch" statt des "Versuch" zu lesen; sollte S. 434, 9 nicht "seine Schwester, wir und noch einige," und auf S. 435, Zeile 9 von unten "Fragen auf, welche ich" . . . in der Handschrift interpungiert sein?

Zweifelhaft erscheint mir noch, ob auf S. 434, 7 v. o. und auf S. 435, 11 v. u. wirklich "Colegia" statt Collegio geschrieben steht.

2) Ueber Ahlemann vgl. meine "Anmerkungen" in Kochs "Studien z. vergl. Litgesch." III. Bd. (1903), 3, S. 354.

ganzem Herzen liebte, als ich Sie liebe," zusammen, so ersieht man, dass Krug ein gewisses Recht auf eine solche Erklärung hatte; denn ein Geständnis seinerseits muss dieser Unterhaltung unmittelbar voraus gegangen, vielleicht gar an jenem Abend erfolgt sein. Erwägt man, dass Kleist den letzten Brief an Wilhelmine von Zenge am 20. Mai 1802 auf der Aarinsel bei Thun schrieb, welchen sie schwerlich vor Juni in Händen hatte, so will mir scheinen, dass sie den Bruch mit Kleist ziemlich leicht überwunden habe. Die Bekanntschaft mit Krug muss schon einige Wochen vorher begonnen haben. Wenn es in dem neuen Briefe heisst: "Gleich nachdem ich Sie zum erstenmal bei Ahlemanns gesprochen hatte, sagte ich zu meiner Schwester: der Mann gefällt mir," so deutet dies, wie wir sehen werden, auf den April 1802. Wilhelm Traugott Krug trug als "Professor philosophiae extraord." seinen Namen am 3. Dezember 1801 in das Inskriptionsalbum der Viadrina ein. Aus seiner "Lebensreise in sechs Stationen," einer Autobiographie, die nicht nur um ihrer mehr als törichten Form willen einem Philosophen schlecht ansteht, erfahren wir, dass, als Krug im Hause des Generals von Zenge "nach und nach mehr Zutritt" fand, die Töchter, "deren nicht weniger denn sieben waren," im Alter von zweiundzwanzig bis zu zwei Jahren standen, welche Angabe auf den April 1802 führt. "Die älteren Töchter sah ich auch oft"—fährt Krug fort—"bei einem Prediger, Namens Ahleemann, der sie unterrichtet hatte und mein vertrauter Freund war.... Die älteste gefiel mir vornehmlich wegen ihrer sanften Gemütsart." Da Wilhelmine von Zenge mit Krug am 8. Januar 1804 in der Marienkirche zu Frankfurt an der Oder getraut wurde, so ist seine Bemerkung, der Bräutigamstand habe "etwas lange gedauert," mit der Annahme, die Verlobung habe im Juni 1803 stattgehabt, kaum in Einklang zu bringen, wenn nicht vorausgesetzt werden darf, dass damals über die gewohnheitsmässige Dauer der Brautzeit andere Anschauungen geherrscht haben als heute.

Alles, was vor der Kleistepisode lag, skizzierte Wilhelmine von Zenge nur; sie sagte nichts über ihren Bildungsgang, be-



rührte die Kindheit, die doch immer an heiteren und durch das Unbewusste ihrer Art charakteristischen Zügen des Interessanten genug bietet, mit keinem Wort und eilte atemlos vorüber an Städten und Personen, um desto länger bei dem verweilen zu können, was ihrem Auserwählten das wichtigste war. Wilhelmines Vater, August Wilhelm von Zenge, hatte unter Friedrich dem Grossen im Regiment von Forcade sich zeitig durch Umsicht und Tapferkeit hervorgetan. In demselben Regiment, das nachmals von Lichnowsky und endlich von Winning hiess, stieg er im Laufe einer langen Dienstzeit bis zum Obersten empor. Als Hauptmann hatte er am 3. Dezember 1776 Charlotte Margarete, die zweite Tochter des verstorbenen Oberstlieutenants Christoph Heinrich von Wulffen, heimgeführt. Am 5. Februar 1799 erhielt von Zenge das Infanterieregiment in Frankfurt a. d. Oder und wurde am 20. Mai bei der Revue zum Generalmajor befördert. Dass Wilhelmine von Zenge "sehr einfach und häuslich" erzogen wurde, erfreute auch Heinrich von Kleist; er rühmte an ihr, dass sie "anspruchslos und genügsam" sei. Was sie ihrem Bräutigam von dem Berliner Leben zu erzählen wusste, weicht von dem, was andere darüber mitgeteilt haben, nicht ab. Wenn Kleist sie gefragt hatte: "Bist Du an Pracht und Verschwendung gewöhnt? Sind die Vergnügungen des Stadtlebens nicht auch flache Freuden für Dich?" so durfte sie Krug bekennen: "mit Freuden kehrte ich wieder in unsere stille Häuslichkeit zurück." Dass bei dem lebenslustigen jungen Mädchen ein Vergleich der preussischen Hauptstadt, mit ihren glänzenden Festen und den mannigfachen Zerstreuungen, mit der kleinen Universitätsstadt sehr zu Ungunsten dieser ausfiel, ist begreiflich. In den Sätzen: "doch war mein Herz noch von keinem Manne besonders gerührt worden," und: "keiner hatte besonders Teil an meiner Traurigkeit bei dem Abschiede von Berlin," muss das "besonders" betont werden; denn "gerührt" war das Herz worden. Sie muss wenigstens Heinrich von Kleist einen kleinen Flirt gebeicht haben; denn er schrieb ihr am 20. August 1800: "Ich habe auch Deinen lieben Wit-



tich in Berlin gesehen und gesprochen, und finde, dass mir mein ehemaliger Nebenbuhler keine Schande macht. Ich habe zwar bloss sein Aeusseres, seine Rüstung, kennen gelernt, aber es scheint mir, dass etwas Gutes darunter versteckt ist. Ich würde aber dennoch den Kampf mit ihm um Deine Liebe nicht scheuen. Denn obgleich seine Waffen heller funkeln als meine, so habe ich doch ein Herz, das sich mit dem besten messen kann; und Du, hoffe ich, würdest entscheiden, wie es recht ist." Dieser junge Offizier, Karl August von Wittich, ein Pfarrerssohn aus der Mittelmark, war damals Lieutenant in dem Infanterieregiment von Kunheim in Berlin. Da in diesem Truppentheil Karl von Zenge, Wilhelmines ältester Bruder, sein Kamerad war, so ist nicht ausgeschlossen, dass sie ihn bisweilen auch im Hause ihrer Eltern sah. Karl von Zenge ist der "sehr geliebte Bruder", den sie "sehr ungern" in Berlin zurückliess. Da sie seiner am Schluss des Briefes noch einmal gedachte, darf an dieser Stelle gleich erwähnt werden, dass Karl, ehemals Eleve der "Académie militaire", am 30. Januar 1802 an einem "Entzündungsfieber" starb, nachdem er wenige Wochen zuvor, am 3. Dezember 1801, frisch und gesund die silberne Hochzeit seiner Eltern in Frankfurt mitgefeiert hatte.

Die Familie von Kleist liess es sich angelegen sein, die Zenges Berlin vergessen zu machen. Namentlich verpflichtete der Lieutenant Leopold von Kleist sich die Familie seines Regimentschefs. Wilhelmine von Zenge nannte ihn einen "sehr fröhlichen jungen Mann", und sein Humor, seine gute Laune muss auf die Zengeschen Töchter einen unverlöschlichen Eindruck gemacht haben; denn noch 1821 erinnerte sich Louise von Zenge dieses immer heiteren Jugendgefährten. Sie begleitete im Herbst dieses Jahres die Familie des österreichischen Feldmarschalllieutenants Freiherrn von Koller, desselben, der 1814 Napoleon von Fontainebleau nach Elba geleitet hatte, nach Neapel. Einen besonders interessanten Abschnitt aus ihren anmutigen und oft geistvollen Reiseberichten konnte ich im "Hohenzollern - Jahrbuch" (Bd. VI, S. 102—114) veröffentlichen. Als Louise von Zenge Ende September 1821 die

einzelnen Glieder des Hauses von Koller kennen lernte, charakterisierte sie auch den Sohn, indem sie an ihre Familie nach Leipzig schrieb (ungedruckt): "August Koller, ein Jüngling von siebzehn bis achtzehn Jahren, voller Uebermut und närrischer Streiche in Leopold Kleistscher Manier." In einem späteren (gleichfalls ungedruckten) Briefe vom 8. Oktober 1821 belegte sie, kurz bevor die Reisegesellschaft die italienische Grenze erreichte, diese Behauptung, indem sie als Beispiel für die "Leopold Kleistsche Manier" anführt, August von Koller habe, als von Ludwig XVI. gesprochen worden sei, gesagt: "Das ist der, der den sanften Tod auf der Guillotine gestorben ist."

Zenges verloren ihren "angenehmen Gesellschafter", als Leopold von Kleist am 13. Juli 1799 in das Regiment Garde, welchem sein Bruder bis zum April desselben Jahres angehört hatte, versetzt wurde. Leopold von Kleist tauschte nämlich, wie ich einer, zufällig in einer alten Berliner Zeitung gefundenen Notiz entnehme, mit dem Secondelieutenant Friedrich Wilhelm Karl von Brockenburg, einem Thüringer, der vier Monate früher als Heinrich von Kleist beim Regiment Garde eingetreten war. Auf diese Weise bekam unser Dichter einen ehemaligen Kameraden nach Frankfurt a. d. Oder. So lange der jüngere Bruder die Pflichten der Ritterlichkeit an den Schwestern und deren Freundinnen erfüllte, konnte Heinrich von Kleist sich allem geselligen Treiben fernhalten. Des ersteren Fortgang nötigte ihn dann, wie ich, seine Worte umdeutend sagen möchte, dem "schöneren, dem menschlicheren Teil seines Wesens" mehr Rechnung zu tragen, als es bis dahin geschehen war. Die inneren Motive, die ihm das öftere Verweilen in der Familie von Zenge erwünscht machten, legte er seiner Schwester Ulrike in dem Brief vom 12. November 1799 ausführlich dar, was ihm zugleich Veranlassung bot, das zu erklären, worüber Wilhelmine von Zenge zu klagen hatte, dass er "sehr melancholisch und finster" sei und wenig gesprochen habe. Dass er in einem "musikalischen Hause", wie Krug es ausdrückt, in welchem "zuweilen kleine Concerte gegeben wur-

den," mit der ältesten Tochter "spielte und sang," ist für einen der Musik leidenschaftlich ergebenen Mann, wie Kleist es war, nur natürlich. Dieser Umstand hat gewiss das seine dazu beigetragen, dass er sich in Zenges "Gesellschaft zu gefallen schien"; dass es in diesem Kreise "Minette" war, die ihn vor allen anzog, gestand er seiner einzigen Vertrauten, Ulrike, in dem eben angeführten Briefe: sie "hat sogar einen feineren Sinn, der für schönere Eindrücke zuweilen empfänglich ist; wenigstens bin ich zufrieden, wenn sie mich zuweilen mit Interesse anhört, ob ich gleich nicht viel von ihr wieder erfahre." Den Gegenstand des Gesprächs bildeten bald des öfteren die Vorlesungen, die Kleist über Experimentalphysik im Sommer-Semester 1799 bei Wünsch hörte. Sie erfüllten ihn so mit Begeisterung, dass er sie "eine Brunnenkur zum Nutzen und Vergnügen" nannte. Seine Freude daran bewog schliesslich die Damen seiner Umgebung dazu, den Professor Wünsch um eine Wiederholung dieses Collegs zu bitten. Dass Wünsch diesem Gesuch entsprach und in der Zeit vom 18. November 1799 bis zum 9. April 1800 "Experimentalphysik nach Erxleben für eine geschlossene Gesellschaft von zwölf illiteratis" lehrte, habe ich an anderer Stelle beigebracht. Kleist selbst fand dabei Gelegenheit, seinen pädagogischen Neigungen Genüge zu tun. Bald trieb ihn die Lust am Dozieren dazu, auch andere Wissensgebiete seinen Schülerinnen zu erschliessen. Dass er gerade den grammatischen Unterricht benutzte, um seiner anmutigen Jüngerin sein Herz zu öffnen, dürfte man als Mittel, auch die trockensten Lehrsätze der Lernenden interessant zu machen, wohl nur Lehrern seiner Grösse hingehen lassen. Sehr umständlich schildert Wilhelmine von Zenge, was sich an jene sprachlichen Uebungen anschloss, und bei der Art, wie Kleist ihr seine Liebe gestand, und wie sie sein Geständnis aufnahm, erweist sie sich von einer Gründlichkeit, deren Absicht nicht ganz so deutlich hervorgekehrt zu werden brauchte und bei welcher einzelne Töne wie: ich "war ihm gut wie einem Bruder," und: "leider konnte ich es nicht verhindern, ihn wieder zu sehen," zu Disharmonien wer-



den, die bis in den Schlussakkord nachklingen. Was in Wilhelmine den Glauben erweckte, er "zöge ihre Schwester Lotte ihr sehr vor," erfahren wir nicht. Sie konnte nicht ahnen, als sie diese Worte schrieb, dass Charlotte von Zenge zur Familie von Kleist einst in ein gewisses Verwandtschaftsverhältnis treten sollte. Im Jahre 1814 wurde sie nämlich die zweite Frau des Rittergutsbesitzers Philipp von Stojentin, der in erster Ehe, seit 1794, mit Friederike von Kleist (starb 1811, einige Monate vor unserem Dichter) verheiratet gewesen war. Charlotte von Stojentin geb. von Zenge verkehrte allem Anscheine nach innig mit den Geschwistern von Kleist. Für unseren Dichter bewies sie noch lange nach seinem Tode Teilnahme. Sie war es aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach, die, als Ulrike von Kleist sie auf ihrem Gute Schorin in Pommern besuchte, sie dazu zu bewegen vermochte, ihr den Lebensweg Heinrichs von Kleist zu beschreiben. So entstand ein Manuskript, das, wie ich heute weiss, durch die Familie von Zenge an Professor Rudolf Schwarze kam, welcher wiederum es mir schenkte, jenes Manuskript, das unter seinem Titel: "Was mir Ulrike Kleist im Jahre 1828 in Schorin über Heinrich Kleist erzählte," von mir 1903 im "Euphorion" (Bd. X, S. 105—152) veröffentlicht wurde.<sup>1</sup> So war es Charlotte von Stojentin, durch deren Gedenken des einstigen Freundes wir zu mehreren recht wichtigen Nachrichten über das Leben des Dichters gelangten.

Louise war sicherlich die geistig bedeutendste unter den Zengessen Töchtern. Dass Wilhelmine sie zu ihrer Vertrauten machte, fand auch Kleists Billigung. "Trüsse Alles," schrieb er einmal der Geliebten, "wenigstens Luise, der Du alle meine Briefe zeigen kannst." Ihre Mittelstellung trug ihr den Ehrentitel der "goldenen Schwester" und, gleichfalls von Kleist, einen ebenso langen als gehaltvollen Brief aus Paris ein, und als sie, die Bitte ihrer Schwester unterstützend, ihn

1) Ich muss um des Ausdrucks willen, mit welchem mir der ebenso feinsinnige als gelehrte Rudolf Schwarze am 6. September 1899 das Manuskript übergab, Wert darauf legen, dass ich es von ihm selbst erhielt, und dass es, gleich der Silhouette Wilhelmnes von Zenge, die ich einigemale zur Veröffentlichung hergab, nicht aus seinem Nachlass, wie dies verschiedentlich dargestellt wurde, in meinen Besitz gelangte.



anging, in die Heimat zurückzukehren, war ihm "Luisens Vorschlag um des Wohlwollens willen, das ihn gebildet hat, innig rührend." Da er seine Dankbarkeit nicht anders betätigen konnte, gebot er seiner Wilhelmine: "Küsse Luisen, und bitte sie, ein gutes Wort für mich bei dir einzulegen. Sage ihr," fügte er dann hinzu, "dass wenn mir keine Jugendfreundin zur Gattin würde, ich nie eine besitzen würde. Das wird sie bewegen—". Luise von Zenge bewahrte dem Freunde stets ein treues Gedenken. Diesem entsprang die Freude, mit welcher sie der Schwester von Thun aus am 24. Mai 1831 melden konnte, dass sie tags zuvor Kleists Bild "gefunden und erobert" habe, und dass es ihr eine grosse Genugtuung gewähre, der Familie dies einzige Portrait zurück bringen zu können. Dass Wilhelmine in dem neuen Briefe dieses Gemälde als "sehr ähnlich" bezeichnete, erhöht die Bedeutung desselben wesentlich.

Die ersten Briefe Kleists an Wilhelmine von Zenge, auf welche sie in ihrer Darstellung mehrfach Bezug nimmt, sind wahrscheinlich verloren gegangen, selbst der, in welchem er um sie bei dem Vater warb, ist nicht erhalten. Statt dessen wissen wir, dass er ihn nicht abschickte, ohne dass Wilhelmine ihn begutachtet hätte. Wenn er sie fragte: "Habe ich in dem Briefe an Ihren Vater zu kühn in Ihre Seele gesprochen?" und dann hinzusetzte: "Wenn Ihnen etwas darin missfällt, so sagen Sie es mir morgen, und ich ändere es ab," so ist auch das ein Beweis dafür, dass er "sich so viel Mühe" gab, wie Wilhelmine es ausdrückte, "dem Bilde ähnlich zu werden," das sie ihm von dem Manne entworfen hatte, wie er "nach ihrem Sinn" war.

Die Eltern machten als welterfahrene Menschen ihre Einwilligung natürlich von der Bedingung abhängig, dass die Eheschliessung erst erfolgen sollte, nachdem der Verlobte in einem Amte die wirtschaftliche Grundlage für einen Hausstand erworben habe. Zu einer öffentlichen Verlobung kam es wohl nicht; andernfalls hätte Kleist die Sendung seines Portraits am 9. April 1801 nicht mit einer Aufforderung wie die folgende

begleiten können: "Mache, wenn Du willst, überhaupt gar kein Geheimnis mehr aus unserer Liebe, trage das Bild öffentlich, ich selbst habe es hier...gezeigt, und Alle wissen, für wen es bestimmt war. Nenne mich Deinen Geliebten, denn ich bin es." Eine Anstellung im Staatsdienst war ihm so gut wie sicher. Das Versprechen des Königs, auf das Wilhelmine ihre Hoffnung baute, lag in der bereits bekannten Cabinetsordre vom 13. April 1799 vor: "Ich habe gegen Euern Vorsatz, Euch den Studien zu widmen, nichts einzuwenden, und wenn Ihr Euch eifrig bestrebet, Eure Kenntnisse zu erweitern, und Euch zu einem besonders brauchbaren Geschäftsmanne zu bilden, so werde ich dadurch auch in der Folge Gelegenheit erhalten, Mich zu zeigen als Euer pp..."

Mit demselben regen Fleisse, mit dem Kleist den Studien oblag, war er bemüht, das Erworbene andern mitzuteilen, auch ihnen das Glück zu bereiten, das er in der Mehrung seines geistigen Besitzes fand. Dass Fräulein von Zenge sich gerade über diesen Punkt eingehend äussert, lässt uns einen tieferen Blick in seine damalige Interessensphäre tun. Man wusste, dass er ihr Wünsches "Kosmologische Unterhaltungen", die Schriften J. J. Rousseaus empfahl, mit ihr den "Don Carlos" und Vossens "Luise" las und ihr den "Wallenstein" schenkte; dass er sie zum Uebersetzen anleitete, ihr Urteil über bestimmte Bücher zu hören wünschte, sie aus anderen Auszüge machen liess, wusste man nicht. Dagegen sind viele von den Fragen, die sie in Aufsätzen ausführlich zu beantworten hatte, eine ganze Anzahl jener Vergleiche, zu denen er sie anregte, um ihren sechs Kindern eine zärtliche, sorgsame Mutter und eine aufbewahrt. Alle diese Uebungen waren keineswegs überflüssig; denn sie schrieb nicht nur "sehr fehlerhaft", sondern liess auch in mündlichem Ausdruck zu wünschen übrig. Krug berichtete von seiner Frau, sie sei "eine so echte Berlinerin" gewesen, "dass sie noch, als er ihre Bekanntschaft machte, zuweilen *mich* statt *mir* sagte, wie die Dresdnerinnen umgekehrt zuweilen *mir* statt *mich* sagen."

Für das gegenseitige Mit- und Durcheinander-Lernen bieten, ausser den bereits angeführten, die Briefe Kleists noch

viele Beispiele und nicht weniger Beweise dafür, dass jedes an seinem Teile sich bemühte, den Wünschen des Andern zu entsprechen, alle Anforderungen wechselseitig zu erfüllen. Für Kleist, da Wilhelmnes Briefe an ihn nicht bekannt geworden sind, möchte ich nur auf das Schreiben vom 11. und 12. Januar 1801, und auf die Worte hinweisen: "Weisst Du, welchen Erfolg an jenem vorletzten Abend Dein guter, vernünftiger Rat hatte, doch zuweilen mit Deinem Vater ein wenig zu sprechen? Ich tat es auf der Stelle."

"So lebten wir," meldete Wilhelmine von Zenge an Krug, "ein halbes Jahr sehr glücklich, da hatte er sein Studium hier beendet, er ging nach Berlin." Dies letztere geschah am 14. August 1800, und wenn das Sommer-Semester vielleicht auch noch nicht geschlossen war, wie es nach C. R. Hausens allerdings nicht immer zuverlässigen Angaben scheint, so ergibt sich aus dieser Bemerkung doch, dass Kleist drei Semester in Frankfurt studierte. Er fuhr nach Berlin, zunächst allerdings nicht, "um sich dort noch mehr zu vervollkommen," sondern um jene geheimnisvolle Reise, die ihn mit seinem Freunde Brockes schliesslich nach Würzburg führte, zu unternehmen. Es ist auffallend, dass Wilhelmine dieses Ereignis mit Stillschweigen überging. Während der Fahrt und von Würzburg aus schrieb Kleist ihr oft und meist leidenschaftliche Briefe; er datierte einen neuen Lebensabschnitt von dieser Reise, stellte sie als unumgänglich notwendig, als höchst wichtig und folgenscher Jar. Für mannigfache Andeutungen vertröstete er die Geliebte auf die mündliche Unterhaltung, die durch seine Erklärung dieser Briefstellen kurzweilig, ja weihevoll werden sollte, und trotzdem nannte Wilhelmine von Zenge nicht nur den Zweck, das letzte Motiv dieser Fahrt nicht, sondern erwähnte, was der Dichter später allerdings auch getan hat, die Reise mit keiner Silbe. Hat nun der Dichter ihr eine Erklärung nie gegeben, was ich für das wahrscheinlichste halte; war sie gar so, dass Wilhelmine Grund hatte, sie zu verschweigen, was ich für vollkommen ausgeschlossen erachte, oder wohnte dieser Erklärung für ihr gegenseitiges Verhältnis keinerlei Bedeutung inne?



Gerade an dieser Stelle hätte der Brief an Krug der Forschung die tiefsten Aufschlüsse geben können; dass er gerade an dieser Stelle versagt, ist um so bemerkenswerter, als Wilhelmine von Zenge den Inhalt der Kleistschen Briefe mit bewundernswerter Treue im Gedächtnis bewahrte. Zu vielen ihrer Aeusserungen war es, wie gezeigt wurde, nicht schwer, die Quelle in Kleists Briefen zu erweisen, ihre Zahl liesse sich leicht vermehren, und zu andern konnten oder könnten Parallelstellen leicht angeführt werden. Irrtümer liefen so verschwindend wenig unter, dass sie überhaupt nicht ins Gewicht fallen. Auf einen solchen habe ich zurückzukommen, sobald ich den Nachrichten Wilhelmines noch einen Schritt gefolgt bin.

Die Frist von "vierzehn Tagen" zwischen zwei Briefen ist kaum je innegehalten worden; sie war sehr oft kürzer. Zweier Aussprüche in Kleists Briefen entsinne ich mich hier. Am 21. Januar 1801 hiess es: "Nicht verloren nenne ich die Stunden, die ich Dir widme, aber ich sollte sie doch meinen, oder vielmehr unseren Zwecken nicht entziehen. Daher hatte ich auch zu Anfange nur etwa auf einen Brief für jede vierzehn Tage gerechnet; aber wie könnte ich schweigen, wenn Du mir so schreibst?" Gleich ergänzte er: "Ganz willige ich in Deinen Vorschlag, ein oder ein paar Wochen mit Schreiben zu pausieren, um nur dann desto mehr schreiben zu können. Sorge und Mühe muss Dir dieser Briefwechsel nie machen, der nur die Stelle eines Vergnügens, nämlich uns mündlich zu unterhalten, ersetzen soll." Wenn Wilhelmine von Zenge ferner erzählte: Kleist "hatte viel Geist, seine schnelle Fassungskraft wurde von allen seinen Lehrern bewundert, seine Phantasie war sehr lebhaft," so klang daraus eine Selbstbeurteilung Kleists wieder: "Ich bilde mir ein, dass ich Fähigkeiten habe, seltene Fähigkeiten, meine ich. Ich glaube es, weil mir keine Wissenschaft zu schwer wird; weil ich rasch darin vorrücke, weil ich manches schon aus eigener Erfindung hinzugetan habe—und am Ende glaube ich es auch darum, weil alle Leute es mir sagen." Dass dies sie anspornte, alle ihre Kräfte anzustrengen, kann nicht Wunder nehmen, und es gelang ihr offenbar, ihre "Talente aus-



zubilden"; denn Kleist versicherte sie des öfteren seiner Freude über ihre Fortschritte und ermunterte sie, auf diesem Wege fortzufahren. Er übersah es sogar einmal nicht, dass ihre Zeilen "schön oder künstlich geschrieben" waren.

Ein Irrtum war es, wenn sie schrieb: "Weihnachten vor zwei Jahren (i. e. 1800) kam er ganz unerwartet" in Frankfurt an. Sie hatte vergessen, dass er ihr seinen Besuch bereits am 22. November in Aussicht gestellt: "ich bringe Dir dann etwas mit," hatte er den Brief geschlossen. Was sie von ihm über seine Anstellung erfuhr, war gleichfalls in diesem Briefe enthalten gewesen: "Der Minister hat mich schriftlich eingeladen, mich anstellen zu lassen." Aehnlich teilte er drei Tage später seiner Schwester mit: "Der Minister drohte mir sogar schriftlich, dass, wenn ich mich jetzt nicht gleich anstellen liesse, sich in der Folge für mich wenig Aussichten zeigen würden." Nach einer solchen, für sie wenig erfreulichen Unterhaltung reiste Kleist nach Berlin zurück, und Wilhelmine von Zenge sandte ihm, noch ehe er geschrieben hatte, wie es scheint, am 8. Januar 1801, einen Brief, der ihn tröstete und bereuen liess, über seine Unzufriedenheit mit sich selbst geklagt und ihr in "übler Laune einen trüben Brief" geschickt zu haben. Was die Kantsche Philosophie, genauer die "Kritik der reinen Vernunft", in ihm angerichtet hatte, erfuhr sie jedoch erst am 22. März. Sie versuchte unmittelbar darauf in liebevollster Weise ihn auf andere Gedanken zu bringen, ihn "zu beruhigen", und er "ehrte" "die Kühnheit, mit welcher sie sich einer eigenen Meinung nicht schämte," selbst wenn sie "einem berühmten System widerspräche." Da sie ihm ihr Portrait geschenkt hatte, liess auch er sich malen; die Tasse hatte sie bereits vor der Würzburger Reise erhalten; denn er wies sie am 3. September 1800 auf die Inschrift hin. Kleist trat im April 1801 mit seiner Schwester zusammen die Reise nach Paris an. Es können damals aber unmöglich drei Monate zwischen zwei Briefen gelegen haben, da selbst die gedruckte Sammlung nur eine Lücke vom 15. August bis 10. Oktober aufweist. Und wenn dem selbst so gewesen wäre, hätte sie sich

an die Worte halten sollen, die er ihr kurz vor dem Abschied zurückgelassen hatte: "Ich werde Dir oft schreiben. Aber es mögen Briefe ausbleiben, solange sie wollen, Du wirst immer überzeugt sein, dass ich alle Abend und alle Morgen, wenn nicht öfter, an Dich denke. Dasselbe werde ich von Dir glauben. Also niemals Misstrauen oder Bangigkeit."—Am 10. Oktober 1801 wurde ihr auch die Absicht, in der Schweiz ein Bauerngut zu kaufen, mitgeteilt, jedoch nicht ohne die Aufforderung: "Denke jetzt vielmehr nur an das, was Dir in dieser Lage vielleicht weniger reizend scheinen mögte." Und nicht viel später (am 27. Oktober) konnte sie lesen: "Deine Einstimmung ist ein Haupterfordernis. Ich werde nichts Entscheidendes unternehmen, bis ich Nachricht von Dir erhalten habe." Wilhelmine, so darf man annehmen, antwortete ihm sogleich. Die Gründe, welche sie gegen seinen Plan geltend machte, sind zum Teil wenigstens aus Kleists Entgegnung auf diesen Brief ersichtlich. Wenn er sie dort auch zu entkräften versuchte, indem er meinte, sie könnten ihrer beiderseitigen "Vereinigung gar keinen Abbruch tun," so schmerzten sie ihn doch. Freilich die "Anhänglichkeit an ihr väterliches Haus" erschien ihm "ehrwürdig", für die anderen glaubte er "ein Missverständnis" annehmen zu müssen, noch andere aber, wie der, sie bekäme Kopfschmerzen im Sonnenschein, müssen ihm aber so "seltsam" vorgekommen sein, dass er ihr riet: "Ich wüsste kein besseres, herzlicheres Mittel, uns beide wieder auf die alte Bahn zu führen, als dieses: lass uns Deine beiden letzten Briefe vergessen." Es muss doch aus diesem Briefe deutlich heraus zu fühlen gewesen sein, dass sie "schon lange aufgehört" hatte "zu wünschen", seine Frau zu werden, sonst hätte Kleist ihr nicht gesagt: "Liebe Freundin, ich möchte nicht gern an Deiner Liebe zweifeln müssen, und noch wankt mein Glaube nicht.—Wenn es auch keine hohe Neigung ist, innig ist sie doch immer, und noch immer, trotz Deines Briefes, kann sie mich glücklich machen." Aber ihre Gründe müssen ihn, je länger er sie erwog, um so tiefer verletzt haben. Er antwortete ihr nicht auf ein Schreiben, das er "um die Zeit des Jahreswechsels" von

ihr erhielt. In diesem dürfte sie "ihn mit den rührendsten Ausdrücken in sein Vaterland zurückzukehren" gebeten haben, da Kleist in seinem letzten Briefe an sie hervorhebt, sie sei "noch einmal mit vieler Herzlichkeit auf" ihn "eingestürmt, zurückzukehren ins Vaterland," habe ihn "dann mit vieler Zärtlichkeit" an ihr "Vaterhaus und die Schwächlichkeit ihres Körpers erinnert" als an "Gründe, die es ihr unmöglich machen, ihm in die Schweiz zu folgen." Aus den Schlussworten dieses ihres Briefes aber: "wenn Du dies Alles gelesen hast, so tue was Du willst," "schien ihm einzuleuchten", dass er sich und ihr "das Widrige einer schriftlichen Erklärung" ersparen solle. Wilhelmine von Zenge erwartete trotzdem eine Antwort. Sie blieb natürlich aus, und als sie nach fünf Monaten des Harrens und Hoffens Kleists Aufenthaltsort von seinen Schwestern ausgekundschaftet hatte, wandte sie sich am 10. April 1802 wieder an ihn. Freilich "viel Gutes" bekam er nicht zu erfahren. Sie teilte ihm mit, dass ihr Bruder Carl gestorben sei, und welche üblen Folgen dieser Trauerfall für die ganze Familie gehabt habe. Sie klagte ihm in beredten Worten alles das, was sie in dem neuen Briefe auch Krug schilderte. Allein darin irrte sie, dass sie es zuletzt so darstellte, als seien diese trüben Tage über sie gekommen, nachdem sie Kleists letzten Brief empfangen habe, während doch, als sie am 10. April schrieb, diese grösstenteils überwunden waren. Kleist schrieb ihr, wie schon erwähnt wurde, den Abschiedsbrief am 20. Mai 1802. Den Satz darin: "Dein Brief weckt wieder die Erinnerung an Dich, die glücklicher, glücklicher Weise ein wenig ins Dunkel getreten war," steigerte Wilhelmine zu dem: "Nach einem heftigen Kampfe habe er es endlich dahin gebracht, mein Bild aus seiner Seele zu entfernen." Wir dürfen, wenn wir der eingangs angeführten Verse eingedenk bleiben, daran zweifeln, dass ihm dies je gelang, vielleicht, dass er es überhaupt versuchte. Für ihre Behauptung, "durch Leichtsinn habe er in Berlin sein Amt verscherzt," bot Kleists letzter Brief gar keinen Anhalt. Sie verwechselte diesen mit älteren Nachrichten. Von Paris aus hatte er seiner Braut am 10. Oktober 1801 geschrie-



ben: "Dazu kommt, dass mir, auch vielleicht durch meine eigene Schuld, die Möglichkeit, eine neue Laufbahn in meinem Vaterlande zu betreten, benommen ist. Wenigstens würde ich ohne Erniedrigung kaum, nachdem ich zweimal Ehrenstellen ausgeschlagen habe, wieder selbst darum anhalten können." Am selben Orte fanden sich dann noch die Worte: "Ich selbst habe freilich durch einige seltsame Schritte die Erwartung der Menschen gereizt; und was soll ich nun antworten, wenn sie die Erfüllung von mir fordern?" An diese Frage erinnerte dann sein letzter Brief in folgendem: "Ihr Weiber versteht in der Regel ein Wort in der deutschen Sprache nicht, es heisst Ehrgeiz. Es ist nur ein einziger Fall, in welchem ich zurückkehre, wenn ich der Erwartung der Menschen, die ich törichterweise durch eine Menge von prahlerischen Schritten gereizt habe, entsprechen kann. Der Fall ist möglich, aber nicht wahrscheinlich." Kleist schloss mit den Worten: "Liebes Mädchen, schreibe mir nicht mehr. Ich habe keinen andern Wunsch, als bald zu sterben." Trotzdem schrieb Wilhelmine von Zenge ihm, wie wir durch sie jetzt zum ersten mal erfahren, noch einmal. Die Bitte, "er möge wenigstens seine Freundin nicht vergessen," entsprang schwerlich einem edleren Gefühl als ihrem Mitleid. Für das Mitleid der Menschen, auch Wilhelmines von Zenge, aber konnte ein Kleist kaum etwas anderes empfinden als Verachtung. Was hätte er ihr zudem schreiben sollen? Von der "Schriftstellerei", an die er sich "nun mit Lust oder Unlust, gleichviel, machen" musste, konnte sie das, woran sein Herz hing, kaum würdigen, das fühlte er, und darum schwieg er.

"Meine Leidensgeschichte ist zu Ende," schloss Wilhelmine von Zenge pathetisch ihre Jugendgeschichte. "Die Wolken haben sich zerteilt, und ich sehe eine freundliche Sonne an meinem Horizonte aufgehen." Diese "freundliche Sonne" brachte Traugott Krug in ihr Sein. Er bot ihr, was Heinrich von Kleist ihr niemals zu bieten vermocht hätte, ein gesichertes Auskommen, gesellschaftlichen Rang und eine angenehme Häuslichkeit. Sie wurde ihrem Gatten eine gute Hausfrau,



ihren sechs Kindern eine zärtliche, sorgsame Mutter und eist Dame, die dem Amte ihres Mannes niemals etwas vergab. Es war so menschlich, dass sie so wählte, dass es niemandem beikommen möchte, sie um dieses Schrittes willen zu tadeln. Zudem gingen ihre geistigen Bedürfnisse nicht hoch; sie hatte dagegen, wie aus den Briefen ihrer Schwester Luise deutlich hervorgeht, eine kleine Schwäche für kulinarische Genüsse. Es wurde ihr zuteil, was Kleist ihr einmal gewünscht: "Du hättest ein so ruhiges Schicksal verdient....Du bist so vielen Glückes würdig."

Anderthalb Jahre nachdem Kleist ihr die letzten Zeilen gesandt hatte, wurde Wilhelmine von Zenge Frau Professor Krug. Wenige Monate vorher war die "Familie Schroffenstein" erschienen, anonym freilich, aber dennoch konnte F. L. Huber der Welt "die Erscheinung eines neuen Dichters" melden, "eines unbekannten und ungenannten aber wirklich eines Dichters!...eines rüstigen Kämpfers um den poetischen Lorbeer." Fiel dem Umfange nach diese "elende Schartek" gegen die Bände, mit denen Krug den literarischen Markt damals schon beschickt hatte, auch noch nicht ins Gewicht, so kann sich doch Krugs beste Schrift aus seiner reifsten Zeit dem Gehalt nach mit diesem Erstling der Kleistschen Muse nicht messen. Und wer war der Mann überhaupt, den Wilhelmine von Zenge einem Heinrich von Kleist vorzog? Fragen wir einmal seine Zeitgenossen, einige seiner Jünger, so hören wir seltsame Urteile. Dass Müllners Spiessgesellen Krug in einer literarischen Fehde als "Professor Kantchen" verspotteten, gereicht ihm nicht zur Unehre. Wenn aber Leopold von Ranke in Krugs Vorlesungen, trotzdem sie ihm durch "dialectische Bestimmtheit nützlich" wurden, "dürstte, von dem Kantianer zu Kant überzugehen," wenn Karl von Hase es in diesen Vorlesungen "nicht aushielt", so darf man es einem Dichter wie Platen nicht übel nehmen, wenn er in der "verhängnisvollen Gabel" sich vernehmen lässt:

"...Teures Leipzig, wo ich öfters Grillen fing!

Freilich in Kollegien hatten Langeweile wir genug,

Aber sonderlich bei Gottsched. Jetzo hat man sie bei Krug."

Wenn Krug auch gelegentlich als "unerschrockener Vorkämpfer des deutschen Liberalismus" gefeiert wird, so darf man nicht vergessen, dass ein so geistvoller Mann wie der gelehrte Domherr Dr. Tittmann ihn seiner Vielschreiberei wegen den "literarischen Hans Dampf in allen Gassen", und das mit vollem Recht, nennt. Was von all seinem Wortreichtum hat Krug überdauert? Eigentlich nichts. Sein System des "transcendentalen Synthetismus" ist so flach, dass es mit Mühe und kaum dem Namen nach sein Dasein in der Geschichte der Philosophie fristet. Der Umstand allein, dass Krug der Gemahl Wilhelmines von Zenge wurde, und dass diese Wilhelmine von Zenge einst von Heinrich von Kleist geliebt wurde, hat ihren und seinen Namen der Nachwelt überliefert.

*Frankfurt a. d. Oder.*

PAUL HOFFMANN.

## SOME DOUBTFUL CONSTRUCTIONS IN GERMAN GRAMMAR.

As far as the writer knows, the history of the construction *jemand Fremder* has not yet been written, nor have the exact boundaries of its present use been determined. *Fremder* was probably once felt as a partitive genitive plural, but is now undoubtedly felt as a masculine nominative appositive to *jemand*. Paul in his "Wörterbuch" mentions only the neuter form *jemand Fremdes*. Here *Fremdes* was originally a neuter genitive, but it is now constructed as an appositive to *jemand*. Sanders in his "Hauptschwierigkeiten", p. 190, regards the masculine form as dialectic. Blatz in his "Neuhochdeutsche Grammatik", II, p. 380, regards the masculine form as the regular one except in *jemand anders*, *wer anders*. The writer in his German Grammar, p. 195, on the basis of his own collection of materials also represents the masculine as the common form. In response to a personal inquiry a large number of prominent German scholars have informed the writer that the neuter is the usual form, a few replied that they know both, a few answered that they did not know the construction at all. A number considered the neuter as distinctively S. G. The writer, however, finds the masculine most frequently in the South, but also finds it in every part of the German-speaking territory. As opposed to this twofold appositional construction after *jemand*, *niemand*, indefinite *wer*, the writer finds after interrogative *wer* only the old genitive: *wer anders* (never *anderer*), *wessen anders*, *wem anders* (never *anderem*). Grimm in his "Wörterbuch" under *anders* gives, however, the masculine appositional forms *wem anderem*, *wen anderen*. Andresen in his "Sprachgebrauch", 7th ed., p. 271, doubts the existence of these masculine appositional forms and explains their failure to develop here by the clearness of the case form in the pre-

ceding *wem*, *wen*. The writer, however, in his "German Grammar", p. 196 (e. Note 1) quotes the form *wer anderer somebody else* used indefinitely, and he has since then found this form several times. Thus the appositional form is employed here altho *wer* clearly marks the case. The writer has not yet found this masculine form after interrogative *wer*, but he is not entirely convinced that it does not exist. He would be grateful for citations from modern authors in case of any of the constructions mentioned above, for these forms are rather infrequent and it may take him many years yet to gather full information here if he must depend upon his own collection of materials.

During the last three years the writer has noted in his reading of modern authors the various genitive forms of names of persons ending in a sibilant. Usage varies considerably here, but there seems to be a marked tendency to indicate the genitive here in print by an apostrophe, as in *Onkel Franz' Befinden*. This form is also the favorite where the genitive follows the governing noun altho this is strictly forbidden by a number of grammarians: *Isolde Kurz, die Tochter Hermann Kurz'* (Bartel's *Deutsche Dichtung*, p. 202). As the result of an extended investigation it appears that this form also prevails in foreign words, altho the writer in his German Grammar, p. 102, in harmony with other grammarians represents the endingless form with a preceding definite article as the common one here. In his recent readings the writer has found the form with the apostrophe in foreign nouns in every kind of literary style. *Thoas' letzte Worte* (Hermann Grimm's *Fragmente*, I, p. 98), *der ästhetische Wert der Dichtungen Dickens'* (Paul Hensel's *Thomas Carlyle*, p. 113), *Tacitus' Historien* (Stilgebauer's *Goetz Krafft*, I, p. 206), etc. The ending *-ens* was once widely used, especially in German words, but it is now largely confined to a few short Christian names, as *Hansens*, *Maxens*, etc. A number of grammarians are still endeavoring to favor and spread this usage, but the tendency toward the form with the apostrophe is not in any perceptible measure weakened.



This has aroused the wrath of Mr. Gustav Wustmann and his followers. They lament the helplessness of the German language which can mark the genitive only by a sign that is visible to the eye, but not audible to the ear. Professor Roedder of the University of Wisconsin has raised the question whether this charge that there is really no audible ending here is true. He believes that many Germans pronounce *sz'* or *s'* with double pressure, thus making a *slight* syllabic division in the middle so that a real double *S* is spoken. In response to a personal inquiry a large number of prominent scholars have informed the writer that they pronounce the *sz'* or *s'* with double pressure. It is to be hoped that this question will be further investigated. If there is really a double *S* it would be well to indicate it clearly placing the apostrophe before it to indicate the ending of the name itself. Mr. K. Erbe in his "Wörterbuch der deutschen Rechtschreibung", p. XVI, goes so far as to recommend it. In examining the literature of the last years the writer finds the usage quite frequently after *sch*, as in *Busch's Erzählung* (Professor Minor), but rarely after *sz*, *s*, or *z*. In one instance the ending *-es* occurs: *Meljanz'es Vater* (Martin's *Wolfram von Eschenbach Parzival*, II, p. XXV). Mr. Wustmann, however, finds a number of cases of the use of *'s* which he cites in his "Allerhand Sprachdummheiten", 3rd ed., p. 9, at the same time severely censuring the usage. It would, however, be a great gain to the language, if the form in *'s* should be regularly employed and find expression in the written language. It was once the rule to write *es* or *s* here: *Arthuses hof* (Wolfram's *Parzival*, 296, 25), *Artuss her* (ib., 326, 5). At one time the *s'* was in large measure lost also in English, but it seems to be the prevailing form to-day. The writer would be grateful for examples of *'s* after *sz*, *s*, *z* in the literary language and begs the readers of the *Journal* to send him such with accurate references. He is anxious to verify Mr. Wustmann's claim that it is used by many.

There is considerable fluctuation in the inflection of names and titles. The writer gives a rather full account of these fluc-

tuations in his German Grammar, pp. 99-108. He desires to view these facts in the light of their historical development. To-day title and name are often regarded as one and inflected accordingly: *das Bronzereiterstandbild Kaiser Friedrichs*. The case-ending is naturally added to the second word, as title and name are here considered as a compound noun. If the article precedes, the compound should be without an ending in accordance with the general rule that the proper name is not now inflected when it is preceded by an article: *die Werke des Professor Schmidt, die Kochstudien des Fräulein Klara*. In direct contrast to this usage the title may be inflected and the following name remain unchanged: *neben der Grabstätte der Gattin Herzogs Konrad des Roten* (Steinhausen's *Geschichte der deutschen Kultur*, p. 181), *die Schwester Königs Artus* (Martin's *Wolfram*, II, p. 445), *im Hause Meisters Lorenz* (Wilhelm Fischer's *Die Freude am Licht*, p. 181), *der Sohn eines Leibarztes des Königs Ernst August von Hannover* (*Hamburger Nachrichten*, Nov. 16, 1904). The inflection of the first word here, i. e. the title, destroys the idea of the unity of the two nouns. The fluctuation of usage here is great and it is impossible to establish a firm rule. It is, perhaps, true that the title and name are more commonly considered as one when the nouns are not preceded by an article, as in *das Reiterstandbild Kaiser Friedrichs*, but the opposite usage is quite frequent, as in the examples from Steinhausen, Martin and Fischer given above. When the article precedes, it is perhaps more common to inflect the title, but it even here becomes quite natural to consider the two nouns as one and leave them both uninflected when the combination of title and name is so familiar that they are really felt as one, as in *der Tod des Doktor Martin Luther*. This is always true of names of animals or lifeless objects, as in *an Bord des "Prinz Waldemar"* (boat). In case of weak titles of persons this is now rarely true, for the title is quite regularly inflected: *der Sohn des Grafen* (or *Herrn*) *Rechberg*. Formerly, however, non-inflection of the title is also found here. *Mache Er Herr Justen den Kopf nicht*

warm (Lessing's *Minna*, 1, 2). *Vom Graf Stein* (Kleist's *Käthchen*, 3, 6). This double conception is also found in M. H. G. *der junge sun froun* (wk. gen. of *Frau*) *Uoten* (wk. gen. of name *Nibelungenlied*, 33, *Aventiure*), *künec Artuses hof* (*Gedichte Walters von der Vogelweide*, p. 99, Paul's ed.). Thus this fluctuation is old and tenacious. In general, however, there does not seem to be as lively a feeling for the unity of title and name as formerly.

The writer has treated the use of *haben* and *sein* in compound tenses quite fully in his German Grammar, pp. 289-296. One of the best parts of Wilmanns's "Deutsche Grammatik" is devoted to this subject, and Paul has given it still more extensive consideration in a special treatise. Altho the writer has been studying this question for many years, he has not yet come to rest, for new difficulties are presenting themselves and call for an explanation. In English the whole question with all its subtleties has been definitely settled by simply discarding the use of *to be* here and employing *to have* without regard to the meaning. The writer is disposed to think that this is a distinct loss to the language, one of the greatest losses it has ever sustained. There is, however, still a little feeling left for the meaning of *to be* here and hence there is an occasional impulse or desire to use it: "The melancholy days *are come*" (Bryant). "We have found the nest of the gang, but the birds *are flown*." The real cause that brought about the loss of *to be* was probably the large number of cases where either *to be* or *to have* could be used without a marked difference. There must have been also a large number of cases where *to have* was used in compounds under the influence of the simple verb, altho *to be* would have been more appropriate upon the basis of the meaning. This usage will be illustrated below by examples from the German. Thus the feeling for the real meaning of *to be* was blunted. There was an inclination to the use of *to have* even in Old English which later led to its exclusive use. This inclination toward *haben* can also be seen in the literary North German of our own time as also in earlier periods: *Niemals hat über*



den Marktplatz von Hilligenlei solch wildes Pantoffelgeklapper geschallt (Frenssen's *Hilligenlei*, V). This same inclination is also noticeable in the North with certain verbs of motion where *sein* has now elsewhere become associated with these same verbs, as it was so frequently used with them when a goal was expressed that it became established as the fixed auxiliary without regard to the meaning in the special case: Als wir drei Wochen marschiert *hatten* (Frenssen's *Peter Moors Fahrt nach Südwest*, p. 172). Das tut sie immer, aus Spass, wenn ich so toll gelaufen *habe* (id., *Jörn Uhl*, XIV). So flüsterte der See und die Bäume und der Wind in der Nacht in der Gegend, wo er noch vor vierzehn Tagen gewandelt *hatte* (id., *Hilligenlei*, p. 571). Er wüsste noch, wie er hier so zwischen die Windflügel (wind-sails of a wind-mill) durchgeritten wäre unde die Flügel *hätten* dabei gegangen so schnell wie 'ne Kaffeenmühle (Lauff's *Kärrekiek*, p. 222). In contrast to these North Germans other writers from the North use *sein* here: Drei Tage und Nächte, sagte er, *wäre* der Kaiser geritten (Wildenbruch's *Kaiser Heinrich*, 3, 2). Der ist gerast wie doll (N. G.=toll×Halbe's *Haus Rosenhagen*, p. 94). This confusion in the North is increased by the occasional use of *sein* with such verbs of rest as *beharren*, *verharren*, *beruhen*, *bestehen*, *hangen*, *liegen*, *schweben*, *sitzen*, *stecken*, *stehen*: Jenes Gebiet, das bis dahin in altertümlicher Steinzeit verharret *war* (Lamprecht's *Deutsche Geschichte*, I, p. 47). The writer gives a number of examples in his German Grammar, pp. 291-292, and has recently collected more. These facts are so confusing that it is quite difficult to see the actual situation. There is here a veritable tangle of former and present conditions, of dialectic and literary tendencies. Earlier in the period there seems to have been a distinct tendency in the North toward *haben*. Luther sometimes even used it with *sein*: Darumb *hett* nie kein heylge szo küne gewest (Weim. Ausg. I, 220). Andresen in his "Sprachgebrauch", 7th ed., p. 92, even in our own time recommends *haben* in the following sentence: Dies Kind *hatte* [now more commonly replaced by *war*] in seinem



Leben noch nie gegangen. He also recommends on the same page: Die Uhr *hat* gegangen. The writer has observed this latter expression for years, but has uniformly found only *sein* both in the North and South, as illustrated in his Grammar, p. 295. Thus it seems that the use of *haben* in the North in a number of cases is only the lingering survival of older usage and has in reality a flavor of dialect. This seems especially true in Frenssen who has a strong predilection for *haben*. Only in case of the verbs of rest given above has North German usage fixed itself in the literary language, and even here it is stubbornly opposed in the South, not only by the grammarians, but by the best literary usage. It seems very inconsistent for Luther to use *haben* to form the compound tenses of *sein*, while he employs *sein* to conjugate *liegen*, *sitzen*, and often *stecken*, *stehen*. The use of *sein* is occasionally found even in recent N. G. writers. The explanation for this peculiar phenomenon seems to be that the older use of *sein* here has not yet been entirely supplanted in the North by dialectic *haben*. In general this dialectic *haben* has in N. G. worked its way into the little group of verbs of rest given above, but with the verbs of rest *sein* and *bleiben* and in all other groups of intransitives South German usage has gained the victory and has become fixed in the literary language. We can, however, speak of a fixedness of usage only in a general sense. There is still considerable fluctuation, and indications that the development has not yet reached a final conclusion are everywhere to be found. The most common source of these fluctuations is the use of the same verb in different meanings, hence with *haben* in one meaning and *sein* in another: Der Schiffer *hat* (to denote an act) or *ist* (to denote a change of place, the beginning of the voyage) abgestossen. Er *hat* (to denote an act) or *ist* (to denote the end of an act and the resulting change of place) gerückt. In present usage there is a keen feeling for such differences. *Haben* denotes an act as continuing or as a whole, while *sein* indicates only a single point, either the final point or the start or beginning. *Haben* is used even tho the action lasts only

a second. In this case, however, the action must be represented as a whole, in its entire duration even tho it be but a flash and the attention must not be directed to the beginning or the end the result: Er *hat* nicht gezuckt. Altho the feeling for this distinction between *haben* und *sein* is in general quite strong, there are three categories in which this feeling has become unsettled. The first one is the group of verbs of motion which may sometimes be used in connection with a goal and sometimes without a goal. As such verbs are more commonly used with a goal, *sein* is in present usage becoming associated with them even where an act as a whole in its entire duration is clearly represented and not the slightest reference to a goal is in any way implied: Das war doch nett, hier ganz unerwartet einen alten Bekannten aus der Heimat als Kameraden zu treffen, den Junghans, der aus einer der Fischerhütten daheim am Flussufer stammte, mit dem er im Soramer geschwommen *war* und manchmal auch verbotenerweise Gründlinge gelangelt hatte (Beyerlein's *Jena oder Sedan?*, I). This is such a common misuse of *sein* that it must be regarded as fairly established. Only a few North Germans employ *haben* here and even these do so only occasionally. Evidently there is here a strong trend toward *sein* which may in time blunt the feeling for the true distinction between *haben* and *sein*. Some may possibly reject the example from Beyerlein, but there are so many examples where the proper use of *haben* would to-day be felt by *every* German as incorrect that it must be admitted that the language has at this point met with a real loss which at present seems irreparable.

The second category where *sein* is creeping in is the group of compounds where the simple verb influences the construction and leads to the use of *sein* altho the thought demands *haben*: "Wir *sind* wohl alle nicht so ganz vollkommen ehrlich und aufrichtig gegen sie verfahren, wie wir nach strengen Sittenlehren eigentlich sollten" (H. Hoffmann). On the other hand, the force of the simple verb often leads to the use of *haben* where we should expect *sein* on the basis of meaning: "Ich *habe* auf

eine Minute bei ihm vorgesprochen" (M. Heyne's *Wörterbuch*, III, p. 1309). To add to the confusion here the feeling for the real meaning often asserts itself and leads to the employment of *sein* here: "Er wurde dazu noch durch eine merkwürdige Mitteilung der Frau Rechnungsrat gedrängt, dass zwei Tage vorher in der Dämmerung eine verschleierte Dame bei ihr vorgesprochen *sei*" (Kretzer's *Die Madonna von Grunewald*, p. 347). On account of the use of either *sein* or *haben* in such instances according as the force of the simple verb or its meaning is felt we are often uncertain as to the intention of the author: "Ich fügte hinzu, dass ich ausser Jodeln keinerlei Künste verstehe, doch habe mir sein Klavierspiel oft schön und verlockend heraufgeklungen" (Hermann Hesse's *Peter Camenzind*, p. 64). Why is *haben* used in this sentence? Is it because the simple verb is conjugated with *haben*, or is it because the author desired to bring out the durative idea? If this latter construction is the correct one, the thought is beautifully expressed indeed. *Sein* could also be used here, but it would express only the idea of a goal, as in the following sentence: "Eine Hornfanfare *war* längst durch die frische Herbstluft aus der Gegend des Schlosses herübergeklungen" (Schücking's *Gs. Erz.*, 4, 239). In these cases where *haben* or *sein* is employed according as the force of the simple verb or as the meaning of the verb is felt the South German is as likely to choose the one as the other and does not seem to be influenced here by his general inclination toward *sein*: "Alle ihre derartigen Versuche *haben* aber bis jetzt fehlgeschlagen" (Neue Züricher Zeitung, 16. Feb. 1904), but Hermann Wunderlich has preferred to say here: "Auch die Versuche, selbst die lateinischen Termini zu verdeutschen, *sind* immer wieder fehlgeschlagen."

The third category where *sein* is creeping in is figurative usage. Here the meaning often requires *haben* as the reference is to an act, but *sein* is often used as the original local force of the verbal construction is felt. Thus we usually say: *Ich habe in ihn gedrungen*, but we also find *sein* here: (*Sie sagte*) *Das seien nutzlose Beunruhigungen, weshalb sie denn auch in*



*ihn gedrungen sei, von solchen Berechnungen Abstand zu nehmen* (Fontane's *Saechlin*, p. 107).

In general the use of *sein* has been extended at the expense of *haben*. In English the opposite development has taken place, but to a much greater degree of completeness. It is not at all probable that the spread of *sein* will go much beyond its present limits. There is at present considerable fluctuation here, and to judge by the uncertain usage at this point thruout many centuries this will long continue, but a careful study of the growth and development of this construction clearly shows that it is a permanent feature of German Grammar and indeed well adapted to the expression of German thought and feeling. Its great disadvantage, that of the high tax of careful thinking that it demands, is offset by the great pleasure that careful thinking affords.

After *heissen, hören* (sometimes also *zuhören*), *lassen, sehen*, and less commonly *fühlen* the infinitive in German usually has active form even where the meaning is passive: "Er liess den Arzt holen", *He had the doctor sent for*. We occasionally find the passive form instead of the active: "Und da sitztest du nun und siehst ihn von dem braven germanistischen Pinsel von Vater und der lächerlichen Hexe seiner Mutter immer mehr verzogen werden, (Raabe's, *Der Lar*, p. 158), *Now you quietly sit here and see him being ever more and more spoiled*, etc. Here the present passive infinitive emphasizes the progressive idea, i. e. represents somebody as *being* acted upon. Sometimes, on the other hand, the perfect passive participle is employed here to represent an act as a whole: "Alt, sich beim Vornamen gerufen hörend, hob schnell den Kopf" (Georg Wasner's *Der rote Faden*, II), *Alt, hearing himself called, raised*, etc. While these two ideas find in German only an occasional formal expression, they are regularly so distinguished in English. This tendency in German to give expression to the passive idea and even to different shades of this idea does not seem to have attracted the attention of grammarians. Otherwise some of them would now be earnestly trying to suppress it as they are con-



stitutionally opposed to progress of any kind. Where the need of development is the greatest, these men usually offer the most vigorous opposition. If this statement is not true they might easily make it manifest by fostering the passive forms in this construction, for the German is here evidently inferior to English and sometimes even completely ambiguous, as in: "Ich hörte ihn rufen", *I heard him calling*, or *heard him called* (by someone). The writer would be grateful for examples of the passive forms here. He has been able to find only a few himself and desires more ample materials for the study of this development.

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## A PLAGIARISM ON CHARLES SEALSFIELD.

Plagiarism in its most objectionable form, when committed against an author of considerable but obscure merit, is sometimes historically significant in that it points to a latent or incipient appreciation. The sign is especially telling when we see an otherwise inferior piece of work captivate the unwary reader's interest by the sole force of a purloined fragment. Yet a penderiver with a duly low opinion of the *Bildungspöbel* may be disposed to copy only the crude and catchy conceit when his model's qualities of style and presentation are beyond his reach.

By a recent article of Prof. Rich. M. Meyer's<sup>1</sup> we are reminded that Sealsfield in spite of his alleged isolation should not be numbered among the rare writers who ever heed the cautious precept of Polonius:

"Neither a borrower nor a lender be."

Whether the unquestionable similarity that exists as to the situation and the phrasing between a striking passage in "Morton" and one in Balzac's "Gobseck" constitutes plagiarism of an obnoxious sort is a matter on which honest critics may differ. As to Sealsfield's legitimate or improper indebtedness to other contemporaries, the number of the vague hints and suggestions is legion, but not even the few more definite pointers (those of Faust, Sarrazin, Müller-Rastatt, Rich. M. Meyer) have been followed up sufficiently to allow a conclusion. Surely, too, every student of Sealsfield will agree with the opinion expressed, if I err not, by Professor Goebel, that a perusal of the 'amusement literature' of the early part of the 19th century might disclose some of the sources of Sealsfield's matter and motifs. And conversely it may be worth while, in view of the steady progress of Sealsfield toward the foreground of the literary-historic interest,<sup>2</sup> to insist that a study of Sealsfield's in-

<sup>1</sup>) "Ein Plagiat Sealsfields." *Deutsche Arbeit*, vol. VI, Nr. 8, p. 510-512.

<sup>2</sup>) As evidenced by the painstaking labors of A. B. Faust, R. F. Arnold, Aug. Weiss and Gust. Winter. A historical critical edition of S.'s complete works has been decided upon and preparations for it are in progress at the German University of Prague.

fluence and after-effect again imposes the irksome task of delving into a vast deal of *Unterhaltungslektüre*.

In my opinion there is small doubt that a critical balancing of the accounts will eventually show Sealsfield's liabilities to sum up to a far lesser total than indebtedness of others to him. Already Mr. Edward Leyh has entered one fair sized item to the credit of the great German-American novelist<sup>1</sup> (whereas Professor Faust's transfer of part of Simms' "Guy Rivers" from the debit to the credit page of Sealsfield's ledger is somewhat problematical, and the derivation of Helen Jackson's "Ramona" from Sealsfield's Indian novel not coercively made out).

Sealsfield tempted foreign pirates not only as a good, but also as a safe prize. The reason was probably not so much, as Faust thinks, that he wrote anonymously, as that he was so little known and read outside of Germany. On this score we should not be misled by his own immoderate boasts of his enormous popularity in the United States.<sup>2</sup> He never hesitated to draw the long bow when seeking to impress a solvent publisher. To me, a fairly thorough search for Sealsfieldiana in American newspapers and periodicals has yielded a rather negative result, with some unimpeachable evidence contradicting Sealsfield's assertions about his literary connections, made in his letters and heretofore accepted at par by his biographers. Even after the simultaneous appearance of several of his books in English (1844) it was in all probability mostly connoisseurs of the Mayne Reid type who had any real 'use' for Sealsfield.

In England, the gentle reader warmed up still less to the new "Great Unknown." Practically the only trace of Sealsfield's writings runs through the files of the Blackwood publications.<sup>3</sup> The anonymous sketches first printed in Blackwood's *Edinburgh Magazine* were for the most part republished in "Travel, Ad-

<sup>1</sup>A. B. Faust, *Charles Sealsfield, der Dichter beider Hemisphären*, Weimar 1897, p. 5 f.; and id., earlier, in his Johns Hopkins Dissertation. Mr. Leyh in the *Washington Sentinel*, 1887.

<sup>2</sup>See preface to *Gesammelte Werke*, Pocket Edition, p. XI.

<sup>3</sup>A fairly complete list of the English versions (for the fewest of them are close translations) is given by Faust, l. c. p. 3. Yet he fails to mention the most elaborate Blackwood refacimento, viz: "The Americans and the Aborigines. Scenes in the Short War." *Blackw. Edinb. Mag.* vol. LIX and LX (1846) p. 289-413 (Nrs. 367, 368, 369), also in "Travel, Adventure and Sport" from 'Blackwoods', Nr. 6.

venture, and Sport from Blackwood's Magazine" and in "Tales from Blackwood".<sup>6</sup> They also came out, selected, as a volume, twice in Great Britain and twice in America, and in these reprints authorship is owned by Frederick Hardman who was a story writer of narrowly circumscribed powers but as a literary critic possessed ability of a much higher order. To Hardman's (unsigned) article in No. 352 of Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, and more particularly to his fine essay on Sealsfield in No. 74 of the *Foreign Quarterly Review*<sup>7</sup> (which for a quick and sure seizure of Sealsfield's literary character has not been surpassed to this day) whatever recognition the German-American romancer ever received in the British Isles is almost solely due.

It appears that, certainly from less laudable motives, the same Hardman established the actual connection between Sealsfield and English fiction of the forties. In other words, Hardman in his capacity of literary hack did not scruple to profit from his familiarity with Sealsfield's stories.

In No. 365 of *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*<sup>8</sup> there is an anonymous tale entitled "The Smuggler's Leap. A Passage in the Pyrenees." It is the story of a trip by some young English people, among them the teller of the story and a young fellow, Walter Ashley, whose description at once recalls the foolhardy Ralph Doughby, Esq. The core of the story is a hare-brained attempt to leap over a chasm, with the ensuing rescue of the dare-devil through the quick-wittedness of the heroine, in all its details quite like Chapter VII of "Ralph Doughby's Brautfahrt." The following passage<sup>9</sup> cannot be adjudged a mere "reminiscence": "With the speed of light and woman's dexterity she knotted together her scarf, a long silk cravat *which I gave her*, . . . and securing a stone at either extremity of the rope

<sup>6</sup>)In a somewhat altered and more condensed form. These adaptations are likewise missing in Faust's list.

<sup>7</sup>)Vol. XXXVII (April-July 1846) p. 416-448. Hardman revealed his authorship of these articles in his preface to "Scenes and Adventures in Central America." (1852).

<sup>8</sup>)Vol. LIX (March 1846), p. 366-372.

<sup>9</sup>)Vol. X (No. 29) p. 90-98, where the author's name appears as Frederick Hardman.



thus formed, she threw one end of it, with sure aim and steady hand, across the ravine and round the sapling already referred to....The sapling bent and bowed....he grasped it, another powerful effort....and he lay exhausted and almost senseless upon the rocky brink. At the same moment Dora fell fainting into her brother's arm." That this story hit the taste of the "general reader," there can be no doubt; else it would not have been received into the "Tales from Blackwood."

In the light of these facts we may understand the omission of the most sensational chapter of "Ralph Doughby" from Hardman's English version: "Settled at Last; Red River Collections,"<sup>10</sup> where "The Race" (=chapter VI) is followed immediately by the "Stag Hunt" (chapter VIII), whereas the American version by Hebbe and Mackay<sup>11</sup> inserts the episode of the "Leap" in its proper place between the above sections.

Evidently Hardman withheld the central incident of the story for the enhancement of his own product. That he could do so with safety indicates the dense unfamiliarity of the British reader with Sealsfield, even after Hardman's active propaganda.

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<sup>10</sup>) *Blackw. Edinb. Mag.*, vol. LVII (1845) p. 18-29.

<sup>11</sup>) "*Life in the New World*," New York, 1844; the numbering of the chapters here differs somewhat from the original.

## THE RELATIONS OF GRABBE TO BYRON.

The relations of Grabbe to Byron have been frequently touched upon, at times in a very misleading manner, but their extent and nature have as yet not been exactly determined.

A number of very important features that both these authors have in common cannot be at all attributed to literary influence, but are due to similarity of character and disposition. Scepticism, dissatisfaction with life and contempt of it, hatred of the conventional, an attitude of defiance toward society, admiration for strong individuals, and a general low estimate of women are the most important traits that we find in both. To these may be added frequent and sudden transitions from the noble and lofty to the coarse and vulgar, from the pathetic to the ridiculous.

Byron's scepticism regarding the existence of a benovolent supreme being, and the meaning and purpose of human life never passes beyond the stage of doubt, negation alternates with fervent hope. Grabbe decided these questions for himself once for all: he denied the benevolence of the supreme being, and saw no purpose in human life other than self-assertion and self-preservation.

The dissatisfaction with their own existence and with human life in general sprang in both authors from the discrepancy between their high-strung desires and expectations and the facts of reality. As Grabbe had far more cause for such dissatisfaction, he also went much further than the English Lord in his contempt for life and mankind. From this contempt he did not exclude himself, despite his great self-pride. Chiefly through strength of character Byron retained the mastery of his life; though external circumstances, such as rank, his connections, and his means were no unimportant factors. Grabbe, on the contrary, was hampered by his descent, his physical limitations, and his material want; but above all, he lacked self-

control. He certainly overestimated his genius, but was not at all unconscious of his own shortcomings, putting the blame, however, at the door of stupid and partial fate.

While it is clearly self-delusion when Grabbe remarks: 'Was ist das für ein Gewäsch über den Faust? Alles erbärmlich. Gebt mir jedes Jahr dreitausend Thlr. und ich will euch einen Faust schreiben, dass ihr die Pestilenz kriegt,' it remains highly probable, nonetheless, that under more favorable, external circumstances Grabbe would have become a far greater poet. His greatest literary achievements co-incide in time with the brief periods of more favorable material conditions in his life.

Love, to Lord Byron an ever potent remedy, brought to Grabbe nothing but bitterness. His dissipations and revels were, in a large measure, unsuccessful attempts merely to forget his wretchedness, which was not less tormenting, because in part due to his own faults. Grabbe's wretchedness, disgust, and despair, have little in common with Byron's coquettish grief, and that 'Weltschmerz,' so characteristic of European literature at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Immediately after the separation from his wife Byron may have suffered intensely, yet his grief was not so great that he did not seek solace in the arms of Mrs. Shelley's sister; and during the period of his association with the Countess Guiccioli his life seems to have been almost serenely happy. For the dissatisfaction and grief of his earlier years I can see scarcely any other reason than baffled ambition and surfeited passion; in his childhood he no doubt suffered from want of affection. How different with Grabbe, whose misery was co-extensive with his whole life, and who had such undoubted real cause for despair.

Conventionality Byron attacked and despised as mere hypocrisy and hidden vice; to Grabbe it appeared, like practically all human institutions, merely ludicrous. Ziegler, Grabbe's biographer, relates the following scene: The 'Auditeur' (military judge) Grabbe sits in his office in his under-clothes, when two lieutenants, acquaintances of his, come to take the oath of allegiance. Grabbe withdraws to dress for the ceremony, and

soon re-appears, attired in drawers, slippers, a dress-coat over his night-shirt, a necktie slung loosely around his neck. In this garb he administers the oath, crouching down to hide his lower extremities from view, jestingly rebuking the officers who cannot keep from grinning, pointing out to them the sanctity of the oath. This little episode is thoroughly indicative of Grabbe's attitude toward convention.

The sudden transitions from the sublime to the ridiculous, from the noble to the vulgar are in the case of Byron most frequently in *Don Juan*; in the works of Grabbe in his first play, *Herzog Theodor von Gothland*. They are due to the inherent cynicism in both authors. Their effect is jarring in the highest degree, and certainly inartistic. In Grabbe we find, moreover, a strong element of the grotesque, as for instance in the revolutionary scenes of his *Napoleon*.

The cynicism of Byron as well as that of Grabbe attacks especially the relations between the sexes, and hand in hand with it goes their estimate of women. Byron's most attractive female characters, like Haidè, Zuleika, Myrrha, Neuha, etc., are all very one-sided. Their love sways them with elemental and irresistible force, and there exists for them nothing outside of this love. Grabbe's women are all of secondary importance; their characters are shadowy and pale. The women of the *Hohenstaufen* dramas indeed to some extent exemplify the German idealistic conception of women, still prevalent in literature and life at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In a letter to his friend Petri, Grabbe wrote: 'Nur muss er mich ja nicht mit Heine und den Franzosen vergleichen. Meine Weiber enden bis jetzt immer edel und unbefleckt, kleine Rollen ausgenommen.' While this plea is not without basis, Grabbe's estimate of women, and the place he accords to them is nonetheless quite accurately expressed in the following lines from *Gothland*.

‘Sag du ihr, ich hätte sie  
Gefreit, um mir Kinder zu gebären,  
Nicht aber mich zu warnen, mich zu lehren.’<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Cf. *Christian Dietrich Grabbe's sämtliche Werke*, hg. von Eduard Griesebach. Berlin, 1902. Vol. I, page 32.



I cannot detect any essential change of attitude in this respect in the later works of Grabbe.

Grabbe's scepticism finds its strongest expression in his first play: *Herzog Theodor von Gothland*. There is no God; madness has created the world, but no,—madness could not possibly be so horrible, nor the most inexorable fate so cruel and malignant.

‘Allmächtige Bosheit also ist es, die  
Den Weltkreis lenkt und ihn zerstört.’

‘Ja, Gott  
Ist boshaft, und Verzweiflung ist  
Der wahre Gottesdienst.’

Whatever exists has been created that it may perish; man is so sensitive in order that he may suffer more keenly, and immortal he is only for the pangs of hell. Of all creatures existing man is the most base and worthless, his life is of no use, either to himself or others. In the end Gothland comes to the conclusion that there is no God but time. It is omnipotent and omnipresent, creates and destroys whatever there is or shall be.<sup>1</sup>

Most useless it is for man to repent or harbor feelings of remorse.<sup>2</sup> Even while tormented by the memory of his awful deeds, Gothland does not repent, nor pray for mercy; for that would amount only to a confession of guilt. —It is the negro Berdoa who develops the theory that there is neither good nor evil.<sup>3</sup>

In his *Gothland* Grabbe anticipates in the most striking manner Nietzsche's *Uebermensch*.

Gothland's estimate of the supreme being finds a close parallel in the attitude of Satan in Byron's *Cain*. He, too, proclaims God the cause of all unhappiness, as the one who propagates death, and multiplies murder only because he is insatiable of life. Morality is but an arbitrary matter, and in the end God is only an omnipotent tyrant.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Cf. *ibid.* p. 85 to 88, and 143.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. *ibid.* p. 163 and 209.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. *op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 160.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. *The Works of Lord Byron*. Edited by E. H. Coleridge, London, 1901. Volume V. p. 222, 235-6, 259, 227.

*Herzog Theodor von Gothland* at once led Grabbe's contemporaries to compare him with Byron. In the *Hallesche Litteraturzeitung* of the year 1828, No. 169, may be found a review of *Gothland* that contains the following passage: 'Jedwedes Seelenvermögen, welches Achtung oder Schrecken oder Abscheu vor der ganz ausserordentlichen Persönlichkeit — sogar Lord Byron bleibt an Kraft und verzweifelnder Verwegenheit hinter Grabbe zurück — Staunen vor den poetischen Anlagen des Verfassers zu erregen im Stande sind, wird bei dem Lesen seiner Dramen mächtig erfasst und erschüttert; allein als Künstler hat er nicht geschrieben. Dazu fehlt ihm Ruhe, Hingebung und Freude am Schaffen.'

This sounds very much like one of Grabbe's self-confessions and self-criticisms, and it is not at all improbable that he influenced the reviewer; for we have abundant evidence that he did this wherever he had a chance. It was also his desire to be compared with Byron, and he had even the ambition to see his works translated into English. In a letter to his friend Kettembeil (Jan. 16, 1829) we find the following suggestions for a review that is to appear in England: 'Ideen: Geist, Feuer des Stückes,—Character hervorgestrichen,—Bezug auf meine früheren tollen Producte—Scenen, z. B. die Ballgeschichte über die Oper geworfen—Worte angeführt—letzte Geisterscene gelobhudelt—mich in England (unter Bezug auf die *Halle'sche Litteraturzeitung*) mit Lord Byron confrontirt p. p. Sey klug. Mach oder lass diese Selbstrecension recht schnell machen.'<sup>1</sup>

Grabbe wrote the first draft of his *Gothland* in 1818 and 1819, and he took the manuscript along when in the year 1820 he went to Leipzig to study law. But the drama was then by no means in the form in which it ultimately appeared in print.<sup>2</sup> Early in the year 1822 Grabbe was busy recasting his *Gothland*. February 26 of that year he wrote his parents that his drama was gradually approaching completion. This, however, was delayed until June 11.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Cf. *op. cit.* Vol. IV, p. 263.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Piper, C. A. *Beiträge zum Studium Grabbes*. München 1898 FZNLG, VIII, p. 26-7 and 52.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. *op. cit.* Vol. IV p. 160-2.

Byron had by that time become immensely popular in Germany. A number of translations as well as English versions of his works had already been published in Germany. From 1818-1822 there appeared in Leipzig in thirteen volumes a complete edition of what Byron had written up to that time. *Cain* appeared in print December 17, 1821. It is therefore not at all impossible, but on the contrary highly probable, that Grabbe early in 1822 became acquainted with *Cain*. This seems likely, especially when we take into consideration that Grabbe then lived in Leipzig, the literary center of Germany, whence he went to Berlin, Easter 1822, where the writings of Byron were equally well known and much admired.

Grabbe's *Gothland* is very loosely constructed, and especially those passages that remind us of *Cain* are not an organic part of the whole, but may have been inserted later. They may be omitted almost without necessitating any further alteration. I am strongly inclined to believe that Grabbe knew *Cain* before he completed his *Gothland*, and was influenced by it. If this assumption is correct, it does account in a large measure for the wild exaggerations in *Gothland*, for Grabbe consciously strove to surpass and outdo anything that ever had been written in this vein. Such a view is not in the least incompatible with the conclusions arrived at by Piper in his studies of the sources of *Gothland*.

Byronic sounds the following estimate of love and friendship:

Die Liebe welkt dahin;  
Sie ist auf Irdisches gegründet,  
Gemeines ist's, wofür sie flammt,  
Nur Freundschaft, die die Geister bindet,  
Ist ewig, wie der Geist, aus dem sie stammt.'<sup>1</sup>

But it is quite possible that Grabbe got his ideas from the classics. We find in Byron also close parallels in thought, though not in expression to the following:

<sup>1</sup>Cf. *op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 17 and Byron, *op. cit.* Volume I, p. 151, 168, 177, 183, and frequently.

‘Ihr steht

Auf einem Schlachtfelde, hier ist der Mord  
Ein Ruhm und wird belohnt.’.....  
‘Ein König hat gar grosse Rechte, als  
Das Recht der Willkür, die Befugnis zur  
Gewalt, das Recht des Völkermordes.’<sup>1</sup>

All through *Childe Harold* runs Byron’s lament over the ravages of time, over its irresistible destructive power, and the transitoriness of all earthly things. Gothland apotheosises time thus:

‘Ich glaube

Die Allmacht und Allgegenwart der Zeit.  
Die Zeit erschafft, vollendet und zerstört  
Die Welt und Alles, was darin ist;  
Doch ein Gott, der höher als die Zeit  
Steht, glaub ich nicht.’<sup>2</sup>.....

These parallels of thought I should not attribute, however, to literary influence, but consider them rather as mere co-incidences.

We have positive proof that before the beginning of the second period of literary activity in the life of Grabbe he had become well acquainted with the works of Byron. The essay entitled ‘Ueber die Shakespearo-Manie’ begins as follows: ‘Lord Byron sagt in seinem Don Juan etwas spöttisch, Shakespeare sei zur ‘fashion’ geworden. Ich gestehe vorläufig, dass mir in der englischen schönen Litteratur nur zwei Erscheinungen von hoher Wichtigkeit sind. Lord Byron und Shakespeare—jener als die möglichst poetisch dargestellte Subjectivität, dieser als die eben so poetisch dargestellte Objectivität. Lord Byron in seiner Art so gross als Shakespeare mag gerade wegen seines verschiedenen dichterischen Charakters nicht das competenteste Urtheil über ihn abgeben.’<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Cf. *op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 96 and 118 and Byron, *op. cit.* *Childe Harold*, I, 42 and frequently.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. *op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 143.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. *ibid.* p. 438.



The passage from Byron's *Don Juan*:

'To be or not to be? that is the question,

Says Shakespeare, who just now is much in fashion,'

is also mentioned in a letter to Kettenbeil (June 25, 1827). In a letter dated July 12, 1827, Grabbe states that about a year previously he bought Brönner's edition of Lord Byron's works.<sup>1</sup>

When engaged upon some Shakespeare translation in the Spring of 1835, Grabbe, philosophising on the difficult art of the translator, wrote to Immermann: 'Ich möchte folgende zwei Verse des Lord Byron, der freilich kein Shakespeare ist, aber die folgende Passage mir ins Herz geflammt hat, ohne Anspielung und Ironie gut übersetzen können:

'And where I ever turned my eye,  
She rose the morning-star of memory.'

His *Hermannsschlacht* Grabbe intended to provide with notes *à la Byron*.<sup>2</sup> Ziegler, in his biography of Grabbe, also states that in 1834 during Grabbe's furlough they often read Byron together. From all this we must infer that Byron held quite a prominent place in the estimation of Grabbe. He, no doubt, knew Byron's works well. We therefore are safe in assuming literary influence wherever we find favorite ideas of Byron in the later works of Grabbe, notwithstanding that many of these ideas were not at all original with Byron.

Weddigen says about Grabbe: 'Christian Dietrich Grabbe hat Byronische Ideen in sich aufgenommen. Er ist ein Dichter von zerrissenem Gemüt; schon in seinem Erstlingswerk *Herzog von Gothland* ist Grabbe von bitterstem Skepticismus angefressen. Sein *Don Juan und Faust* erinnert uns in manchen Seiten an Byron's *Don Juan*.' With these few lines he disposes of the matter.<sup>3</sup>

I have been unable to detect any similarity between Grabbe's *Don Juan und Faust* and Byron's *Don Juan*, aside from the

<sup>1</sup>Cf. *op. cit.* Vol. IV, p. 210.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. *ibid.* p. 381 and 403.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Weddigen. *Lord Byron's Einfluss auf die europäische Litteratur der Neuzeit* 2. Aufl. Leipzig, 1901, p. 38.

mere title and the general nature of the theme. The hero of Byron's epic is sensual and passionate; he does not avoid temptation and unhesitatingly indulges in sensual pleasure when opportunity offers itself. But he is no habitual unscrupulous seducer who, when he once covets a woman, does not shrink from premeditated murder to obtain her. One, really negative, quality he does have in common with Grabbe's Don Juan: he fascinates women. He does so chiefly because he is a handsome and passionate fellow, but it is not at all certain that the fascination that Grabbe's Don Juan has for women is chiefly to be attributed to the same causes. In Byron's poem it is, in fact, always the woman who plays the aggressive part, or, at least, meets Don Juan half-way. We need to read only the first canto and the last incomplete one of the epic to convince ourselves of this.

Grabbe's Don Juan approaches more closely the Spanish original. It is in accordance with his philosophy of life to live in sensual pleasure, to indulge in his passions, never to resist temptation, to gratify every desire at any cost and with utter disregard for the weal and woe of others. Remorse and fear are unknown to him; his capacity for sensual pleasure is almost without limit. In cold blood he slays the bridegroom of Donna Anna in a forced and premeditated quarrel, and kills her father in a duel, all in order to obtain her for an hour, a day, at the most for a week of pleasure. He fails in his attempt, but he is by no means heartbroken about it. When informed of her death he remarks philosophically:

'Ja, mich erschüttert Donna Anna's Tod!  
Die tiefste Brust bewegt er!—Doch ich spann  
Die Segel wieder, fahr mit neuem Winde!  
—Gibt's nicht der schönen Mädchen tausend andre?  
Wie sollt ich mich um eine grämen?'<sup>1</sup>

His passion for her, even at its height, by no means occupies him so completely as to make him, if not blind, at least indifferent, to the charms of other women, even if they be but Donna Anna's servants. Of her maid he says:

<sup>1</sup>Cf. *op. cit.* Vol. II, p. 109.

‘Sie leuchtete  
Der Donna, als sie ans Fenster trat —  
Ein schwarzes Aug’, ein Grübchen in der Wange,  
’ne weisse Haut, ein zarter, voller Arm  
Und eine nette Taille sind ihr gar  
Nicht abzusprechen.’<sup>1</sup>

Leporello, Don Juan’s servant, whom Grabbe uses throughout the play to characterize the master, exclaims:

‘Thr seid ein Kraft-Universal-Genie!  
Die Herrin lieben, von der Dienerin.  
Entzückt — und das so durcheinander während  
Desselben Augenblicks. — Weh mir! Mir schwindelt!’

Almost offended that anyone should consider him partial and one-sided in his admiration for feminine beauty, Don Juan replies:

‘Mensch, hältst du mich für einen albernem  
Pedanten, eingewurzelt in Systeme?  
Wo ich die Schönheit finde, schätz’ ich solche,  
Und sei sie, welcher Art sie wolle.  
Die Dienerin liebt anders als die Herrin,  
Und nur Abwechslung gibt dem Leben Reiz  
Und lässt uns seine Unerträglichkeit  
Vergessen.’<sup>2</sup>

Grabbe’s Don Juan certainly would never understand how his namesake in Byron’s epic can reject the advances of the bewitching Sultana for the sake of his lost Haidè. The two characters do, however, concur in the opinion that marriage is a strong antidote for love; but this view is really inherent in the character of a Don Juan, and we can hardly speak here of literary influence. Byron’s epic is really a satire upon society and its conventional respectability, which the poet denounces as hypocrisy and hidden vice. Grabbe’s Don Juan, too, attacks the conventions of society, but he does not in the least question their genuineness and sincerity; he detests them *per se*, merely

<sup>1</sup>Cf. *ibid.* p. 12.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. *op. cit.* Vol. II, p. 12 and 13.

as shallow, philistine and insipid, as the following passage will show:

‘Wie lange wird es dauern, bis der Sennor  
Von Mantel und Baret, von Geld und Gütern,  
Von Kinderzeugung und Erziehung redet? —  
Der wird die Püppchen, die Octaviöchen,  
Die schrei’nden Zeugen seiner keuschen Glut  
Empfindsam auf den Armen wiegen. — Welch  
Erbärmliches Geschmeiss!’....

‘Der  
Armselige! Geld, Heirat und Auskommen  
Die Pole seines Lebens! Schade, dass  
Maschinen fehlen, um im Ehebett,  
Und in der Kirche, auf dem Ackerfeld  
Und in der Küche, solches Volk ersetzen  
Zu können.’<sup>1</sup>

This is surely not a Byronic strain, and if there is any frivolity in Grabbe’s *Don Juan und Faust* it is certainly not of the Byronic sort. The voluptuousness of the latter poet is not to be found at all in the writings of Grabbe.

And yet there is strong Byronic influence in Grabbe’s *Don Juan und Faust*; but we must trace it to *Childe Harold*, *Manfred* and *Cain*. Strange as this may seem at first sight, it is in fact only what we ought to expect. We need but bear in mind that Grabbe, according to his own statement, bought an edition of Byron’s works in 1826, and that *Don Juan und Faust* was completed in 1828, and we shall understand at once how all the above mentioned works of Byron came to leave considerable traces in the play of Grabbe.

The very opening verses:

‘Still sind die Plätze und die Strassen, nur  
Springbrunnen plätschern tändelnd in dem Dunkel,—  
Die ew’ge Roma schläft, ermüdet vom  
Jahrtausendlangen Schlachtenkampf, vielleicht  
Noch weit mehr von der Bürde ihres Ruhms.  
Die arme Herrscherin der Welt.’

or the following:

<sup>1</sup>Cf. *op. cit.* Vol. II, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. *op. cit.* Vol. II, p. 42 and 44.



‘Don, sterbt wohl —  
Seht dort das Pantheon, und denkt, in Rom  
Woll’ Sterben eines einzelnen nicht gar  
Viel sagen.’<sup>1</sup>

and a number of similar passages are in the vein of *Childe Harold*. The character of Grabbe’s Faust brings at once *Manfred* to mind. Like Manfred he declares that the tortures of hell are petty compared to the hell in his heart, and that he will struggle as long as he exists—but not like Manfred only against the powers of evil, nay even against God himself, for:

‘So klein der Mensch ist, grösser ist er als  
Die Welt, — er ist unendlich, stark genug,  
Um nicht zu hoffen, dass er Teufel bänd’ge,  
Zu hoffen, dass er einst Gott auf dem Thron  
Zur Seit’ sich stelle, wär’s auch im Kampfe!’<sup>2</sup>

Grabbe’s Satan is also a Byronic figure; he comments on his fall:

‘Ja, wir stürzten — Zufall  
Entscheidet oft das Loos der Schlachten, — List  
Bewältigte uns auch, — Er wollte herrschen,  
Ich wollt’ es auch, der Gleichberechtigte —  
Doch ich war offen, und er heuchelte —  
Er hiess die Fesseln ‘Liebe’ und sieh’ da,  
Es waren Thoren allerwärts, die über  
Dem Klang des Wortes den der Kette nicht  
Vernahmen — doch die Nacht ist unerschöpflich,  
Das Licht bedarf der Nahrung und erlischt  
Deshalb gar leicht aus Mangel. — Sterne, Sonnen  
Verkohlen, Liebe sättigt sich, — es dringt  
Das alte Dunkel, womit wir die Welt,  
So weit sie sich auch dehnt, umlagern, schnell  
Hervor, wo etwas einbricht. — Er muss sich  
Schon wieder wehren, und wir greifen wieder  
An! Dicht am Himmel, keinen Fingerbreit  
Davon entfernt, steh’n unsre Throne.’...

<sup>1</sup>Cf. *ibid.* p. 69.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. *op. cit.* Vol. II, p. 76.

In the end Satan will conquer:

'— — Stunde, nach der ich strebe, wo ich Ihn,  
Dess angemassten Namen ich nicht nenne,  
Im Schutte seiner Herrlichkeit begrabe,  
Statt seines Lichtes, der Flamme Zunge leuchten  
Und fressen lasse—muss ich dein gedenken?  
Jedoch du kommst — ich fühl's — ich werd' dich  
schau'n —  
Ich bin unsterblich und bin unermüdlich! — —'

We find all these elements in the following passage from  
*Cain*:

'Souls who dare use their immortality —  
Souls who dare look the omnipotent tyrant in  
His everlasting face, and tell him that  
His evil is not good! If he has made,  
As he saith — which I know not — or believe —  
But, if he made us — he cannot unmake:  
We are immortal! — nay, he'd have us so,  
That he may torture: — . . . .'

'The Maker — call him  
Which name thou wilt: he makes but to destroy.'  
'Methinks (he) is merely propagating Death  
And multiplying murder.' . . . .

'No! By heaven, which he  
Holds, and the abyss, and the immensity  
Of worlds and life, which I hold with him — No!  
I have a victor—true; but no superior.  
Homage he has from all—but none from me:  
I battle it against him, as I battled  
In highest Heaven, through all Eternity,  
And the unfathomable gulfs of Hades,  
And the interminable realms of space,  
And the infinity of endless ages,  
All, all, I will dispute! And world by world  
And star by star, and universe by universe,

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. *op. cit.* Vol. II, p 27 and 102.

Shall tremble in the balance, till the great  
Conflict shall cease, if it ever shall cease?  
Which it ne'er shall, till he or I be quenched!"

In his attitude and relations to God the Satan of Grabbe's *Don Juan und Faust* resembles Lucifer of Byron's *Cain* point for point. Both blame the chance of war for their fall and unceasingly strive against God, whom they sorely press and whom they hope to conquer in the end. But they differ somewhat in their attitude toward mankind. Grabbe's Satan is full of hatred and malevolence toward man, while Byron's Lucifer, outwardly at least, is more benevolently disposed. Rudolf Gottschall already pointed out the relations of Grabbe's Satan to that of Lucifer in Byron's *Cain*. His view is, however, rejected by Ploch, who considers the black knight of Schiller's *Jungfrau von Orleans* the model of Grabbe's Satan<sup>2</sup>. But the only similarity between these two consists in the fact that both are attired completely in black; no relation or resemblance exists in their characters. Grabbe probably did borrow the costume from Schiller, but nothing more. In character his Satan is akin to Byron's Lucifer.

The flight of Satan and Faust through space and the rather brief and vague account of it were also undoubtedly influenced by *Cain*.

Grabbe's Don Juan, too, possesses the proud and lofty defiance of Byron's Manfred and Lucifer. He unhesitatingly rejects eternal salvation that is offered to him on the condition that he repent. His individuality is more to him than salvation.

'Was

Ich bin, das bleib' ich. Bin ich Don Juan,  
So bin ich nichts, werd' ich ein Anderer!  
Weit eher Don Juan im Abgrundschwefel  
Als Heiliger in Paradieseslichte!"

Faust selects the summit of Montblanc as the place to spend his honeymoon. This rather strange choice is surely due to the influence of *Manfred*. In Byron's work, however, the locality serves a distinct purpose, while in the case of Grabbe's this

<sup>1</sup>Cf. *op. cit.* Vol. V, p. 218, 222 and frequently.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Ploch A. *Grabbes Stellung in der Deutschen Literatur*. Leipzig, 1905, p. 128 f.

hardly could be maintained. It seems highly probable to me that the third canto of *Childe Harold*, which contains beautiful descriptions of Alpine scenery, furnished an additional motive for Grabbe's choice and has left its traces in *Don Juan and Faust*.<sup>1</sup>

Immediately after the last named play Grabbe wrote *Barbarossa*, *Heinrich VI.*, and *Napoleon*. The following passages from *Heinrich VI.* may well have been suggested by Byron:

‘Das Weib

Sieht tief, der Mann sieht weit. Euch ist die Welt  
Das Herz, uns ist das Herz die Welt.’

and

‘Jedes Volk, das sich

Nicht selbst befreit, verdient nicht frei zu sein,  
Und im Befreier trifft's den neuen Herrn.’

In thought, though not in expression, these passages correspond closely to *Don Juan*, canto I, stanza 194, and to stanza 76, canto II, of *Childe Harold*. But what Grabbe expresses pointedly in two lines, Byron has elaborated into eight.

Byron and Grabbe co-incided in their admiration for Napoleon, but not in their final estimate of him. When fortune deserted the great Corsican, Byron's admiration ceased; Grabbe, on the other hand, saw in Napoleon once for all the gigantic genius, in the end overcome by adverse circumstances and his own limitations. While his Napoleon, i. e., the character, is independent of and far superior to Byron's conception of this great mortal, the drama is nonetheless indebted in some features to Byron.

I feel convinced that Scene I of Act V was suggested by the famous stanzas of canto III of *Childe Harold* that describe the ball of the Duchess of Richmond at Brussels on the eve of the battle of Waterloo and its abrupt termination. We find in Grabbe's play all the details of Byron's description: ‘the sound of revelry by night’---‘Brunswick's fated chieftain’---‘within a window niche’---and ‘he did hear that sound (the roaring of the canon) the first amidst the festival, and caught its tone with death's prophetic ear.’ He rushes to the field of battle to

<sup>1</sup>Cf. *op. cit.* Vol. II, p. 117.



avenge the death of his father, and finds his own. There are also 'hurrying to and fro'---'and gathering tears, and tremblings of distress, and cheeks all pale, which but an hour ago blushed at the praise of their own loveliness, and there are sudden partings, such as press the life from out young hearts, and choking sighs which never might be repeated.' Also the 'mounting in hot haste---the steed, the mustering squadron and the clattering car.' Not even the pibroch is forgotten, 'which fills the mountaineers wiht the fierce native daring which instills the stirring memory of a thousand years, and Evan's-Donald's fame rings in each clansman's ears.'

All these details Grabbe's drama has in common with Byron's epic stanzas. To be sure, there are details in the drama not to be found in Byron, especially those that concern the Duke of Brunswick; but this we really ought to expect if we consider that Detmold, where Grabbe was born and spent most of his life, lies close to the boundary of the Duchy of Brunswick, and that Grabbe must have been particularly well acquainted with the details of the life of the Duke.

Grabbe was not at all affected by the enthusiasm for the Greeks and their cause that then pervaded all Europe, and of which Byron was so powerful a promoter. The only references to the matter to be found in Grabbe's writings are a few short passages in the satirical play *Scherz, Satire, Ironie und tiefere Bedeutung*.<sup>1</sup> While they must not be taken too seriously, they plainly indicate that Grabbe looked down with contempt upon the struggle of the Greeks for liberty. This must also be inferred from the absence of any mention of the subject in his other works as well as in his correspondence.

As the result of my investigations I have arrived at these conclusions: It is probable, at least not impossible, that Grabbe was influenced in his *Gothland* by Byron's *Cain*, and consciously strove to outdo Byron in the expression of scepticism, gloom, despair and contempt for human existence. *Don Juan und Faust* was strongly influenced by *Childe Harold*, *Manfred*, and *Cain*. Reminiscences of Byron are found in the *Hohenstaufen* dramas. Scene I of Act V of Grabbe's *Napoleon* was suggested by Byron's stanzas on the battle of Waterloo.

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. *op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 276.

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF ENGLISH  
LITERATURE.

Edited by A. W. Ward and A. R. Waller.

Volume 1. From the Beginnings to the Cycles of Romance.  
New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1907.

The appearance of the first of the fourteen projected volumes of this history cannot fail to arouse widespread interest. The general plan of the whole has indeed been familiar for some time, but no announcement or prospectus can give more than a faint adumbration of the true quality of a completed work. Upon the whole, the results here shown are satisfactory, and the method promises well for the volumes to come. Nothing can be more useful than a literary history each chapter of which is the work of an acknowledged specialist. This arrangement has made Paul's *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*, for example, the recognized authority upon all things Germanic. In the present instance, if the scope of the work as a whole is smaller, the field covered by each individual is likewise smaller, and the opportunity for specialization proportionately greater.

The danger that a history of this sort may make the impression of a collection of somewhat heterogeneous chapters has been skilfully avoided. While clearly enough the work of different scholars, the various sections are written in a simple, straightforward style, and the material is, in the main, well distributed and clearly mapped out. Occasional repetitions are to be found, but possibly the treatment of the same subject from different points of view is not wholly a disadvantage. No welcome is given to theorizing; the editors have evidently been careful to impose a judicial attitude upon their contributors. In some cases doubtful questions are almost too cautiously handled, although it is surely far better to risk this charge than to err in the opposite direction. It could hardly be expected, perhaps, that all the chapters should reach a uniform standard as literary

history, or that the editors should in every case be equally fortunate in their choice of specialists. The thorough understanding of subject-matter and the distinction of treatment which mark some portions make others seem inferior by contrast.

The arrangement of the *apparatus criticus* is admirable. Practically all bibliography is given at the end of the volume. The text is almost wholly descriptive and critical, and encumbered as little as possible with notes. Lengthy illustrative extracts have generally been avoided, although in some cases much is suggested in paraphrases. The bibliography itself is so detailed as to offer a great deal of independent information, particularly in regard to material not discussed in the text. The whole is followed by a table of dates and an index of names. It is gratifying to note that each volume is to contain its own index, and that the annoyance of having a general index at the close of a later volume is to be avoided.

One of the reasons why this book has been awaited with particular interest is the crying need of a history of Anglo-Saxon literature embodying the results of the researches of the last twenty years. The best histories available, like those of Stopford Brooke or ten Brink, are out of date, and works in German, like Brandl's forthcoming contribution to Paul's *Grundriss*, while highly useful to a restricted number of people, will not reach many English-speaking students who need a trustworthy history of the period. Within its limits, the present outline is clear and well-balanced, but it will not render a new treatment of the subject superfluous. In a series of fourteen volumes, the whole Anglo-Saxon period might perhaps have been given more than a third of a single volume. The editors have allotted to it one hundred and sixty-four pages, exclusive of the bibliography. However, the problem of determining the relative importance of different eras is indeed difficult, and the amount of material to be covered in the succeeding centuries very great. Perhaps the most disappointing feature of this part of the work is the chapter dealing with the early national poetry. Besides certain in-



accuracies, it fails to suggest at all those qualities which make this poetry so noteworthy as literature,—the simplicity and vigor of *Beowulf*, the deep feeling for nature and the passionate lyric cry of the Northumbrian elegies. It would seem to be the business of a history of literature to bring before the mind of the reader such matters as these, as well as dates, sources, and literary parallels. This is all the more noticeable here, since a lack of literary appreciation is not at all characteristic of the volume as a whole.

The short introductory chapter by Mr. Waller serves, in a way, to strike the keynote of the series. He points out that our earlier poetry is not that of a people groping for literary expression. 'The days of apprenticeship were over; the Englishman of the days of *Beowulf* and *Widsith*, *The Ruin* and *The Seafarer*, knew what he wished to say, and said it, without exhibiting any apparent trace of groping after things dimly seen or apprehended. And from those days to our own, in spite of periods of decadence, of apparent death, of great superficial change, the chief constituents of English literature—a reflective spirit, attachment to nature, a certain carelessness of "art," love of home and country and an ever present consciousness that there are things worse than death—these have, in the main, continued unaltered.'

A very useful discussion of runes and manuscripts by Miss A. C. Paues follows. Here the main facts in regard to the methods of preserving and perpetuating early literature in writing are conveniently summarized. It is an admirable idea to devote a special section to this topic, which seems not to have been given the consideration it deserves in histories of early literature. As already noted, the treatment of the national poetry in Anglo-Saxon, by Mr. H. Munro Chadwick, contains some passages which need restatement. The point is made (p. 21) that this poetry was, for the most part, the work of minstrels. 'In two cases, *Widsith* and *Deor*, we have definite statements to this effect, and from Bede's account of Caedmon we may probably infer that the early Christian



poems had a similar origin.' The functions of author and reciter, which may indeed in many cases have been identical, are here confused. Minstrels sang traditional verse, to a large extent; but that members of their class had been responsible for its composition is by no means certain. Occasional verse composed in honor of patrons, like that mentioned in *Widsith* (there is no statement that Deor was more than a singer), obviously proves nothing for the whole body of early national poetry. Moreover, it is hard to see how Mr. Chadwick draws the inference which he does from the well-known passage in Bede. While his conclusions may be correct, to a certain extent, his evidence is not as definite as he makes it appear. He calls attention (pp. 22, 23) to the *citharoedus* whom Clovis obtained from the Ostrogothic King Theodric, and mentions Koegel's theory that the appearance of epic poetry in the north-west of Europe is to be traced to this entertainer. The significance of this figure for the development of early poetry has been shown by Rajna to have been entirely misunderstood,—'che si tratta d'un artista di scuola classica, non già di un barbara scôp.'<sup>1</sup> Opinions might differ in regard to the statement (p. 22) that 'it is probably due to accident that most of the shorter poems which have come down to us are of an elegiac character.' A considerable amount of space is given to citation of Scandinavian parallels to *Beowulf*, but the point is nowhere clearly made that the material in its origin and development is in all probability essentially Scandinavian. The researches of Sarrazin, Sievers, Bugge, and others, have made some such statement as this not only possible, but imperative. Mr. Chadwick accepts Sarrazin's identification of Beowulf with Böðvarr Biarki, which is now pretty generally rejected, although the matter still needs further discussion. There is no suggestion in the chapter of any mythical elements in the poem. Cautiously as the subject should be handled, it can scarcely be entirely ignored. The resemblance between Beowulf's dragon-fight and that related of Frotho I in Saxo is pronounced 'not

<sup>1</sup>*Le origini dell' epopea francese*, p. 36.

very striking.' It is worth noting that this parallel, which has been almost universally accepted, is also rejected by Axel Olrik. (*Danmarks Heltedigtning*, I, pp. 307 ff.)

Mr. Chadwick dates *Widsith* very early. He thinks 'the hypothesis that the kernel of the poem is really the work of an unknown fourth-century minstrel, who did visit the court of Eormenric, seems to involve fewer difficulties than any other.' The minstrel can scarcely have been fictitious, he supposes, as 'he would hardly have been associated with so obscure a person as Eadgils, prince of the Myrgingas, a family not mentioned except in this poem.' Mr. Chadwick forgets that Eadgils and the Myrgings may have been far from obscure, especially if we relegate them to the fourth century. Considering the scarcity of early records, the argument *ex silentio* proves nothing. The theory that the kernel of the poem dates from the fourth century is open to grave objections, but the matter is too complicated to bear discussion here.

The treatment of the Christian poetry, by Miss M. Bentinek Smith, shows far more feeling for literary quality. Here again, however, one or two statements seem to need revision. To say that the majority of the poems should be regarded as 'folk-song' (p. 45) is surely an unfortunate use of the term. It is not quite correct to state that 'we have no erotic poetry in pre-Conquest England' in view of the *Husband's* or *Lover's Message*, the *Wife's Complaint*, and the so-called *First Riddle*. The theory that Cynewulf may be identified with the Bishop of Lindisfarne is not so 'impossible' as Miss Smith believes. The monographs of Dr. C. F. Brown,<sup>1</sup> which might in future be given a place in the bibliography, would perhaps induce her to revise her conclusions. Occasionally a statement is misleading, while not erroneous. Thus to say (p. 65), 'Portions of an Old English *Physiologus* have also been attributed to Cynewulf' is to give prominence to a theory unsupported by adequate evidence, and almost certainly untenable. Professor

<sup>1</sup>Cynewulf and Alcuin, *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, New Series, Vol. XI, No. 2, pp. 308 ff. (Cf. especially p. 334); *The Autobiographical Element in the Cynewulfian Rune Passages*, *Englische Studien*, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 196-233.

Schofield's interpretation of the *First Riddle* is misstated, his name is misspelled, and he is made jointly responsible with Gollancz for the latter's theories.

Dr. Montague James, the provost of King's College, has contributed an admirable outline of Latin writing in England to the time of Alfred. The two chapters on Anglo-Saxon prose are likewise very satisfactory. Professor Thomas thinks Alfred's Preface to the Anglo-Saxon version of the *Cura Pastoralis* the first important piece of prose in English, from a literary point of view, a distinction which the Cynewulf-Cyneheard passage from the *Chronicle* might dispute. Chapter VII, by Mr. Westlake, treats of the later verse as well as the prose. Perhaps he is inclined to date *Judith* rather too late. He seems to favor the theory that it was composed as a eulogy of Æthelflæd, the Lady of Mercia, although he puts it cautiously. Ælfric's homily on Judith can hardly be considered evidence for the date of the composition of the poem. The subject was not so remote that such an inspiration for it must be sought. Professor Cook, it will be remembered, places *Judith* in the year 856. The traces of metrical arrangement in Wulfstan Mr. Westlake thinks 'may have been part of some pessimistic folk-ballads on England's downfall,' a view which might not command universal assent. He has contributed a special Appendix to this chapter, in which later Anglo-Saxon metre is discussed. His views seem somewhat different from those of Professor Saintsbury, whose chapter on "The Prosody of Old and Middle English" is placed near the end of the book. Criticism of these contributions must be left to specialists in this difficult subject. It may be remarked, however, that Professor Saintsbury's treatment of the Anglo-Saxon period is, as in his large work on English prosody, most unsatisfactory, while Middle English fares little better. The epoch-making researches of Sievers are not even mentioned in the text, nor are his results utilized. The whole chapter is hardly more than a series of scattered impressions. In such a book as this, a careful and scientific outline of metrical development may not unreasonably be expected.



Errors and lack of uniformity in printing quotations from foreign languages are noticeable, especially in the earlier part of the book. Quantity in Anglo-Saxon is indicated sometimes by the macron, sometimes by the acute accent,<sup>1</sup> sometimes not at all.<sup>2</sup> The use of *ae* and *oe* instead of the digraphs,<sup>3</sup> and of *th* for *þ* or *ð* does not look well, nor does a Roman *p* or other letter seem to belong in a quotation otherwise in italics.<sup>4</sup> Both *g* and *j* are employed, and in one case *z* is made to do the duty for the sound, as *p* is for *þ*.<sup>5</sup> Such mixtures as *paes*, *maez*, are ugly. A certain number of misprints is of course inevitable. A list of those noted in reading is given below.<sup>6</sup> There seem to be many errors in the Index of Names.<sup>7</sup> References to the Preface are apparently all wrong; it looks as though the pagination had been altered since the printing of the Index.

The treatment of the Middle English period is perhaps more satisfactory than that of the preceding age. Much space is rightly given to Latin literature, though similar consideration has not been shown to material in Anglo-French. This lack of any systematic treatment of Anglo-Norman or Anglo-French literature is one of the less satisfactory features of the book. The chapter entitled "English Scholars of Paris and Franciscans of Oxford" serves to group the noteworthy Latin writers from John of Salisbury to Richard of Bury in an interesting way. The fact that it is the work of Dr. J. E. Sandys is ample assurance of its quality. The quotation from Chaucer (p. 236) is not quite accurate.

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Chapter II and Chapter XIX.

<sup>2</sup>pp. 3, 145, 154, 155.

<sup>3</sup>pp. 3; 68, l. 12; 102.

<sup>4</sup>p. 10, l. 22; p. 68, l. 21; p. 137, l. 18.

<sup>5</sup>p. 145, l. 18.

<sup>6</sup>p. 3, l. 10, read *or for of*; p. 11, note 1, read *álysendlécan*; p. 31, l. 1.4, association; p. 56, l. 17, individual; p. 62, note 1. 10, Vietor for Victor; p. 67, l. 14, read Schofield; p. 145, l. 18, read *Amici* (?); p. 154, l. 17, assonance; p. 102 *λεγόμενα* for *λεγόμενα*; p. 182, note 1, Anselm for Anslem; p. 198, l. 27, subtlety; p. 223, l. 13, exponent; p. 246, l. 34, impulse; p. 259, l. 18, *be* for *e*; p. 315, l. 24 *the*; p. 316, l. 31, *is for in*; p. 434, l. 28 read almost.

<sup>7</sup>In H, selected at random, *Hadrian IV*, *Hakluyt*, *Helie de Borron*, *Hildegard*, *Horn*, the *Gest of King*, *Huon of Bordeaux* are not mentioned on the pages to which the index refers.



The chapter on Early Transition English is from the pen of Professor J. W. H. Atkins. Here one or two matters need correction. The idea that Robin Hood was a metamorphosis of Woden is surely to be rejected.<sup>1</sup> The description of Orm's doubling of consonants is not quite accurate (p. 250). The consonant was not doubled unless it ended the syllable. Professor Bradley states the process much better (p. 441). The dissenting theories of Trautmann might perhaps have been mentioned in the bibliography.<sup>2</sup> The extract from the *Luce Ron* of Thomas de Hales (p. 259) is given in the original form. The old scribal error *Dideyne* for *Ideyne* seems hardly worth perpetuating, however. The important section on the Arthurian legends has been entrusted to Professor W. Lewis Jones, of the University College of North Wales. It is agreeable reading, showing a keen appreciation of the literary qualities of the material. The *Historia Brittonum* of Nennius is placed 'not later than the first half of the ninth century.' While the question is a most disputed one, there seems to be good reason for dating the work a century later. The recent monograph of Mr. W. W. Newell, in which the whole matter is reviewed, has apparently escaped the notice of the author.<sup>3</sup> At the end of the chapter, Professor Jones gives an interesting summary of the amount of direct influence exercised by Celtic literature upon English. He finds that this amounts, 'on strict computation,' to very little. He is not inclined to underestimate the Welsh elements in the Arthurian story, however.

Two chapters are devoted to the metrical romances. The first of these, by Professor W. P. Ker, is a delightfully written survey of the field as a whole, showing on every page the author's intimate acquaintance with the subject. The position of the English romances in the development of mediaeval literature as a whole is well indicated, and their shortcomings as compared with their more eloquent French rivals are not mini-

<sup>1</sup>Cf. p. 242. The matter is discussed at some length in Professor Child's large edition of the English and Scottish popular ballads, Vol. III, p. 48.

<sup>2</sup>*Anglia*, Vol. VII, Anz. pp. 94, ff. and 208 ff.; Vol. XVIII, pp. 371 ff.

<sup>3</sup>*Publications of the Modern Language Association*, New Series, Vol. XIII, No. 3, pp. 622, ff.

mized. Some attention is paid to metrical forms, but most to literary quality and workmanship. It may be noted that Professor Ker speaks of the 'lost French original' of Boccaccio's story of Palamon and Arcite (p. 318), and that he mentions Malory's *Morte D'Arthur* rather as if it were a translation from one source than a compilation from many (p. 333). Professor Atkins, who follows with the second chapter, has not succeeded quite so well. Perhaps the intention was that his share of the work should be a summarizing and paraphrasing of the more important romances, in which case the somewhat pedestrian tone of the whole is rather his misfortune than his fault. He gives a fair estimate of the position of the English metrical romance as literature in his closing pages, but the total effect of the chapter, after Mr. Ker's work, is disappointing. The arrangement of the two chapters, while interesting for the general reader, is not so good schematically as it might be. Unless this romantic material is carefully and systematically grouped, a feeling of confusion is likely to result. The bibliography of the two chapters at the end of the work, however, is conveniently arranged, each romance being treated separately. There seems to be little to note in the way of detail in Professor Atkins' work. The use of the word 'legend' (p. 335) in contradistinction to religious writing is not happy; a 'legend' being originally something to be read in church. The hypothesis of Professor Schofield in regard to the location of the *Horn* story is adopted, in substance, and, indeed, it is hard not to be convinced by this simple solution of the problem. The romance of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* is separated from the consideration of the rest of the Gawain-material, and considered more in detail in the chapter which follows.

Professor Gollancz here treats separately the works of the Gawain-poet, about which he may well speak with authority. Yet he hardly makes the reader understand why *Pearl* is one of the greatest poems of the fourteenth century, and for the most illuminating criticism of *Sir Gawain* one must turn back to the chapter written by Professor Ker. It is perhaps only

fair to say that the latter poem is here treated 'mainly as the work of the author of *Pearl*.' The hypothetical biography of the unknown poet, deduced from his poems,—'he must, while yet a youth, have felt the subtle spell of nature's varying aspects in the scenes around him,' etc.—is not wholly convincing. Professor Gollancz denies that *Pearl* is connected with the fourteenth Eclogue of Boccaccio: 'The comparison of the two poems is a fascinating study, but there is no evidence of direct indebtedness; both writers, though their elegies are different in form, have drawn from the same sources. Even were it proved that such a debt must actually be taken into account in dealing with the English poems, it would not help, but rather gainsay, the ill-founded theory that would make *Pearl* a pure allegory, a mere literary device, impersonal and unreal.'

Space forbids a detailed consideration of Miss Clara L. Thompson's chapter on the legendaries and chronicles, or Mr. Waller's on the secular lyrics, tales and social satire. Some discussion of the latter material is promised in the next volume. It may be noted that Mr. Waller misunderstands one naive and homely detail in the *Cuckoo-song*.<sup>1</sup> Professor Saintsbury's chapter on prosody has already been mentioned. Chapter XIX, in which Mr. Henry Bradley outlines the linguistic development of English to the time of Chaucer, is, as hardly need be said, one of the very best in the book. Besides giving a clear-cut and terse summary of the facts, he attacks certain ancient errors which die hard, and need to be given a final *coup de grace*. The closing section, on the Anglo-French law language, by the late Professor Maitland, is a novelty, and an interesting one, in a book of this type. Sufficient attention has not been paid to such matters as these; indeed, the whole subject of the use of Anglo-French still offers much opportunity for investigation.

It is apparently sometimes considered the function of the reviewer to provide corrective rather than appreciative criticism. In the present instance it would be manifestly unfair

<sup>1</sup>p. 403, note 3. Cf. Wülker, *Altenglisches Lesebuch*, Vol. I, p. 168, note to the line.



to allow the former to predominate. No history of English literature can please everybody; after the errors of fact have been carefully set right, some errors of judgment will be felt by every critic. Upon the whole, the editors of this series are to be congratulated on their opening volume. It can hardly fail to remain for many years one of the standard authorities on the history of literature in early England.

Columbia University,  
January, 1908.

WILLIAM WITHERLE LAWRENCE.

### STUDIES IN ENGLISH SYNTAX.

By *C. Alphonso Smith*, Boston, Ginn & Company (1906). 8vo., pp. 92.

The three essays contained in this little volume, *Interpretative Syntax*, *The Short Circuit in English Syntax*, and *The Position of Words as a Factor in English Syntax*, present the subject of English syntax in a new and attractive light. "By interpretative syntax is meant not so much a new kind of syntax as a distinctive method of approach" (p. 1). Though far from underrating the service of statistics,<sup>1</sup> Dr. Smith considers syntax as "the autobiography of language," and believes "more in weighing than in counting, less in tabulation than in correlation" (Preface). "There is such a thing as a feeling for syntax, a syntactic sense,—though we are in danger of losing it,—a sense that is as necessary for appreciating the range and import of syntactical distinctions as taste is necessary in the realm of aesthetics or conscience in the realm of morals" (p.2).

The pages that follow (3-31) furnish illustrations of how syntax aids in the interpretation of literature and of history, how it may even be relied on within certain limits as a test of authorship (pp. 14-19), and further how, as "the autobiography of language," it may be interpreted in terms of lin-

<sup>1</sup>In *Modern Language Notes*, January 1908, Professor Smith fully and satisfactorily answers Mr. C. T. Onions's somewhat acrimonious review of the *Studies in English Syntax* published in *Englische Studien*, xxvii, 217-220. See especially Professor Smith's reply to the charge that he makes too little of counting or tabulating.



guistic law or idiom as well as in terms of literary criticism or stylistic effect" (p. 19). Under this head, Dr. Smith emphasizes the continuity of English syntax and the consequent importance of investigating more thoroughly the syntax of modern English writers and of correlating the present with the past. "Until this is done, the range and persistency of syntactical phenomena cannot be fully apprehended, and interpretation cannot be thorough-going" (p. 25).

In the second essay (pp. 32-60), the author establishes a new and important principle which is active in modern English and which has been operative for many centuries past. Expressed in his own language it is as follows: "Syntactical relations do not span wide spaces in English. The laws of concord, especially as illustrated in spoken English, operate best at close quarters....and depend not so much on logic as on proximity. They do not carry far....In other words, the normal tendency of English syntax, a tendency antagonized by impositions from the syntax of the classical languages, has always been toward short circuits rather than toward long circuits."

This principle is applied to explain anakolutia; the use of *this, these, all, that*, etc., by way of recapitulation; such idioms as *between you and I, I had rather stay than to go with you*; the construction *the Queen of England's throne*, instead of *the Queen's of England throne*, due to the "short reach of the English possessive relation"; the transition from a singular collective noun to a plural pronoun in the same sentence (*For my people is foolish, THEY have not known me. Jeremiah 4:22*); the tendency to "bolster up" the relative pronoun with the personal pronoun; the *and which* construction; the "dangling participle."

The last essay, on the Position of Words, which has not before been published, establishes another new and valuable principle, stated thus: "English syntax, having a comparatively fixed word-order, is by its nature averse to violent displacements. Subject and object especially have come to be

associated not so much with distinctive forms or endings as with distinctive positions. The principle of the short circuit confines the English subject and object to a limited territory. This territory, by its very limitations, they are enabled to dominate as the classical subject and object could not do. In the more plastic periods of English, therefore, before formal grammar came in to re-enforce or to divert the untutored *Sprachgefühl*, we may expect to find the syntactic relations of a word completely changed by a change of position. A direct or an indirect object, if it precede the predicate, is in danger of being made a subject; and a subject, if it stand after the predicate, is in danger of being forced to assume the form of a direct object." This principle Dr. Smith calls "the transforming influence of mere position."

As typical examples he considers first the idiom, unsparingly condemned by the purists, *I was given a book*. In the Old English the construction was *Me was given a book*. "The *Me*, by retaining its position in front of the verb, came to be the first word in the sentence," usurped the place and function of the subject, and eventually became nominative through the transforming influence of environment. "To call *book* 'a retained object,' as the grammars continue to do<sup>2</sup>—retained from the active construction, *He gave me a book*—is mere jugglery of words. Such a nomenclature takes it for granted that every passive construction presupposes an active construction still held consciously in the mind. This is manifestly absurd" (p. 69). In such a sentence Dr. Smith suggests that it would be best to call *I* a "nominative by position" and *book* an "object by position" (See also *Our Language*, by C. Alphonso Smith, § 141, note). According to this principle the following idioms are explained: *Who did you see? The man who I myself struck down. I think for methinks* (due to the sub-

<sup>1</sup>This principle, the transforming influence of mere position, is not quite so new and original as the principle of the "short circuit." It is a further development and a clearer and more definite summing up of Jespersen's able investigations in his *Progress in Language*, §§ 170-192. Professor Smith's examples are altogether new, however, and he does not fail to give Jespersen due credit in every case.

<sup>2</sup>See J. P. Kinard, *English Grammar for Beginners*, The Macmillan Co., p. 212; G. P. Krapp, *The Elements of English Grammar*, Scribners, 1908, p. 148.

jectifying influence of pre-verbal position). *Wo is me!* (for *I am wo!*). *Shall's* for *shall we*. *It is them, it is him*, etc. (due to the objectifying influence of post-verbal position).

In a few pages at the close it is shown that the normal order of words in English, subject+predicate+object, is firmly fixed and has stoutly resisted all attempts at change. Hence it is easy to understand "why this sequence should have played so important a rôle in English syntax" (p. 92).

It might be noted, however, that in the case of the verb *to be* this transforming influence of mere position is sometimes counteracted by the force of mere proximity, especially when the subject and predicate noun are of different numbers. Not infrequently the post-verbal noun, properly the complement, usurps the function of the true subject and draws the verb away from its allegiance to the governing word.

A. Singular subject, plural predicate noun.

1. Singular verb.

We promptly saw that what was wanted *was* two crescendos meeting somewhere near the middle (G. W. Cable, *Century*, May, 1906, p. 98).

What gives the story vital rather than transient interest is the personages to whom the events happen (W. C. Brownell, *Scribner's* May, 1906, p. 461).

The most prominent feature of the landscape *was* the pine trees (Quoted in Newcomer and Seward's *Rhetoric in Practice*, p. 109).

2. Plural verb.

Gyf þæt leoht þe on þe ys, synt þystru, hu mycle beoþ þa þystru! Matt. vi, 23 (Quoted by Kellner, *Historical Outlines of English Syntax*, p. 50).

The notion that a crisis in the Roman question had arrived, and that the French garrison would be promptly withdrawn from the Roman capital of Italy, *were the foolish dreams of* an impulsive people (Quoted by Genung, *Outlines of Rhetoric*, p. 80).



What we particularly want to know *are* the facts in the case.

What part of speech *are* the words in italics? (Kinard, *English Grammar*, p. 4 and *passim*). Cf. Krapp, B. 2 (below).

B. Plural subject, singular predicate noun.

1. Plural verb.

Others' shortcomings *are* no excuse for our own (Quoted in Newcomer's *Elements of Rhetoric*, p. 124).

Money and position *are* a poor compensation for the loss of self-respect (Quoted in *Rhetoric and Practice*, p. 109).

2. Singular verb.

Bretons *was* þe verste fole þat to engelonde com. *Robert of Gloucester* (ed. W. A. Wright, 1887), l. 57 (Quoted by Kellner, p. 50).

The schon that sal be your feet upon,

*Is* not ellys but exawnpyl of vertuis levyng.

*Coventry Mysteries*, (Halliwell, 1884) p. 273 (Kellner, p. 50).

No words of reproach, however grievous, is a sufficient provocation to justify an assault (Hurst's *Guide and Manual*).

The Parts of Speech *is* the classification of words according to the functions which they perform in the sentence (Krapp, *Elements of English Grammar*, Scribners, 1908, p. 6).

In the examples under A 2 and B 2, it appears that the force of mere proximity is stronger than that of mere position. In all such cases, however, the agreement of the verb depends on where the writer lays the greater emphasis, on the pre-verbal or on the post-verbal noun (see Kellner, p. 50). At times the construction is awkward and illogical, and Newcomer (*Elements of Rhetoric*, p. 124) suggests that "it is frequently better to avoid the collocation by recasting the sentence."

As a possible illustration of Dr. Smith's third principle, the transforming influence of position, might be cited the double construction *let's we go*, which is not infrequently heard in careless and colloquial speech. By assimilation *let's* > *less*, a "petrified hortative form,"<sup>1</sup> which is analogous to the Anglo-

<sup>1</sup>Greenough and Kittredge, *Words and their Ways in English Speech*, p. 180. Cf. *witan, wisse; bledsian, bletsian*, Modern English *bless*; and see Kluge, Paul's *Grundriss*, p. 335; Mayhew, *Old English Phonology*, §471; Sievers, *Old English Grammar*, (Cook), 2d edition, § 232.



Saxon *uton* (*wuton*), and in which the objective pronoun *us* has become completely confused with the verb, so that sometimes another *us* develops before the infinitive, as *let's us*, or *less us go*. Sometimes, however, the nominative form *we* appears, as *let's we go*. In this construction *let's* has become an unmeaning introductory particle, and has lost its hold upon the following phrasal object, *us go*. The infinitive phrase, *us go*, then naturally develops into a clause, the form *go* being mistaken for indicative, and the objective *us*, by the transforming influence of position, becoming nominative *we*, subject of the supposedly finite verb *go*. In the Middle English the common construction after *lete* is *we* with the subjunctive; e. g., *lete we þeos ferde bilæue, and speke of Arthure* (Quoted by March, *Anglo-Saxon Grammar*, § 443).

Slight as these brief studies in English syntax seem to be, they embody new and important principles, adequate to explain many difficulties either passed over altogether or but slightly touched on in most school grammars. As a contribution to the study of English syntax, this little volume seems to me the most original and most valuable that has appeared in our country for many years.

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*Francke, Kuno: German Ideals of To-Day* and other essays on German culture. Boston and New York. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1907. 341 S. Preis \$1.25.

Das Buch besteht aus einer Sammlung von Aufsätzen und Vorträgen, die mit einer Ausnahme im Lauf der letzten Jahre schon einmal im Druck erschienen waren. Die Neu-Veröffentlichung dient ausgesprochenemassen der Propaganda. Das amerikanische Publikum soll mit dem innersten Kern der deutschen Volksseele, mit den höchsten Idealen des deutschen Geisteslebens der Gegenwart bekannt gemacht und zu mitfüh-

lendem Verständnis gewonnen werden. Ueber die Notwendigkeit solcher Propaganda herrscht keine Frage; ebensowenig darüber, dass Francke unter den Vermittlern zwischen Deutschland und Amerika einen ersten Platz einnimmt. Als Gründer und Leiter des germanischen Museums in Cambridge, als Dozent der deutschen Kulturgeschichte an der Harvard-Universität, als einer der bedeutendsten Vertreter deutscher Wissenschaft in Amerika überhaupt, hat Francke eine Tätigkeit entfaltet, deren reiche Erfolge den Zweifel an der eingeschlagenen Methode zum Schweigen gebracht haben.

Aehnlichen Erfolg wünsche ich dem vorliegenden Buche. Es ist, wie die deutsche Literaturgeschichte desselben Autors, ein hinreissend temperamentvolles, ein prachtvoll persönliches, ein durch und durch lebendiges Werk. Es scheint nicht geschrieben. Der Leser wird zum Hörer, dem die helle Stimme einer überzeugungsfesten Persönlichkeit erklingt. Und dieser Persönlichkeit folgt sich gern. Der Amerikaner wird sich ihrem Eindruck schwer entziehen können. Er wird Deutschland einmal mit Francke's Augen betrachten und Licht erblicken, wo er vorher nur Schatten oder auch gar nichts zu sehen gewohnt war. Im Reichsdeutschen freilich werden nach und nach Zweifel aufsteigen, ob Francke auch wirklich das Deutschland von Heute dargestellt, oder nur den Plan des ersehnten Deutschland kommender Tage vorgezeichnet habe.

Ich muss gestehen, dass mich ein mehrjähriger Aufenthalt im alten Vaterland etwas skeptisch gestimmt hat. Der Titel-Aufsatz des Buches führt aus, die grossen Ideale des achtzehnten und neunzehnten Jahrhunderts - Völkerverbrüderung, Aufklärung, Freiheit, Nationalität - hätten sich überlebt oder erfüllt. Ist das wahr? Spukt nicht die Utopie einer Völkerverbrüderung unter der modernen Etikette der "Internationalen" in den Köpfen von nahezu vier Millionen deutscher Wähler? Bedeutet dieser nivellierende, das Volk entmannende Kosmopolitismus einer ungeheuren, wohlorganisierten Masse nicht mehr, als der eines Häufleins übergebildeter Schwärmer vor hundertzwanzig Jahren? Und ist Deutschland eine Nation?

Rührt sich nicht auch ausserhalb der Sozialdemokratie der partikularistische und der antinationale Geist stärker als je? Die Verhandlungen des bayrischen Landtags, die hundertzehn ultramontanen Stimmen im Reichstag geben eine bedenkliche Antwort. Und noch gilt weiten Schichten der Bevölkerung im Südosten der Name Bismarck als satanisches Schreckbild, vor dem man das Kreuz schlägt. Dann das Polenproblem im Osten und Westen!

Was das Ideal der Aufklärung anbelangt - hat mit Darwin und Haeckel nicht erst recht eine Aufklärungsperiode eingesetzt, umfassender, tiefgreifender, revolutionärer als die voltairesche?

Endlich die Freiheit.-Ja, im Verhältnis zu den Vereinigten Staaten, wo das Wort "demokratische Freiheit" zu einem hohlen Popanz, wo der blutsaugerische Despotismus der Trusts zur ehernen Tatsache geworden ist, wo in Religion, Kunst und Privatleben die "öffentliche Meinung" eine entehrende Bevormundung ausübt - da erscheint das Reich Wilhelms II. fast als ein Hort der Freiheit. Aber wenn es in Amerika übel aussieht, so ist Deutschland kein Paradies. Ultramontanismus, Muckertum aller Konfessionen, Lex-Heinze-Bewegung immer wieder erneut, Polizeiregiment, Klassenjustiz - man denke nur an den Hardenprozess - wären hier Kronzeugen. Nach wie vor ist auch in Deutschland die wahre Freiheit ein unerreichtes Ziel, ein heisserstrebtes, ein lebendiges Ideal: vor allem des Proletariats, von dem Francke sagt, es wolle nicht Freiheit, sondern Gerechtigkeit. Freiheit und Gerechtigkeit sind zu gleichbedeutenden Begriffen geworden.

Soziale Gerechtigkeit, soziale Tüchtigkeit, Lebensbejahung, das sind nach Franckes Ansicht die drei grossen Ideale des heutigen Deutschland. Sie sind es, wenn man sich an die zweifellos grosse Zahl der Guten, der Ehrlichen, der Gewissenhaften, der Aufrechten, der Gebildeten hält. Sie sind es nicht, wenn man die ebenso zweifellos grössere Masse der Inferioren, der Gemeinen, der Gewissenlosen, der Knechtseelen (wie es schreckend viele gerade in Deutschland!), der Un- und Halbgebildeten in Betracht zieht.



Francke ist eine stark, ja gewaltsam synthetische Natur. Er findet Brücken, wo anderen nur Abgründe gähnen. Er träumt von einer Sozialisierung der Hohenzollern und Junker, angesichts der absolutistischen Staatsform Preussens und der Herrenmoral seines Landtags. Er findet die Reichsregierung parteilos, als stünde sie über allen Parteien, wo sie doch mehr als je auf unwürdiges Lavieren zwischen den gerade herrschenden Kombinationen angewiesen ist. Er findet in dem Ideal der sozialen Gerechtigkeit ein Band, das Junkertum, Centrum, Liberalismus und Sozialdemokratie umschliesst, wo sich die Gegensätze von einer Wahl zur andern immer weiter ausdehnen. Aber vielleicht sind das Glaubenssachen. Hat Francke die trüben Unterströmungen wirklich gesehen, vermag er trotz allem und allem an Deutschlands Zukunft zu glauben, dann wollen wir uns über solch kräftigen Optimismus freuen und wünschen, dass er schliesslich Recht behalte.

Die weiteren Abschnitte des Buches sind: "Goethe's Message to America; Schiller's Message to Modern Life; Emerson and German Personality; The Evolutionary Trend of German Literary Criticism; The Inner Life in German Sculpture; The Study of National Culture." Das letzte Drittel ist der modernen Literatur und Philosophie gewidmet: "Hauptmanns Fuhrmann Henschel; Sudermanns Die Drei Reiherfedern; Paulsens Philosophia Militans; Herman Grimm; Hauptmanns Michael Kramer; Hauptmanns Armer Heinrich; The Struggle for Individuality on the German Stage; Widmanns Der Heilige und die Tiere; The Future of German Literature".

Die Titel zeigen, dass es dem Verfasser in dem grösseren Teil des Buches nicht darum zu tun war, seinen Lesern ein allseitiges Bild deutscher Kultur zu geben. Es sind einzelne Phasen, einzelne Menschen, einzelne Werke, in die er sich hineinlebt, die er liebgewonnen hat, und die er nun den Amerikanern mit dem ganzen Aufgebot seiner glänzende Beredsamkeit nahe zu bringen sucht. So wird er, in der Weise so manches Temperaments, einseitig. Wie geistreich und instruktiv verfolgt er die Geschichte der deutschen Literaturkritik durch die



Stufen der metaphysischen, der soziologisch-historischen, der philologischen und der psychologischen Methode. Und wie enttäuschend ist, was uns als vorläufiger Höhepunkt, als das Ende einer Reihe, die Herder beginnt, gezeigt wird: Volkelts "Aesthetik des Tragischen"! Dies soll der "eigenartigste und anregendste Beitrag" sein, "den je ein Deutscher zum psychologischen Studium der Literatur geliefert hat"? Die saubere Schematisierungskunst, das unermüdliche Einschachteln und Etikettieren der Volkeltschen Aesthetik in gebührenden Ehren: aber originell? Originell, nachdem Hebbel die alles lösende Formel gegeben? Eröffnet nicht ein einziger Paragraph Hebbels (über Kleists Prinzen von Homburg, über Judith, Genoveva usw. usw.) tiefere Einblicke in das Wesen des Tragischen, als das ganze, dicke Buch Volkelts? Ueber Volkelt hat Francke vierzehn Seiten zu sagen, über Friedrich Hebbel, den Tragischen Dichter und Kritiker der Tragoedie kat exochen - kein Wort.

Ebenso bedenklich ist Franckes Parteigängerschaft für Paulsen contra Haeckel. Wer den Streit des pseudo-monistischen Philosophen mit dem echt-monistischen Naturforscher leidenschaftslos verfolgt hat, wird zugeben müssen, dass Haeckel sich redlich und mit nicht geringem Erfolg bemüht hat, in die Geheimnisse spekulativer Philosophie einzudringen, dass aber Paulsen es stets unter seiner Würde fand, von den Resultaten der naturwissenschaftlichen Forschung auch nur die geringste Notiz zu nehmen. Haeckel hat Kant, Goethe, Hegel, Schopenhauer - und Paulsen gelesen. Paulsen nicht einmal die *Generelle Morphologie*. Er müsste sonst wissen, dass Haeckel von jeher die Materie sich als beseelt gedacht, mit der Vogelscheuche des landläufigen Materialismus also gar nichts zu tun hat, sowenig wie Goethe, mit dessen Weltanschauung sich Haeckel identifiziert. Paulsen kämpft scheinbar gegen Haeckel, in der Tat aber gegen ein Phantom, das er für Haeckel ausgibt. Es ist tief zu bedauern, dass Francke aus persönlicher Freundschaft kritiklos an Paulsens gehässiger, kleinlicher und unverständiger Polemik teilnimmt, dass er es tut in einem Buche, das kulturelle Kräfte des einen Volkes dem andern nahe bringen soll. Zum

mindesten als eine Kulturmacht ersten Ranges hätte der grosse Naturforscher zu seinem Recht kommen müssen. Seit Darwin hat es niemand so gut verstanden, weitesten Kreisen die Geheimnisse und Wunder des Naturlebens zu erschliessen. Der missverstandene Haeckel führt Flachköpfe zu nüchternem Rationalismus. Im echten Haeckel liegen die Keime zu einer neuen, gesunden, triebkräftigen Mystik - das beweist niemand besser als Maeterlinck und einer der Männer, die Francke seltsamerweise gegen den angeblichen Materialisten ausspielt: der Haeckel-Biograph Bölsche.

Wie gegen Haeckel systematisch, so fallen gegen einen andern Erneurer des deutschen Geisteslebens gelegentlich ungerechtfertigt harte Worte. Warum wird (p. 37) Nietzsche zwar "der leidenschaftlichste aber durchaus nicht edelste Vorkämpfer der Lebensbejahung" genannt? Gab es je einen edleren? Und war das Persönlichkeitsideal Nietzsches "des zynischen Autors von Menschliches-Allzumenschliches" wirklich nur "a bundle of animal instincts, of the desire for self-preservation and self-gratification, the thirst for power, the impulse to create and to command" (p. 122)? Solche Worte eines ehrlichen Wahrheitssuchers über einen der grössten Wahrheitssucher aller Zeiten schmerzen bitter. Statt Paulsen, Sudermann, Hauptmann und Widmann besondere Abschnitte zu widmen und sie so in eine Perspektive zu rücken, die nicht im Verhältnis steht zu ihrer tatsächlichen Bedeutung für die deutsche Kultur, wäre eine Würdigung des Zarathustra-Dichters fruchtbarer gewesen. Noch am heutigen Tage ist Zarathustra lebendiger als Der Arme Heinrich oder Widmanns Schattenspiel. Beide Werke überschätzt Franckes Enthusiasmus: die künstlerische Ohnmacht des ersteren, wie die akademische Steifheit des letzteren. Ueberhaupt ist eine objektive, aesthetische Würdigung von Kunstwerken, eine Würdigung, die auf der Analyse des Verhältnisses von Inhalt und Form, von Wollen und Können beruht, nicht die Sache des Verfassers. Ihm ist das Was stets wichtiger als das Wie. Er ist sentimentalischer Kunsthistoriker, der seine subjektiven Ideen in den Gegenstand der Betrachtung

hineinträgt und dabei häufig schon das Was erkennt. Er ist kein Wert und Unwert abwägender Aesthetiker von sicherem Urteil. So hätten - im Angesicht seines chronisch gewordenen Fiaskos; vgl. den öden Abklatsch von Grillparzers *Jüdin in Kaiser Karls Geisel* - die Artikel über Hauptmann, wenn sie schon ein zweitesmal abgedruckt werden mussten, von Grund aus umgearbeitet werden sollen. Von der räumlichen Freigebigkeit gegen Sudermann ganz zu schweigen: welcher Wissende nimmt Sudermann heute noch ernst? So ist es auch keineswegs ausgemacht, dass Klingers Beethoven den hohen Platz in der deutschen Kunst innehat, den ihm Francke zuweist. Um eine Skulptur, die Kommentare braucht, ist es eine missliche Sache. Vielleicht stehn der Nachwelt Hildebrands Bismarck oder Klingers eigener Liszt als Kunstwerke sehr viel höher.

Doch genug des Nörgelns bei einem Buch, dessen schlechteste Eigenschaft es nicht ist, dass es zum Nachdenken, Fragen und Widersprechen herausfordert.

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*Hebbels Stellung zu Shakespeare von Dr. Wilhelm Alberts. Forschungen zur neueren Literaturgeschichte, herausgegeben von Dr. Franz Muncker. XXXIII. Berlin, 1908. Preis M. 2.*

This treatise, intended primarily as a contribution to the history of the German drama, will be welcomed, especially by those readers who are interested in the development of the tragic since Shakespeare's time. The Shakespearean tragedy is a character tragedy pure and simple. Splendid and puissant personalities are its primary material. The tragic is based on human weakness and human passion as they influence the will of the individual for evil or good. It is a tragedy of moral failings and intellectual blunders.

Hebbel's drama deals no less with the character, though more with the evolutionary epoch of which the characters are



exponents. The tragic in Hebbel is a stern necessity resulting from the combination of inner and outer circumstances. These are the words of the author: "Er (Hebbel) lässt die Notwendigkeit . . . aus einer Zwangslage, aus menschlichen Leidenschaften oder bestimmten Lebensanschauungen hervorgehen. Und je nachdem das eine in einem Drama besonders deutlich geschieht - denn niemals wird es völlig von dem anderen getrennt sein - , kann man von einem Konflikt der Zwangslage, der Leidenschaft oder der Lebensanschauung sprechen."

This statement is striking to the student of Hebbel. It seems like an old truth in a new dialect and it certainly has its advantages. It emphasizes the rapid dissemination of evolutionary ideas in the first half of the nineteenth century and the great influence these were exerting in this particular field of art. In Hebbel's drama environment assumes a shaping destiny on human life such as it never played in Shakespeare's drama. And dwelling upon this phase to the exclusion of all else the author is justified in his use of the terms as quoted above.

But strange to say Hebbel never speaks of his dramas nor expresses his conception of the tragic in this way. Says he <sup>1</sup>: "Tragic guilt is to be sought in the want of moderation . . . It is a primordial condition and a constant factor of life, of which man is scarcely conscious, - an element of human existence itself." Hebbel bases the tragic on the *idiosyncrasy of the individual*<sup>2</sup>. The reader who does not tacitly acknowledge this will find no place for Hebbel's books upon his shelves.

We think that Mr. Alberts would have done better by giving this conception the importance it deserves in his treatise, rather than discussing it in a preliminary chapter. What does it mean to say: "Konflikte sind auf eine bestimmte *Denkart* zurückgeführt, die durch ihren Druck das Unheil bewirkt"?—Grillparzer uses a term that bears the particular stamp of his personality. "Feeling is the expression of the particular existence of the individual; the individual disposition eternally perishes and

<sup>1</sup>) W. XI, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup>) See Chap. II. Schillers Einfluss auf die Jugenddramen Hebbels von E. O. Eckelmann. Heidelberg 1906.



is born anew” etc. Grillparzer would have said, conflict arises from diverse modes of *feeling* rather than of thought. In each is meant the tangible evidence of individuality.

And what is a conflict in the form of a dilemma, (ein Konflikt der Zwangslage)? Why is *Judith* so unique and why isn't Schillers *Maid of Orleans* of this type? For it is the mission of both heroines to rid their country of a dreaded foe. Both falter in their trust and by the selfsame passion.—The situations are the same, but not the conceptions of the characters. In reality, a conflict in the form of a dilemma is a falsism, unless the conception holds that the individual is in its very essence constrained and confined within the pale of human limitations.

It was this truth that Hebbel impressed upon his readers when he chose his heroine a naive, impressionable Jewess, struggling with her love, impelled onward by her duty. Negate the necessity of her passion and the essence of her being is negated. Schiller's heroine is a perfected type of the normal. Because she faltered when she should have been steadfast, she was guilty of a grievous wrong and suffered just punishment. There was but one course open for her; there was no vexatious alternative.

Worthy of commendation is the wealth of observations Mr. Alberts presents. There are nice distinctions of dramatic economy, style, characterization, the utility of evil in plot and counterplot—contrasts to be ascribed to purely personal traits in the artists and to changes of time. A brief summary must suffice, when the original is so easily accessible and in such attractive form.

Shakespeare unfolds the elementary forces of the will before our eyes in all their spontaneity, grandeur and awe-inspiring rigor. Man surrenders himself to his nature; thinks, feels and acts with inner acclamation. Hebbel's characters are never deserted by their reason; but contrary to its dictates they are lured onward into the depths of passion as if by an irresistible magnetic charm. The sensitiveness of their moral natures re-

<sup>1</sup>) G. W. XV. p. 82.

strains them from revealing their inmost self openly. They think, feel and act under restraint.

Hebbel created but few characters that are openly wicked and depraved. With his outlook upon life he had little sympathy for them. Ambrosio and Margareta are of this type,—devils incarnate who delight in evil and vie with the worst evil-doers of Shakespeare.

Holofernes and Leonhard are distinctly non-Shakespearean, however. Unlike Richard III. Nebuchadnezzar's captain is a law unto himself utterly without conscience or any sense of responsibility. The cashier Leonhard lacks all consciousness of the vitiated state of his moral nature. He is a type of naive depravity. With such few exceptions Hebbel anxiously avoids the villain in his tragedy. His dramatic conflicts are those of necessary evil. In general the moral consciousness of his characters is extremely sensitive. (Uechtritz proclaimed Hebbel the "eulogy of woman".) To the ordinary mind, perhaps, they are overscrupulous. This is due to the fact that characters like Hebbel's Rhodope and Mariamne feel themselves the exponent or high priest of certain moral ideas, which once violated destroy the sanctuary irremediably. Not so with Shakespeare's women. Hermione, Isabella, Desdemona suffer the deepest humiliation of heart and yet they are steadfast always and capable of forgiveness.

Apart from the sheer power of Shakespeare's characters nothing has attracted greater attention than the apparent impersonality and the impressive impartiality with which he presents utterly unlike types. He is master of the naive. Nothing can disturb the beautiful harmony of soul depicted in Shakespeare's women. Hebbel attempts the naive for certain dramatic effects, but less successfully. The soul after its rude awakening from the dream of life, torn by conflicting emotions, defiant in the presence of death—this is his forte. Genoveva has the greatest similarity to Desdemona and Isabella. But what a contrast to *Rhodope* and *Kriemhild*!

One of the most interesting observations that Mr. Alberts makes is on the manner in which the means of representation

give color to the object represented. Shakespeare's style unites poetic rhetoric wealth and splendor of imagery with drastic soul portraiture, while Hebbel's characters are depicted by means of elements gained by psychological analysis and become analytically introspective. They bear Hebbel's stamp by the consciousness of their dependence upon the forces that shape their destiny. Mr. Alberts points out that subjectivity in the wider sense of the word is characteristic of none other than Shakespeare himself.

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## THE DEVELOPMENT OF STANDARD ENGLISH SPEECH.

By J. M. Hart. Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1907.

The purpose of this little book is to outline the history of English pronunciation. There is no attempt to deal with the growth of the standard vocabulary, with accidence, or with syntax, although the title suggests a work of much broader scope. Yet no one will quarrel with the author's limitation of his subject. Many available books treat in sufficiently clear and succinct manner of these other phases of the history of our language, or of the two first at least; but there is greater need of a clear presentation for beginners of the essential facts in the development of English sounds. Most of the current histories of the language, as Lounsbury's, Toller's, Bradley's, etc., do little more than touch now and then on the oral side of the language. One might work through some of them and hardly be conscious that English is a spoken language at all. The exception is Professor Emerson's *History of the English Language*; but here the discussion of sound changes is merely incidental, and the chapters concerned have hardly been revised since the book was first published, in 1891. Nevertheless the



chapters in this *History*, and the short sketch based on somewhat more recent results of scholarship in this field, included in Mr. M. H. Liddell's edition of Chaucer's *Prologue* (1901), in which Chaucer's sounds are taken forward into Modern English, then referred back into Old English, have remained about the only presentations, in American books, to which a beginner could go for initiation into the historical study of spoken English. There is clear need then of a short exposition concentrating its efforts on the general phenomena, and omitting as far as possible confusing details; and the little book by Professor Hart, which attempts to do just this, is timely and needed. Considering the many valuable German histories of the language, or special treatises having to do with English sounds, as those of Morsbach, Kaluza, Luick, Kluge, Viëtor, and the long accessible works of Ellis and Sweet in England<sup>1</sup>, it is perhaps strange that such a primer as Professor Hart's has not appeared in America before.

After a brief explanatory introduction, Professor Hart's book treats in order of the following topics: vowel changes—lengthening, shortening, changes in vowel quality, diphthongization; consonant changes,—loss and intrusion, voicing, etc., and palatalization. The author endeavors first to give the primary laws of major importance, then the leading details and exceptions, thus adapting the book to the needs of beginners. In the main the book is clear and orderly. We are told in the preface that it may be said, as a whole, to represent Cornell University aim and method.

The development of the borrowed element in Middle English, especially the Old French, might well have received greater stress. It is true that there are references to words borrowed from the French, but these references are neither frequent nor systematic. It would have been a simple matter, without attempting anything further, consistently to enter French loan words among the illustrations given, thus suggesting how they

<sup>1</sup>For a recent English work with a section on English sound changes, cf. Professor H. C. Wyld's *Historical Study of the Mother Tongue*. 1907.



ranged themselves under English sound laws, and incidentally throwing light on points in English orthography; nor would this have involved change in the size or scope of the book, or in its plan. The phonology of the French and the Norse loan elements in Middle English deserves, in general, fuller treatment than it usually receives. Professor Emerson again constitutes an exception. One of the noteworthy features of the phonetic section of his *Middle English Reader* is the consistent attention given to the French and the Norse loan elements and their development alongside of the native element.

Commenting now on certain points of detail in Professor Hart's book:—

(1) Strangely enough no account of the development of M. E. *ǣ* in closed syllables, as in *man* and *that*, which became [æ] in the seventeenth century, is included. There is a discussion of *ā*, and of *ǣ* in open syllables, but of *ǣ* in closed syllables neither in the table on p. 48 nor in the text.

(2) Professor Hart's presentation of the history of M. E. *ē* from O. E. *ǣ*, *ēa*, or from *ē* in open syllables, seems confused, if not defective. In the table, p. 48, he enters as a seventeenth-century sound change, that of *ē* to *ī*, as though there were no intermediate sound between Chaucer's and a seventeenth-century *ī*. In his discussion, p. 27, he writes:—

"The open *ē* survived, for the most part, in Dryden's day. In fact something like it is found in Pope, in foreign words borrowed with the *ē* sound. Thus Pope...rimes *tea* with *obey*. *Obey*, Fr. *obéir*, is still pronounced *obei*, but *tē* has become *ti*."

Further on, he writes:—

"Elizabethan and Cromwellian colonists still pronounced *tēch*, *spēch*, *clēn*, and this was the pronunciation which the Irish learned from them...the uneducated Irish still cling to the older *ē*".

Pope's rhyme was in *ē*, the intermediate sound which Professor Hart's discussion ignores; and this may possibly have been the Elizabethan sound. The *ē* stage had been reached, in any case, in the seventeenth century. The entry should read, M. E.

$\bar{e}$  became  $\bar{e}$ , which became  $\bar{i}$ . For a recent discussion of the value of M. E.  $\bar{e}$  in Shakespeare's pronunciation, cf. Viëtor, *A Shakespeare Phonology*, 1906, § 24.

Similarly, on p. 35, the sentence, "In the eighteenth century the pronunciation [of *either* and *neither*] vacillated between [ $\bar{e}$ ] and [ $\bar{i}$ ]" should read "vacillated between [ $\bar{e}$ ] and [ $\bar{i}$ ]."

Perhaps the whole confusion arises from the value which the symbol  $\bar{e}$  has for Professor Hart. When one reads on p. 18, "For example, *paste, taste, waste, haste, 'hurry'*<sup>1</sup>, pronounced  $\bar{a}$  in Chaucer's day<sup>2</sup>, are now pronounced [ $p\bar{e}st$ ] etc.", one is inclined to think that, to Professor Hart,  $\bar{e}$  means  $\bar{e}$ . The words cited have now rather  $\bar{e}$  or, strictly,  $\bar{e}i$  [ $p\bar{e}ist$ ] than  $\bar{e}$ ! Yet, on p. 25, the author expressly distinguishes between the open vowel, written  $\bar{e}$  and the close vowel, written  $\bar{e}$  or  $\bar{e}$ ; and on the preceding page,  $\bar{e}$  is given, as it should be, for the M. E. value of words from O. E.  $\bar{e}a$  and  $\bar{e}$ .

(3) A beginner would find Professor Hart's treatment of M. E.  $\bar{a}$  in open syllables far from lucid. In the table p. 48, he enters as a change taking place in the thirteenth century the lengthening of  $\bar{a}$  in open syllables. Then, just below, among fifteenth-century changes in vowel values, he notes that of  $\bar{a}$  to  $\bar{e}$  in open syllables. Surely he should read  $\bar{a}$  to  $\bar{e}$ , in the latter case. By his own entry just above, he would have left no fifteenth-century  $\bar{a}$ 's in open syllables. That we have not to deal with a printer's error here is shown by the reading of the text on p. 30, where Professor Hart speaks of the "lengthening of  $\bar{a}$  to [ $\bar{e}$ ]." Toward the foot of the page, he writes, "In Chaucer's language such words as *face, grace, age*, have the [ $a$ ] not the [ $\bar{e}$ ] sound". Rather did they have the  $\bar{a}$  sound; compare the author's own entry of M. E.  $m\bar{a}ken$ , on p. 11.

In general § 11 should be re-stated, and the sequence, O. E.  $\bar{a}$  in open syllables became Middle English  $\bar{a}$ , which became Elizabethan  $\bar{e}$ , which became modern  $\bar{e}i$ , clearly brought out. *Fare*, which so puzzles the author, remains at an intermediate

<sup>1</sup>Why give the meaning of *haste*, when the meanings of the other words cited are not given?

<sup>2</sup>Some scholars would say  $\bar{a}$ .

stage, as so often with words containing *r*; e. g., *bear*, *great*, *break*, etc., from M. E. *ĕ*. Compare Viëtor § 35, p. 54. At the end of § 11, it would help the student, where the author writes, "Thus *age*, *sage*, etc. . . in Mn. E. *ē*," and "Why do we pronounce *face* [*ē*] but *chāpel*?" etc., if he distinguished more clearly between an early Modern English sound and present English. In present English we certainly do not say *face* with *ē*. Cf. just above, however, under (2), for the contradictory values which the author seems to attach to the symbol *ē*.

(4) On p. 21 is the entry, "Perhaps the shortening of *ænig* [if not due to the suffix *-ig*] is due to the influence of *many*". More likely the vowel of *many*, O. E. *monig*, is due to that of *any*, O. E. *ānig*, helped perhaps by the influence of the O. E. noun *menigu*, 'throng'. Cf. expressions like "a great many men". Which of the two forms was the earlier to appear, [*eny*] or [*meny*]? At all events, it would add to the clearness here if some comment were introduced on the vowel of *many*, since it is hardly that which the student could at once account for.

(5) On p. 70, the course of the twelfth century is given as the time when initial *γ* became a stop before *ā*, *ǣ*, *ū*. The change is generally placed much earlier, somewhere about the year 1000. Cf. Kluge, Kaluza, or H. C. Wyld, *Historical Study of the Mother Tongue*, p. 225.

(6) On p. 32 occurs "The [*ə*] is found also in some words which had an O. E. *ū*, or O. E. *ǔ*, in open syllable in M. E." Why mislead by adding the qualifying "in open syllable in M. E."? The change occurs just as often in the case of *ū* in closed syllables: cf. *cup*, *sung*; indeed it is a normal change in the latter case.

(7) On p. 13, in dealing with "some exceptions to the law of open syllable lengthening", Professor Hart writes:—

"Some exceptions are difficult to explain. Thus O. E. *hēofon* is still short in Mn. E. Perhaps this is due to the heavy suffix *-on*. The O. E. *dēofol* is *dēvil* (short *e*) in Mn. E.<sup>1</sup> Orm writes *heoffness*, *heffness* (short *e*) but *deofless*, *defless* (long

<sup>1</sup>Having originally a long vowel, *dēofol* should hardly be treated along with *heofon*, *roten*, etc., under "vowel lengthenings", or "exceptions to lengthenings".



e)...M. E. *roten* (from Scand. *rotinn*) has remained short; whereas O. E. *brocen*, M. E. *broken*, has been lengthened".

Professor Hart nowhere formulates very definitely the principle called by Professor Sweet "back shortening." Some words, under the conditions in point, were undoubtedly lengthened, then shortened again, as the spelling shows. Only on p. 8 does he verge on the principle involved, and in treating the effect of certain terminations, *-tig,-ig,-en*, and *-el,-ol,-et*, in § 7. He would do better, and would clear up many of the points which puzzle him, if he treated the whole matter in one place and in its logical way. When the second syllable consists of a short vowel and *l, r, n*, or *m*, (in French words *-le*), there is sometimes lengthening and sometimes not. Also, original long vowels are sometimes shortened and sometimes not. In general two developments might be expected with words showing, like those under discussion, both open and closed syllables: *dēofol*, *dēofles*; *fader*, *fadres*; *wāpen*, *wāpnes*. Orm writes *faderr*, *waterr* (lengthened); but *fādr̥es*, *wātr̥es*, *wēpn̥es* would be M. E. genitive or plural forms. Some words still show traces of both developments, as the Scotch *deil* (long vowel) beside *devil*; or the dialectal [*wīpen*] beside *weapon*.

Under a treatment of the influence of certain terminations, *-l, -m, -n, -r, -y*, might conveniently belong Professor Hart's discussion, p. 31, of certain words from the French, *chapel*, *cattle*, *marry*. It is important to note the position of the accent when the words were borrowed; for French words with initial stress generally showed lengthening, as *table*, *noble*, *glory*; but that the position of the accent does not deserve the sole stress is shown by the number of native words with original initial accent, which remained short also; e. g. *feter* 'fetter,' *ratelen* 'rattle'; or by M. E. *ketel*, borrowed from the O. N. *ketill*, 'kettle'; or by native words which had originally long vowels but became short. It is very likely that the words cited by Professor Hart would have remained short, had they been native instead of loan words and had the accent been on the first syllable. The passage on p. 31 is, by the way, one of the few passages in the book referring to the development of French words in English.



(8) On p. 15 the author notes a law that "the heavy infinitive ending *-ian* of the second weak class did shorten a long vowel", as in O. E. *hālgian* 'hallow', beside O. E. *hālig* 'holy'. But the *-ian* certainly did not shorten the vowel, or keep it short, in other words of this verb class; e. g., *lician* 'like', *lōcian* 'look', *behōfian* 'behoove', *bodian* 'bode', *wanian* 'wane'. The M. E. form *halwen*, with change of *g* to *w*, is sufficient to explain the vowel of *hallow*, by the M. E. law of shortening before two consonants. Cf. Emerson, *Middle English Reader*, § 76, (c); Wyld, p. 271, etc.

(9) On p. 26, Professor Hart writes "Old Mercian *ē*, the *i*-umlaut of *ēa* (the W. S. form was *īe*), was open *ē̄* in M. E." He cites, to illustrate this law, O. E. *hēran*, M. E. *hēren*, modern *hear*. But Old Mercian *ē*, the *i*-umlaut of *ēa*, gave close *ē̄* in M. E. Cf. *gelēven*, W. S. *gelīefan*, M. E. *lēven*, Mn. E. *believe*. *Hear*, despite the spelling, probably had *ē̄* in M. E.; as, for example, in Chaucer's *Prologue* (l.170), where it is rhymed with *clē̄r*, from O. Fr. *cler*.

There are a number of other points, most of them minor, in which one is inclined to take issue with the treatment given by Professor Hart; but enough has been said in the way of detailed comment. The author of any phonological sketch such as that under discussion, would have, of course, to expect a good deal of variance from his views among those who use his book. There can be no doubt with regard to the assistance which *Standard English Speech* will afford to the beginner. Probably the section entitled "Palatalization" will be found especially useful and well presented. The book is unusually free from typographical errors.

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## ALL FOOLS AND THE GENTLEMAN USHER.

Edited by T. M. Parrott.

D. C. Heath &amp; Co., Boston, 1907.

(The Belles-Lettres Series, Section III.)

The latest volume in the dramatic section of the Belles-Lettres Series fully maintains the high standard of the earlier volumes. It makes accessible two more of the best Elizabethan plays with text as near to the original quartos as can be insured by careful transcription and collation, complete record of variant readings among the quartos, and laborious and repeated reading of proof. Just as Professor Boas has in the same series given us the first scholarly edition of two of Chapman's tragedies, so has Professor Parrott done with two of this dramatist's comedies. Both the Pearson reprint of Chapman's plays of 1873, purporting to be an exact reproduction of original quartos, and the Shepherd edition of 1874-5, containing modernized spelling, are unreliable in small points and unmodern in methods of editing. The Mermaid Chapman does not go to the original texts; its notes are scanty; and the introduction is very light in texture.

The divisions in this volume are those common to the other dramatic volumes of the series: they are a biography, a critical and appreciative introduction, the texts and textual foot-notes, explanatory notes, a short appendix, a bibliography, and a glossary.

The biography is more lively and slightly fuller, but therefore less compact, than that in the companion volume of Professor Boas. A good feature is the abundance of references in foot-notes, by means of which every important biographical statement is substantiated. This feature is almost entirely wanting in the biographical portion of Professor Boas's volume.

The introduction is in two divisions. The first deals—at times historically, at times appreciatively, at times judicially—with the development of Chapman's comedy, and makes some clear and careful generalizations of his strength and weakness; the second division treats *All Fools* and *The Gentleman Usher* in detail.

All that is known of the sources of Chapman's comedies—much of it of recent discovery—is here for the first time brought together. Professor Parrott's treatment of Chapman's weakness in dramatic structure except where he found the structure made in advance in his sources, of his distinctive weakness and strength of characterization, and of the excellence of his comic situations, shows keen judgement and wide reading. A suggestion of very definite influence on Fletcher by Chapman's comedies, especially by *The Gentleman Usher*, is one of a number of interesting bits of historical criticism in the introduction. Professor Parrott has made it clear that some resemblance exists between *The Gentleman Usher* and Fletcher's romantic comedies. As to the significance of this resemblance, we could speak with greater assurance if the source of *The Gentleman Usher* could be discovered. As it is, we have only the barest information about the source, and some of this is doubtful.

The most confident citation of source made by Professor Parrott for *The Gentleman Usher* is that the episode of Margaret's destroying her facial beauty by means of a poisonous ointment (V, iii and iv) seems to be taken bodily from the anonymous play, *The Trial of Chivalry*. This citation is, I believe, incorrect. In the first place, it is not certain that *The Gentleman Usher* was written later than the anonymous play. In the second place, all the steps in the poison episode of the latter play—a disappointed suitor's thus destroying a lady's beauty, the loyalty of the princely lover, the lady's personal conviction that she is now unworthy, and the final solution in the almost miraculous cure wrought by a great physician—are to be found in the first book of the *Arcadia*. These steps, except the first, are all found also in the fifth act of *The Gentleman Usher*. If Chapman borrowed from either the *Arcadia* or *The Trial of Chivalry*—as he probably did—it is almost certain that the *Arcadia* was the source. The same incident is found in Henry Glapthorne's *Argalus and Parthenia* (printed in 1639 and probably written only a little earlier), which is founded on the *Arcadia*.

One of the main ends sought by the editors of the Belles-Lettres Series is the production of texts that will be so far as possible perfectly true to the originals. Accordingly, in this volume, as in the other ones of the series, the early spelling is retained except in a few cases of obvious misprint. The punctuation is modernized on the grounds that it is confusing and represents the printer rather than the author. The variants among the quartos are carefully recorded in foot-notes. The explanatory notes following each of the comedies are sufficiently, but not superfluously, full. They show a high order of critical acumen and breadth of knowledge.

This volume, then, of Chapman's best two comedies should give general satisfaction. The accurate text, the broad, lucid, and scholarly introduction, and the compact and serviceable bibliography, should make it attractive and helpful to every reader of the Elizabethan drama.

*Lawrence, Kansas.*

D. L. THOMAS.



## UEBER DEN GEBRAUCH DES BEIWORTES IN HEINES GEDICHTEN.

(Concluded.)

### KAP. VI.

#### ÜBERSETZUNGEN.

HEINES poetische Übersetzungen umfassen im Ganzen nur 544 Zeilen und bilden also einen sehr kleinen Bruchteil seiner poetischen Werke. Sie bestehen aus dem ersten Auftritt von Byrons 'Manfred', den beiden Gedichten 'Gut' Nacht' und 'An Inez' aus dem ersten Gesang des 'Childe Harold', dem bekannten Gedichte Byrons 'Lebewohl' ('Fare Thee Well'), ein paar Zeilen von Coleridges 'Christabel', die als Einleitung zum 'Lebewohl' dienen, dem Gedichte 'Erinnerung' aus dem 'Sentimental Magazine', und einem hebräischen Sabbatliede. Die beiden letzten Gedichte von 86 Zeilen habe ich in dieser Arbeit nicht in Betracht gezogen, da die Originale mir nicht zugänglich sind.

Diese Übersetzungen gehören mit Ausnahme des hebräischen Sabbatliedes Heines Jugendperiode an. Im Nov. 1821 schrieb er folgendes darüber: "Die Übersetzung der ersten Scene aus 'Manfred' und des 'Gut' Nacht' aus Childe Harold entstand erst voriges Jahr, und möge als Probe dienen, wie ich einige englische Dichter ins Deutsche zu übertragen gedenke. Die Lieder 'Lebewohl' und 'An Inez' sind weit früher, und zwar in unreifer, fehlerhafter Form, übersetzt, und wurden aus bloss zufälligen Gründen hier abgedruckt."<sup>1</sup>

Im Allgemeinen ist sicher diejenige Übersetzung die beste, welche in erster Linie den Geist des Originales getreu wiedergibt, dabei aber auch den ursprünglichen Rhythmus und das Satzgefüge nach Möglichkeit beibehält. Eine wörtliche Übertragung bleibt natürlich immer eine Unmöglichkeit wegen der vielen Eigentümlichkeiten, welche jede Sprache aufzuweisen hat und die in einem anderen Idiome nicht wiederzugeben sind.

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<sup>1</sup> Vgl. Elsters Ausgabe, Bd. II, S. 515.

In der Poesie muss man auch die metrischen Forderungen in Betracht ziehen, welche bei der Wahl der betreffenden Ausdrücke eine wichtige Rolle spielen. Der Dichter kann z. B. öfters ein Wort der Länge oder der Betonung wegen nicht anwenden, obgleich es von derselben Bedeutung ist und zur selben Wortklasse gehört, wie das im Originale vorkommende. Er bedient sich also anderer Redeteile und Ausdrücke, oder sonstiger Mittel, wie Umstellung der Worte, Änderung des Satzgefüges, und dergleichen. Manchmal ist er auch gezwungen, einen Gedanken wegzulassen oder einen neuen einzuschalten.

Was die Epitheta anbelangt, kommen folgende Phasen in Heines Übersetzungen vor:

Byron	Heine
1. Beiwort .....	Beiwort
2. Hauptwort .....	Beiwort
3. Zeitwort .....	Beiwort
4. Satzteil .....	Beiwort
5. Satz .....	Beiwort
6. Beiwort .....	Hauptwort
7. Beiwort .....	Zeitwort
8. Beiwort .....	Satzteil
9. Beiwort .....	Satz
10. Beiwort .....	—
11. — .....	Beiwort

Beispiele sind:

1. Beiwort durch Beiwort ausgedrückt: Dies ist die einfachste und beste Übersetzung, besonders wenn das an Stelle des zu Übertragenden angewandte Beiwort von derselben allgemeinen Bedeutung ist. Vgl.:

Mysterious Agency!	Geheimnisvolle Mächte!
Ye spirits of the unbounded Universe	Ihr Geister dieses unbegrenzten Weltalls!
	NU, II, 224, 11-12

Die Beiwörter brauchen aber nicht immer von derselben allgemeinen Bedeutung zu sein, um in dem betreffenden Falle dieselbe Idee mit annehmbarer Genauigkeit auszudrücken, wie:

that placid sleep	Jene süsse Ruh'
	232, 21
The Glacier's cold and restless mass	Des Gletschers ruhlos kalte Mass'
Moves on ward day by day	Sinkt tiefer Tag für Tag
	225, 18
from out the hidden realms	aus dunklen Reichen
	227, 28

In anderen Fällen bleibt Heine jedoch weit hinter Byron zurück, wie:

the fatal truth	die bittre Wahrheit
	223, 11
Since that all-nameless hour	Seit jener grausen Stund'
	224, 6
the tops	die steilsten Bergesgipfel
Of mountains inaccessible	224, 16
ible	

In der Übersetzung bezieht sich das Epitheton oft nicht auf dasselbe Wort oder denselben Redeteil wie im Originale:

By thy shut soul's hypocrisy	Bei deiner Seel' ver- schloss'ner Wut
	231, 18

Dabei wird das Adjectiv öfters zum Adverb:

And when in that secret dread	Und wenn's dir dann heim- lich graust
	230, 25

oder das Adverb zum Adjectiv:

And the lakes of bitumen	Wo die Pechström' aufwälzen
Rise boilingly higher	Die kochende Flut
	226, 3-4

Beispiele der Wortumstellung sind ziemlich zahlreich:

The Glacier's cold and restless mass	Des Gletschers ruhlos kal- te Mass'
	225, 17
Come hither, hither, my lit- tle page	Komm her, komm her, mein Page klein
	235, 25

Diese sind augenscheinlich auf metrische Gründe zurückzuführen.

2. Hauptwort durch Beiwort ausgedrückt:

Alas! they had been friends in youth	Befreundet waren wei- land ihre Herzen
	232, 1
Sorrow is knowledge	Der Schmerz macht weise
	223, 10

3. Zeitwort durch Beiwort ausgedrückt:

Though thou seest me not pass by	Siehst mich zwar nicht sichtbarlich
	230, 21
And quiver to his caved base	Erzitternd bis zum Mar- ke schier
	225, 23

4. Satzteil durch Beiwort ausgedrückt:

Though thy death shall still seem near	Sollst den Tod stets nahe schaun,
To thy wish, but as a fear	Freudig zwar und doch mit Graun
	231, 29-30
More than this I scarce can die	Tödlicher kann Tod nicht sein
	234, 4



5. Satz durch Beiwort ausgedrückt:

Pride, which not a world could bow, Bows to thee	Selbst mein Stolz, sonst felsenfest, Beugt sich dir 233, 30-31
A mother whom I love	Und auch die Mutter traut 236, 6

6. Beiwort durch Hauptwort ausgedrückt:

The burning wreck of a demolished World	ein Trümmerbrand zerstör- ter Welt 224, 28
My native land — Good night	Mein Vaterland—gut' Nacht 235, 16

Letztere Abweichung ist allerdings durch den Sprachgebrauch, nicht durch metrische Forderungen bedingt.

7. Beiwort durch Zeitwort ausgedrückt:

A wandering hell in the eternal space	Wie eine Höll' im ew'gen Raume wandelt 224, 29
Where the slumbering earthquake Lies pillowed on fire	Wo der Erdschütterer schlummert Auf Kissen von Glut 226, 1-2

8. Beiwort durch Satzteil ausgedrückt:

Though thy slumber may be deep	Schläfst du auch mit Au- gen zu 230, 11
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Hier ist es Heine durchaus nicht gelungen, Byrons Idee wiederzugeben.

And shrieks the wild seamew	Scheu fliegt die Möwe fort 235, 12
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Hier wiederum hat Heine zwar die Idee 'wild seamew' erträglich wiedergegeben, doch das höchst ausdrucksvolle und anschauliche 'shrieks' gar nicht berücksichtigt.

9. Beiwort durch Satz ausgedrückt:

Nor perils gathering near	Kein Sturm, der näher rollt 236, 38
Still thine own life re- taineth—	Immer soll dein Herz noch schlagen,
Still must mine, though bleeding, beat	Meins auch, blut' es noch so sehr 233, 5-6

10. Das Beiwort ist gänzlich ausgelassen: Wenn Heine das Beiwort gänzlich auslässt, so ist es immer auf metrische Schwierigkeiten zurückzuführen, denn wohl fast jeden Gedanken kann man in irgend einer Gestalt in eine andere Sprache übertragen. Die Wichtigkeit des ausgelassenen Epithetons ist dabei von Belang. Wenn Heine z. B. die Verse:

and yet I live, and bear

The aspect and the form of breathing men

durch:

Und dennoch leb' ich

Und trage Menschenform und Menschenantlitz

223, 7-8

übersetzt, so fühlen wir, dass er die Idee der englischen Zeilen sehr gut getroffen hat. Der Ausfall des Wortes 'breathing' tut dem Sinne des Ganzen keinen Abbruch, da der Begriff des Atmens mit dem lebenden Menschen unzertrennbar verbunden ist.

Wenn uns aber Heine für die Verse:

I am the spirit of the place,

Could make the mountain bow

And quiver to his cavernd base—

And what with me wouldst Thou?

folgende Übersetzung bietet:

Ich bin der Geist des Berges hier,  
Wollt' ich's, er beugte sich,  
Erzitternd bis zum Marke schier,—  
Und du, was riefst du mich?

225, 21-24

so hat er einen sehr schönen, poetischen Gedanken, der in 'caverned' enthalten ist, gänzlich unterdrückt; dafür finden wir das schwache, fade Adverb 'schier.'

Im ganzen habe ich 22 Beispiele gefunden, wo ein Equivalent des englischen Beiwortes in der deutschen Übersetzung fehlt. Diese Stellen lassen sich leicht in drei Klassen einteilen:

a. Solche, wie die zuerst angeführte, wo der Fortfall des Beiwortes den Gedankengehalt nicht beeinträchtigt. b. Solche Stellen, wo ein erheblicher Mangel durch das Weglassen des Beiwortes nicht entsteht. c. Solche, die wegen des fehlenden Beiwortes dem Originale gegenüber als mangelhaft zu bezeichnen sind, indem ein wichtiger Begriff in der Übersetzung nicht zum Ausdruck kommt.

Die grosse Mehrzahl dieser Beispiele gehören der dritten Klasse an. Von der ersten kommen einschliesslich des oben angeführten nur zwei, von der zweiten nur drei vor:

a.

Nor low ambition's honors  
lost

Es ist kein Schmerz getäusch-  
ter Ruhmbegier

234, 14

Hier macht sich kein besonderer Mangel fühlbar, denn 'Ruhmbegier' ist eigentlich schon an sich verwerflich und Byron bringt 'low ambitions' durchaus nicht etwa in Kontrast mit einem edlen Streben.

b.

And feel the curse to have no  
natural fear

Mich quält der Fluch, dass ich  
nichts fürchten kann

224, 7

But never either found another To free the hollow heart from paining	Doch nie fand sich ein Mittler diesen beiden, Der heilen wollte ihrer Herzen Leiden 232, 7-8
Then thy heart will softly tremble With a pulse yet true to me	Zuckt vielleicht in deinem Herzen Ein Gefühl, das mir noch treu 233, 23-24
c. Or lurking love of something on the earth	Sehnsucht nach einem Wesen dieser Erde 224, 9
On a star-beam I have ridden; To thine adjuration bowed	Dennoch ritt ich auf dem Schimmer Eines Sternleins zu dir her 225, 6-7
and it became A wandering mass of shapeless flame	und er ward Ein Flammenball unförm'ger Art 226, 29-30
and I see The steady aspect of a clear large star	immer Steht leuchtend vor mir jener klare Stern 229, 9-10
By thy cold breast and serpent smile, By thy unfathomed gulfs of guile	Bei deines Schlangenlächelns Mund, Eiskalten Herzen, Arglist- schlund 231, 15-16
Our ship is swift and strong	Das Schiff ist fest gefügt 235, 30
Enough, enough, my little lad	Still, still, mein Bub' 236, 13



Das Wort 'little' bringt eine gewisse Gefühlswärme zum Ausdruck, welche dem Worte 'Bub' mangelt.

Come hither, hither, my staunch yeoman	Komm her, komm her, mein Schlossdienstmann 236, 17
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For who would trust the seeming sighs Of wife or paramour? Fresh feres will dry the bright blue eyes We late saw streaming o'er	Ich traue Weibesseufzern nicht! Ein frischer Buhlertross Wird trocknen jenes Auge licht, Das jüngst noch überfloss 236, 33-36
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Welcome, welcome, ye dark- blue Waves	Sei mir willkommen, Meer und Luft! 237, 15
--	--

Should her lineaments re- semble Those thou never more may'st see	Wenn du schaust, dass ihr Ge- sichtlein Meinen Zügen ähnlich sei 233, 21-22
--	--

Hier ist die jedenfalls wichtige Andeutung, dass die Seini-  
gen ihn nie wiedersehen dürften, einfach fortgelassen.

All my faults perchance thou knowest	Alle meine Fehltritt' kennst du 233, 25
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Was Byron hier nur als möglich, höchstens als wahrschein-  
lich annimmt, wird von Heine als eine feststehende Tatsache  
hingestellt.

It is that settled, ceaseless gloom The fabled Hebrew wan- derer bore	Es ist die düstre Glut, die stets getragen In tiefer Brust der ew'ge Wan- dersmann 234, 21-22
--	---

Das Wort 'fabled' drückt Byrons Bewertung der Legende aus  
und wir empfinden den Ausfall des Wortes als einen Mangel.

‘Hebrew wanderer’ hat Heine durch ‘ew’ge Wandersmann’ wiedergegeben. Obschon er sich dabei an das wohlbekannte ‘der ewige Jude’ anlehnt, so wird es doch dem Leser seines Gedichtes nicht klar, wenn er nicht etwa das Original kennt. Die Stelle ist also als Ganzes nur unvollkommen übersetzt.

If it be s o

Sie zögern

224, 24

Hier ist Heine die Bedeutung des kurzen Satzes, ‘If it be so,’ durchaus entgangen. Allerdings ist der Sinn dieser Stelle etwas schwer zu erfassen. Wir haben es hier mit einer Klimax zu tun. Die Geister gehorchen der ersten Beschwörung Manfreds nicht. Auch auf die zweite stärkere erscheinen sie noch nicht, und so sieht sich Manfred gezwungen, das letzte Mittel, und zwar nicht ohne Widerwillen, anzuwenden. Auf Englisch könnte man die Stelle etwa so umschreiben: ‘If nothing else will avail, if it must be’; was dann vielleicht folgendermassen zu ergänzen wäre: ‘Then I shall not shrink from the last resort’ oder ‘I shall even use that horrible adjuration.’ Heine hätte übersetzen sollen, ‘Wenn es sein muss’ oder auch ‘Wenn mir kein anderes Mittel bleibt,’ selbstverständlich mit einem entsprechenden Nachsatze im Sinne.

Es unterliegt keinem Zweifel, dass es Heine in diesen Fällen nicht gelungen ist, den vollen Gehalt der Verse Byrons wiederzugeben.

11. Heine wendet in der Übersetzung ein Beiwort an, welchem im Original nichts entspricht:

Das Einschalten des einen neuen Begriff enthaltenden Beiwortes wird gleichfalls durch metrische Gründe verursacht, obgleich es möglich ist, dass Heine zuweilen die Wirkung der Originalverse dadurch verstärken will. Vgl. z. B. die englischen Zeilen:

But neither heat, nor frost, nor thunder,  
Shall wholly do away, I ween,  
The marks of that which once hath been

mit Heines Übersetzung:

Doch aller Elemente z o r n ' g e Schar  
Vermag wohl nimmer gänzlich zu verwischen  
Die h o l d e Spur von dem, was einstens war

232, 12-14

Der Ausdruck 'aller Elemente zorn'ge Schar' ist stärker, und deshalb passender, als der englische Vers 'neither heat, nor frost, nor thunder,' während die Hinzufügung von 'hold' zur Befriedigung des ästhetischen Sinnes wesentlich beiträgt. Dasselbe gilt auch von der Übersetzung von:

And when in that secret dread  
Thou hast turned around thy head,  
Thou shalt marvel I am not  
As thy shadow on the spot

durch:

Und wenn's dir dann heimlich graust,  
Und du hastig rückwärts schaut,  
Siehst du staunend, dass ich nur  
Bin der Schatten deiner Spur

230, 25-28

wo der deutsche Vers durch den Zusatz von 'hastig' viel stärker als der englische wirkt. Vergleiche auch:

And when they on their father call,  
What answer shall she make

mit der Übersetzung:

Wenn nun der Bub' nach Vater fragt,  
Was sagt sie ihm g e s c h w i n d

236, 27-28

Sehr gut ist Heines Idee, dass die Mutter geschwind antworten muss, um ihr Kind zu befriedigen.

Wenn er aber Byrons:

And quiver to his caverned base

durch:

Erzitternd bis zum Marke s c h i e r

225, 23

und:

But dash the tear-drop from thine eye

durch:

Wisch nur vom Aug' die Thräne hell

235, 29

übersetzt, sehen wir in der Hinzufügung von 'schier' und 'hell' bloss eine unpoetische Ausstopfung der Verse. 'Schier' wirkt noch dazu einschränkend, während es gerade Byrons Absicht ist, das Erzittern des Berges vom Gipfel bis in seine Grundfesten hinein zum Ausdruck zu bringen. Das Wort 'schier' hat zwar eine doppelte Bedeutung: einmal ist es gleichwertig mit 'klar,' 'rein,' zum anderen mit 'beinahe.' Das Wort wird viel häufiger in letzterem Sinne gebraucht und der drängt sich auch hier dem Leser auf.

Wir haben oben Heines Bezeichnung des Todes als 'die kühle Nacht' erwähnt. Daran erinnert uns seine Übersetzung von:

My dwelling is the shadow of the night

durch:

Mein Wohnhaus ist der Schatten süs ser Nacht

226, 21

und:

And to thee shall night deny

All the quiet of her sky

durch:

Und die Nacht, so still und hehr,

Gönnt dir Ruhe nimmermehr

231, 1-2

Die Tatsache, dass er der Nacht die Eigenschaften 'süss' und 'hehr' ganz willkürlich beilegt, im Zusammenhang mit seiner Benennung des Todes als 'die kühle Nacht' im Gegensatz zu der des Lebens als 'der schwüle Tag' betrachtet, scheint darauf hinzudeuten, dass der jugendliche Heine eine besondere Vorliebe für die Nacht hegte. Die Bezeichnung der Nacht als 'süss' ist hier wohl kaum angebracht, da sich der betreffende Geist Manfred sicherlich nicht von seiner anziehendsten, sondern viel-



mehr von seiner abschreckendsten Seite zeigen will. 'Hehr' in dieser Verbindung ist zwar überflüssig, doch ruft es wenigstens keine entgegengesetzte Vorstellung wach.

Auch hier, wo Heine ein Beiwort hinzufügt, lässt sich eine Dreiteilung durchführen, und zwar (a) in Fälle, wo das hinzugekommene Beiwort den Gedankeninhalt tatsächlich verschärft, (b) in solche, wo das betreffende Beiwort einen neutralen Charakter hat, und (c) in solche, wo es dem Gedanken des Originals direkt zuwiderläuft:

a.

By a power to thee unknown, Thou canst never be alone	Von geheimer Macht um- rauscht Bist du nimmer unbelauscht 230, 16-17
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Hier ist es Heine m. E. gelungen, den ziemlich unklaren Sinn des Originals leicht fasslich wiederzugeben.

Deserted is my own good hall	Mein gutes Schloss liegt wüst und leer 235, 21
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Then thou wouldst at last discover 'Twas not well to spurn it so	Dann erst sähst du: es so grausam Fortzustossen, war zu viel 232, 25-26
--	--

Das unbestimmte Adverb 'so' erhält durch das Beiwort 'grausam' jetzt einen genau umschriebenen und durchaus passenden Gehalt.

Ähnliches gilt auch von dem Worte 'lieb' in folgendem Beispiele:

Though my many faults de- faced me, Could no other arm be found, Than the one which once en- braced me, To inflict a cureless wound	Mag sein, dass viel Schuld ich trage: War kein andrer Arm im Land, Mir die Todeswund' zu schla- gen, Als der einst mich lieb um- wand 232, 31-34
--	---

When her little hands shall press thee, When her lip to thine is pressed	Wenn, umarmt von ihren Händchen, Dich ihr süßser Kuss ent- zückt 233, 17-18
And wilt thou vainly seek to know A pang even thou must fail to soothe	Enthülle nicht die tiefge- heime Wunde, Die du sogar zu heilen macht- los bist 234, 11-12
What exile from himself can flee? To Zones, though more and more remote	Welch Elend kann sich selbst entfliehn? Vergebens Durchjag' ich rastlos jedes fernste Land 234, 25-26
It is that settled, ceaseless gloom The fabled Hebrew wanderer bore	Es ist die düstre Glut, die stets getragen In tiefer Brust der ew'ge Wandersmann 234, 21-22

Der Zusatz 'in tiefer Brust' scheint mir am Platze zu sein, doch kann es wegen der oben angeführten Ausstellungen den Vers als Ganzes betrachtet nicht retten.

b.

By——— The thought which is within me and around me	Bei dem Gedanken, der stets in mir lebt Und um mich lebt 224, 31-32
On a throne of rocks	Auf dem Felsenthron sit- zend 225, 11
I am the spirit of the place	Ich bin der Geist des Berges hier 225, 21

I have quitted my birth place	D o r t liess ich die Heimat 226, 9
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We answer as we answered; our reply Is even in thine own words	Die alte Antwort gnügt; die b e s t e Antwort Sind deine eignen Wort' 228, 14-15
--	---

Hier hat Heine den Sinn des Originals in einer nicht gerade umfassenden Weise geändert.

Adieu, adieu! my native shore Fades o'er the waters blue	Leb wohl! leb wohl! im blau- en Meer Verbleicht die Heimat d o r t 235, 9-10
--	---

Farewell awhile to him and thee	Leb wohl, d u s c h ö n e Sonn' und du 235, 15
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Deserted is my own good hall, Its hearth is desolate; Wild weeds are gathering on the walls	Mein gutes Schloss liegt wüst und leer, Mein Herd steht öde d o r t, Das Unkraut rankt d o r t wild umher 235, 21-23
--	---

Why dost thou weep and wail	Was weinst du, a r m e s Kind 235, 26
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Die echt poetische Steigerung des allitterierenden Verbpaares in Byrons Vers fehlt allerdings bei Heine, doch ist die Übersetzung eine ziemlich gelungene.

c.

Its course was free and regu- lar, Space bosomed not a lovelier star	Sein Lauf war schön geregelt, k a u m Trug schönern Stern der Him- melsraum 226, 27-28
---	--

Heine hat hier die bei Byron unbedingte Überlegenheit be-  
schränkt.

From thy false tears I did distil	Aus deinen Thränen, falsch und schla u,
An essence which hath strength to kill	Kocht' ich ein tödliches Ge- brau
	231, 5-6

Der durch das Wort 'schlau' ausgedrückte weitere Vorwurf ist ein wenig passender Zusatz Heines.

The nightwinds sigh, the breakers roar	Der Nachtwind seufzt, wir rudern schwer
	235, 11

Obschon dieser Vers an und für sich gut ist, entspricht er doch durchaus nicht dem Original.

Enough, enough, my little lad!	Still, still, mein Bub', dich zieret hold
Such tears become thine eye.	Im Auge solche Thrän'
	236, 13

Das Adverb 'hold' scheint mir wenig angebracht.

Perchance my dog will whine in vain,	Mein Hund heult nur, bis neue Speis'
Till fed by stranger hands;	Ein neuer Herr ihm reicht;
But long ere I come back again	Kehr' ich zurück und nah'
He'd tear me where he stands	ihm leis—
	Zerfleischt er mich vielleicht.
	237, 7-10

Die Umstellung des 'perchance,' welches Heine durch 'vielleicht' wiedergibt, ist kaum eine glückliche zu nennen. Was Byron als möglich annimmt, erhebt Heine durch das Beiwort 'nur' zur Gewissheit, während anderseits Byron überzeugt davon ist, dass ihn sein Hund bei der Rückkehr als Eindringling empfangen würde, was Heine dagegen nur zur Wahrscheinlichkeit macht. Es lässt sich allerdings dagegen einwenden, dass Hunde ein äusserst getreues Gedächtnis besitzen, und dass Heine also der Wahrheit näher kommen dürfte als Byron, und doch genügt die Übersetzung meinem Gefühle nicht. Auch der Satz 'nah'



ihm leis' tut dem Originalen Abbruch, da ein derartiges Heranschleichen, welches der Hund von seinem Herrn am allerwenigsten gewöhnt ist, ganz natürlicherweise seinen Argwohn erregen müsste.

A dreary sea now flows be- tween	Ein wilder, wüster Strom fließt jetzt dazwischen 232,11
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Warum hat Heine den Gedanken, 'A dreary sea now flows between,' nicht durch 'Ein trostlos weites Meer rauscht nun dazwischen' ausgedrückt? 'Trostlos weites Meer' kommt dem Original jedenfalls näher als 'wilder, wüster Strom.'

Der Vers:

Love may sink by slow decay

ist durch:

Langsam welkt die Liebe bloss

233, 2

nicht glücklich wiedergegeben—'bloss' ist gar nicht am Orte.

When her little hands shall press thee,	Wenn, umarmt von ihren Händchen,
When her lip to thine is pressed,	Dich ihr süßer Kuss ent- zückt,
Think of him whose prayer shall bless thee,	Denke sein, der fern dich liebet,
Think of him thy love hath blessed	Den du liebend einst be- glückt 233, 17-20

Das von Heine eingefügte 'fern' ist nicht zu tadeln, denn es liegt in der Situation. Die letzten beiden Zeilen sind aber in Byrons Fassung viel poetischer als in Heines.

What is that worst? Nay, do not ask—	Was ist denn dieses Schlimm- ste? Lass die scharfen,
In pity from the search for- bear	Die scharfen Stachelfra- gen lasse fort 235, 5-6

Woher nimmt Heine die 'scharfen, scharfen Stachelfragen'?

Die Übersetzung ist sicher bei weitem nicht so poetisch wie Byrons Verse.

Die Zahl dieser Beispiele beträgt 37.

Wir sehen also, dass Heine in seinen Übersetzungen das Beiwort mit weniger Glück als in seinen eigenen Gedichten gebraucht. Er erlaubt sich dabei grosse Freiheit, um metrische Forderungen zu erfüllen oder sprachliche Schwierigkeiten zu überwinden: das Beiwort der Übersetzung bezeichnet oft das, was in dem englischen Texte durch andere Redetheile, Satztheile oder ganze Sätze ausgedrückt wird, aber das Umgekehrte ist fast eben so oft der Fall. Heine trägt auch kein Bedenken, hier und da ein Beiwort gänzlich auszulassen oder anderseits ein neues hinzuzusetzen. Im ersteren Falle opfert er manchen schönen poetischen Gedanken auf, während er im letzteren öfters bloss unpoetische Ausfüllung der Verse erzielt. Zuweilen verstärkt er auch die ästhetische Wirkung der englischen Verse.

Im ganzen hat Heine in den Übersetzungen etwa zwanzig Epitheta mehr gebraucht als in dem Originale vorkommen. Der Unterschied ist zwar nicht besonders gross, aber die Tatsache bleibt.

Auch Spuren von den mehr äusserlichen Momenten, wie er sie in seinen eigenen Gedichten gern gebraucht, finden wir in seinen Übersetzungen, wie z. B. Alliteration:

Or dost thou dread the bil- low's rage	Fürchtst du der Wogen wilde s Dräun 235, 27
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A dreary sea now flows be- tween	Ein wilder, wüster Strom fliesst jetzt da- zwischen 232, 11
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Alliteration durch Wörter desselben Stammes:

Though thou seest me not pass by, Thou shalt feel me with thine eye	Siehst mich zwar nicht sichtbarlich, Dennoch fühlt dein Auge mich 230, 21-22
--	--

More than this I scarce can die	Tödlicher kann Tod nicht sein 234, 4
------------------------------------	--

Wiederholung:

As a thing that, though un- seen, Must be near thee, and hath been	Als ein Ding, das unsichtbar N a h ' dir ist, und n a h e war 230, 23-24
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Echt Heinisch ist die Übersetzung von:

Perchance my dog will whine in vain,  
Till fed by stranger hands

durch:

Mein Hund heult nur, bis n e u e Speis'  
Ein n e u e r Herr ihm reicht

237, 7-8

ebenso die Übersetzung von:

What is worst? Nay, do not ask—  
In pity from the search forbear

durch:

Was ist denn dieses Schlimmste? Lass die s c h a r f e n ,  
Die s c h a r f e n Stachelfragen lasse fort.

235, 5-6

Diese Verse könnten als ein Muster für seine eigenen Gedichte dienen.

Im ganzen bleibt Heines Übersetzung hinter dem Originale zurück, was weiter nicht wundernehmen kann, da Byron unbestritten der grössere Dichter ist und auch Heines eigene Werke bei weitem nicht an die Dichtungen des englischen Lords heranreichen.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Vgl.: Felix Melchior, *Heinrich Heines Verhältnis zu Lord Byron*, Berlin 1903; Wilhelm Ochsenbein, *Die Aufnahme Lord Byrons in Deutschland*, Bern 1905.

## KAP. VII.

## IN WIE WEIT KOMMT HEINES PERSÖNLICHKEIT IN DEM GEBRAUCH DER BEIWÖRTER ZUM AUSDRUCK?

DA Heine das Epitheton sehr gern anwendet, drängt sich die Frage auf, ob und inwiefern sich der Mensch Heine in den Beiwörtern spiegelt. Die Tatsache, dass Heine das Beiwort verhältnismässig häufig anwendet, lässt darauf schliessen, dass die Welt, die Zustände, die Menschen für ihn etwas Abgeschlossenes, Fertiges, in sich Ruhendes waren. Er führt uns nicht so sehr ein Geschehen vor, kümmert sich nicht um die Entwicklung und den fortwährenden Wandel in allem, was da lebt, als dass er einen gegebenen Zustand, eine Stellung, ein Bild festhält und ausführlich beschreibt. Doch ist dabei nicht zu verkennen, dass seinen Beschreibungen meist die Anschaulichkeit mangelt, dass er uns nicht den Gegenstand als solchen, sondern die Gefühle, welche derselbe in ihm erregt, schildert, oder auch seine eignen Gefühle in den Gegenstand hineinträgt und demselben beilegt. Am auffallendsten tritt dies zu Tage, wo er seine eigene düstre Stimmung, seinen gemachten oder wirklichen Schmerz der ihn umgebenden Natur zuschreibt, als ob er dort wirklich vorhanden wäre, während es sich doch nur um das durch sein Inneres verdüsterte Abbild handelt.

Die Natur an sich hatte für Heine anscheinend nur wenig Bedeutung; nur selten sieht er sie mit dem Auge des Malers, schildert er sie direkt. Auch in den Nordseebildern und in *Atta Troll*, wo er der reinen Beschreibung vielleicht am nächsten kommt, ist es doch mehr das von seiner Phantasie absonderlich belebte Bild als eine anschauliche Darstellung, was er uns bietet. Häufig gefällt er sich darin, die Gegenstände der leblosen Natur zu personifizieren, wie zum Beispiel in *Atta Troll*, und obschon manche dieser Stellen sehr poetisch sind, so ist es auch doch hier wieder eine Schöpfung seiner Einbildungskraft, die er darstellt, und die auf den Leser zwar äusserst anregend



wirkt, aber ihm sicher kein klares Bild der Natur bietet. Um zu einem solchen zu gelangen, müsste er sich die Schilderung Heines erst in konkrete Wörter umsetzen, was jedoch um so schwieriger ist, je lebhafter seine Phantasie durch das von dem Dichter Gegebene in Mitleidenschaft gezogen wird. Vgl. z. B.:

Wie verschlafne Bajaderen  
Schaun die Berge, stehen fröstelnd  
In den weissen Nebelhemden,  
Die der Morgenwind bewegt.

Doch sie werden bald ermuntert  
Von dem Sonnengott, er streift  
Ihnen ab die letzte Hülle  
Und bestrahlt die nackte Schönheit.

AT, II, 376, 1-8

Riesenhafte Felsenblöcke,  
Missgestaltet und verzerrt,  
Schaun mich an gleich Ungetümen,  
Die versteinert, aus der Urzeit.

Seltsam! Graue Wolken schweben  
Drüber hin, wie Doppelgänger;  
Sind ein blödes Konterfei  
Jener wilden Steinfiguren.

AT, II, 385, 9-16

Es bleibt sicherlich dem Leser ganz und gar überlassen, wie er sich die Heines Schilderungen zu grunde liegenden Wirklichkeits- oder Vorstellungsbilder denken will, falls er überhaupt daran denkt. Es soll dies keinen Tadel aussprechen; das hervorgerufene Bild ist lebhaft anregend, phantasievoll, alles, nur nicht klar und anschaulich.

Das über die Zuständigkeit, das Hineintragen der eigenen Gefühlswelt in die umgebende Natur oben Gesagte bezieht sich vor allem auf die rein lyrischen Dichtungen. Die Romanzen, die satirisch-epischen Dichtungen, Atta Troll und Deutschland,

enthalten der Natur der Sache nach ein gut Teil Handlung. Andererseits ist der subjektive Charakter der lyrischen Dichtungen das zu Erwartende, und doch ist in Heines Lyrik ein Element enthalten, das sie von der anderer Dichter unterscheidet. Alles dient bei ihm nur dazu, sich selbst zu spiegeln. Die Natur verliert ihre Individualität gänzlich; wie bei keinem anderen Dichter ist sie nur der Widerschein seiner eignen Stimmung. Vgl. z. B.:

Warum sind denn die Rosen so blass,  
O sprich, mein Lieb, warum?  
Warum sind denn im grünen Gras  
Die blauen Veilchen so stumm?

Warum singt denn mit so kläglichem Laut  
Die Lerche in der Luft?  
Warum steigt denn aus dem Balsamkraut  
Hervor ein Leichenduft?

Warum scheint denn die Sonn' auf die Au'  
So kalt und verdriesslich herab?  
Warum is denn die Erde so grau  
Und öde wie ein Grab?

Warum bin ich selbst so krank und so trüb,  
Mein liebes Liebchen, sprich?  
O sprich, mein herzallerliebstes Lieb,  
Warum verliessest du mich?

LI, I, 74, 13-28

Heines Unfähigkeit, ein Geschehen oder gar eine Handlung darzustellen, tritt am klarsten in seinen dramatischen Versuchen zu Tage.

Heine hat vor allem das Thema der unglücklichen Liebe wiederholt besungen und auch verschiedene Schönheiten in seinen Gedichten gefeiert. So wollen wir zunächst die Beiwörter etwas näher untersuchen, welche sich auf das schöne Geschlecht beziehen, ob dieselben meistens seelische Vorgänge

darstellen oder ob sie hauptsächlich körperliche Eigenschaften hervorheben. Dabei sind auch die Epitheta zu beachten, welche keine Bezeichnung, sondern nur eine Schätzung von seiten des Dichters ausdrücken; wie z. B. 'lieb' und 'geliebt'.

JOSEPHA.

Die erste weibliche Gestalt, welche Heines Muse beschäftigt, ist Josepha, die Scharfrichterstochter. Dieses wegen des verurufenen Standes ihres Vaters aus der Gesellschaft verbannte Mädchen machte auf das Gemüt des sechzehnjährigen Knaben einen seltsamen Eindruck, so dass, wie er selbst in den Memoiren sagt<sup>1</sup>, seine frühesten Gedichte 'ein düsteres und grausames Kolorit' haben.

Von einer Schilderung des Seelischen ist in den auf Josepha angewandten Beiwörtern kaum eine Spur. Sie hat ein 'mildes' Äuglein, lächelt 'mild', und staunt den Knaben 'inniglich' und 'weh' an. Obgleich sich die Epitheta fast nur auf körperliche Eigenschaften beziehen, gibt uns Heine doch kein scharfes, bestimmtes Bild von seiner Erstgeliebten, eben weil er meistens Ausdrücke von allgemeiner Bedeutung gebraucht, wie 'schön' (13 mal), 'fein' (6 mal), 'süss' (5 mal), 'engelgleich'. Die einzigen bestimmten konkreten Bezeichnungen sind 'marmorblass' (3 mal), 'weiss', 'bleich' und 'blondgelockt'. Einmal kommt das Wort 'hold' vor, welches sich im Notfalle auf seelische Eigenschaften beziehen lässt. Es ist dann als annähernd gleichwertig mit 'mild', 'sanftmütig' anzusetzen. Ferner finden wir auch 'lieb' (4 mal), 'wundersam', 'seltsamlich', 'heimlich wunderbar', welche nur eine Schätzung von seiten Heines ausdrücken. Das Wort 'stumm' (2 mal) ist zwar bestimmt, aber nicht im eigentlichen Sinne konkret und drückt nur einen augenblicklichen Zustand aus. Das Bild wird nur durch das Hauptwort 'Rosenmündlein' näher bestimmt. Diese schattenhafte Schilderung aus der Feder des jungen Heine steht im starken Gegensatz zu der lebhaften plastischen, welche der gereifte Mann in den 'Memoiren' hinterlassen hat. In den 'Traumbildern' schildert uns jedoch der Dichter wohl die Traumerscheinung, ohne irgend

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. Elsters Ausgabe VII, 502ff.

welches Bestreben dieselbe mit der Wirklichkeit in Einklang zu bringen. Die Bezeichnung 'blondgelockt' entspricht jedenfalls nicht dem 'roten, ganz blutroten' Haar, das Heine in den 'Mémoires' der Scharfrichterstochter beilegt.

#### AMALIE.

1816 lernte Heine seine Cousine, Amalie, kennen; und sieben Jahre lang bildete seine Liebe zu ihr das Hauptthema, ja man kann sagen, beinahe das einzige Thema seiner Dichtungen, bis endlich eine neue Sonne, Therese, die Schwester Amaliens, aufging und der Gegenstand seiner Liebe und seiner Muse wurde. Diese Leidenschaft behandelt Heine nicht nur in zahlreichen unmittelbar an Amalie gerichteten Gedichten, sondern auch in den Tragödien, *Almansor* und *Ratcliff*, und in vielen Balladen, wo das Thema der unglücklichen Liebe den Inhalt ausmacht.

Auch bei Amalie kommen die unbestimmten Bezeichnungen am häufigsten vor, wie 'lieb' (24 mal), 'süss' (15 mal), 'schön' (11 mal), dabei aber auch eine Anzahl konkreter Begriffe.—Amalie hat einen 'blonden' Kopf, 'klare', 'blaue' Augen, 'rote' Wangen, 'rote' Lippen, einen 'roten' Mund, eine 'schwellende' Brust, 'kleine' Hände und 'kleine' Füße. Heine verwendet auf sie verhältnismässig mehr seelische Begriffe als auf seine anderen Geliebten: 33 seelische gegenüber 54 körperlichen. Im ganzen gebraucht er—Bewertung: 33; Körperliches: 54; Seelisches: 33; Körperlich-Seelisches: 11. Es ist aber zu beachten, dass 8 von den 54 körperlichen und 15 von den 33 seelischen nichts mit der Wirklichkeit zu tun haben, sondern nur ausdrücken, wie sich Heine seine Geliebte im Traume oder im Geiste vorstellt. Das eigentliche Verhältnis der beiden Gattungen ist also 46 körperliche gegenüber 18 seelischen. Eine Zusammenstellung der auf Amalie angewandten Beiwörter folgt:<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Das siebzehnte Gedicht der Lazarus-Gruppe, I, 428, habe ich nicht in Betracht gezogen, denn es ist unsicher, ob von Amalie oder Therese die Rede ist. Übrigens beweist der Ausdruck, 'Meergrüne Augen', dass es Heine nicht um eine genaue Beschreibung des betreffenden Traumbildes zu tun ist. Die anderen Epitheta in dem Gedichte, wie 'süss', 'klein', u. s. w. sind charakteristisch für Heine.



Bewertung von seiten Heines:

lieb .....	24 mal
geliebt .....	4 mal
wunnesam .....	1 mal

Im Traume sieht sie Heine 'wunderlich' an, da nennt er sie 'arm' (2 mal).

Körperliches:

Gesamterscheinung:

süss .....	11 mal
schön .....	9 mal
fein .....	4 mal
klein .....	1 mal
blühend .....	1 mal
zart .....	1 mal
sie lächelt 'süss'	

Körperteile:

Augen—blau .....	2 mal
klar .....	2 mal
süss .....	2 mal
schön .....	1 mal
leuchtend ..	1 mal
Kopf—blond .....	1 mal
Wangen—rot .....	2 mal
Lippen—rot .....	1 mal
Mund—rot .....	1 mal
Gesicht—schön .....	1 mal
Hände—weiss .....	1 mal
klein .....	1 mal
Füsse—klein .....	1 mal
süss .....	1 mal
Brust—schwellend ..	1 mal

Im Traume erscheint sie ihm 'verwelkt', 'abgefallen', 'blass' (2 mal), mit 'bleichem' Gesichte. Er sieht sie 'bleich' im Grabe, mit 'bleichen' Lippen im Tode liegen.

Seelisches:

bissig .....	1 mal	Herz—süss .....	1 mal
mild .....	1 mal	falsch .....	1 mal
aimabel .....	1 mal	verdorrt .....	1 mal
rein .....	1 mal	Busen—stolz .....	1 mal
treu .....	1 mal	Blicke—falsch .....	1 mal
Gemüt—lieblos .....	1 mal	fromm .....	1 mal
frostig .....	1 mal	sie lächelt—fromm....	1 mal
Augen—fromm .....	2 mal	mild .....	1 mal
Arme—zärtlich .....	1 mal		

Wie sie dem Dichter im Traume erscheint, sieht sie ihn 'streng', 'liebepoll', 'wehmütiglich' an, grüsst ihn 'freundlich', ist 'bang' (2 mal), 'bekümmert' und 'unglücklich'. Heine behauptet, sie sei 'elend' (3 mal), solle 'elend' sein (3 mal), da sieht er ihr Auge 'trotziglich' blitzen.

#### Körperlich-Seelisches:

hold .....	6 mal
traut .....	4 mal
Angesicht—hold .....	1 mal

Dreimal bezeichnet Heine ihr Herz als 'klein', was aber bedeutungslos ist und bloss des Reimes wegen dasteht. Vgl. z. B.:

Dein Herzchen so süß und so falsch und so klein,  
Es kann nirgend was Süßres und Falscheres sein

Hk, I, 73, 19-20

#### THERESE.

Heine selbst sagt von Therese in einem seiner Gedichte:

Die Kleine (Therese) gleicht der Geliebten (Amalie),  
Besonders wenn sie lacht;  
Sie hat dieselben Augen,  
Die mich so elend gemacht.

Hk, I, 98, 25-28

Deshalb wundern wir uns nicht, wenn wir lesen, dass auch Therese 'schöne', 'süsse', 'klare', 'blaue' Augen, einen 'roten' Mund und 'kleine', 'weisse' Hände hat, dass sie 'schön', 'süß', 'hold' und 'klein' ist. Wieder überwiegen die unbestimmten Epitheta wie 'schön' (12 mal), 'süß' (8 mal), 'geliebt' (6 mal) und andere. Seelische Vorgänge werden kaum geschildert, nur 'rein' (2 mal), 'kluge' Augen (2 mal), 'treue' Augen und ein 'edles' Herz. Das Verhältnis der verschiedenen Klassen ist:

Bewertung	Körperliches	Seelisches	Körperlich-Seelisches
12	40	6	3

Die Zusammenstellung der vorkommenden Epitheta ist wie folgt:

Bewertung:

lieb .....	5 mal
geliebt .....	6 mal
Augen—liebenswürdig .....	1 mal

Körperliches:

Gesamterscheinung:

schön .....	8 mal
süss .....	2 mal
klein .....	4 mal
jung .....	3 mal
anmutig .....	1 mal

Körperteile:

Augen—schön ....	.3 mal
blau .....	1 mal
süss .....	5 mal
klar .....	2 mal
lieblich .....	1 mal
gross .....	1 mal
Gesicht—süss .....	1 mal
Schulter—königlich ..	1 mal
Ohren—klein .....	1 mal
Lippen—schön .....	1 mal
Mund—rot .....	1 mal
Hände—klein .....	2 mal
weiss .....	2 mal
Finger—weiss .....	1 mal

Seelisches:

rein .....	2 mal
Augen—klug .....	2 mal
treu .....	1 mal
Herz—edel .....	1 mal

Körperlich-Seelisches:

hold .....	3 mal
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Obgleich die auf Amalie und Therese angewandten bestimmten Epitheta hinter den unbestimmten in Anzahl weit zurückstehen, sollten sie doch an und für sich hinreichen, uns ein konkretes Bild der beiden Mädchen zu geben, besonders bei Amalie. Trotzdem aber werden die Gestalten der beiden Mädchen dem Leser nicht anschaulich, denn die betreffenden Epitheta kommen nur vereinzelt hier und da vor und verlieren

sich im Überfluss der anderen Ausdrücke. Ausnahmsweise finden wir Strophen wie:

Die blauen Veilchen der Äugelein,  
Die roten Rosen der Wängelein,  
Die weissen Lilien der Händchen klein,  
Und nur das Herzchen ist verdorrt.

LI, I, 77, 1-4

oder:

Mädchen mit dem roten Mündchen,  
Mit den Äuglein süß und klar,  
Du mein liebes, kleines Mädchen,  
Deiner denk' ich immerdar.

Hk, I, 118, 27-30

Doch auch hier sind die betreffenden Beiwörter durchaus konventioneller Art und geben uns kein anschauliches Bild.

Freilich bewegt sich der Lyriker in der Gefühlswelt und das Anschaulich-Beschreibende ist nicht das Hauptelement der Lyrik. Doch Heine, der Egoist, treibt es viel zu weit, und im fortwährenden Ausdruck seiner Gefühle verliert er deren Ursache aus dem Gesichte. Dass er uns ein belebtes Bild geben konnte, beweist er in der Schilderung der Bergmannstochter:

Auf dem Schemel sitzt die Kleine,  
Stützt den Arm auf meinen Schoss!  
Äuglein wie zwei blaue Sterne,  
Mündlein wie die Purpurros.'

Und die lieben blauen Sterne  
Schaun mich an so himmelgross;  
Und sie legt die Lilienfinger  
Schalkhaft auf die Purpurros.'

Und die Kleine flüstert leise,  
Leise, mit gedämpftem Laut;  
Manches wichtige Geheimnis  
Hat sie mir schon anvertraut.



Plötzlich schweigt die liebe Kleine,  
Wie vom eignen Wort erschreckt,  
Und sie hat mit beiden Händchen  
Ihre Äugelein bedeckt.

. . . . .  
Ihre goldnen Haare wickelt  
Mir die Kleine um die Händ',  
Gibt den Fingern hübsche Namen,  
Lacht und küsst und schweigt am End'.

Hk, Berg-Idylle, I, 152ff.

Hier hat Heine seine eignen egoistischen Gefühle einen Augenblick vergessen und es gelingt ihm also ein frisches, lebendiges Bild zu erzielen, wovon in all den vielen Strophen, welche seine Liebe zu Amalie und Therese ausdrücken, keine Rede ist.

Anschaulich ist das Bild von dem Weib im Norden (sieh Kap. IV, 2).

#### GRÄFIN BOTHMER.

Wenn schon Amalie und Therese nicht stark individualisiert sind, so ist Gräfin Bothmer in den an sie gerichteten Gedichten ganz schattenhaft geblieben. Der ganze Epithetenschatz, den Heine auf sie anwendet, ist 'geliebt' (6 mal), 'schön' (4 mal), 'jung', Antlitz 'schön' und 'blühend', Augen 'schön' (2 mal), 'blau' (2 mal) und 'gross.' Auch lächelt sie 'freundlich heiter' und wandelt 'still' und 'sicher.'

Heine sagt freilich von diesen Gedichten:

Wenn du gute Augen hast,  
Und du schaust in meine Lieder,  
Siehst du eine junge Schöne  
Drinne wandeln auf und nieder.

NF, I, 210, 3-6

Unsren Augen ist es noch nicht gelungen, diese junge Schöne zu erblicken, und wenn Heine sagt, dass sie schön sei, bedeutet dies nichts Besonderes, denn er war im Gebrauch dieses Wortes ziemlich freigebig.

Es ist aber nicht zu verwundern, dass die Gräfin Bothmer nicht schärfer charakterisiert ist, denn Heines Leidenschaft für sie war nur eine flüchtig vorübergehende, und die meisten der betreffenden Lieder wurden auf Bestellung des Komponisten Albert Methfessel gedichtet, und zwar nachdem sich seine Liebe abgekühlt hatte.

#### MATHILDE.

Während Heine seine unglückliche Liebe zum Überfluss besingt, beschäftigt sich seine Muse nur wenig mit der glücklichen Liebe zu Mathilde. Nur ein paar Gedichte sind an sie gerichtet. Was die Beiwörter anbelangt, so finden wir 'lieb' (2 mal), 'geliebt', 'schön', 'süss' (4 mal), 'dick', 'scherzend', 'kosend', 'lächelnd', 'sorglos', 'treu', 'gut', 'gütig'; sie hat einen 'schönen' Mund, eine 'holde' Stimme, einen 'treuen', 'ehrlichen' Blick, lächelt 'lieblich' (2 mal) und schläft 'sorgenlos' (2 mal).

Die Leidenschaft der Briefe, die Heine während seiner Abwesenheit von Paris an Mathilde richtete, kommt in den Gedichten nicht zum Ausdruck.<sup>1</sup> Diese atmen mehr die Sorge um Mathildens Zukunft nach seinem Tode aus.

#### DIE MOUCHE.

Heines letzte Geliebte, die 'Mouche', wie er sie nannte, trat erst wenige Monate vor seinem Tode in sein Leben ein, als er auf dem Krankenbette lag. Der sterbende Dichter fand noch Kraft dazu, sie in ein paar Gedichten zu feiern, welche eine durchaus sinnliche Leidenschaft ausatmen.

Die Epitheta, mit denen er sie beschreibt, wie 'lieb' (3 mal), 'geliebt' (2 mal), 'klein', 'zart', 'schwach', 'leidend', 'schöne' Hände, 'trostlos', 'beseligt', 'verzückt', 'zärtliche' Lippen, 'feurige' Thränen, nicht sonderlich 'gesund' im Kopfe, 'hold', geben uns wieder nur einen unbestimmten Begriff von dem Gegenstand seiner Liebe. Wie bei den früheren Geliebten so auch hier ist es ihm hauptsächlich um seinen eigenen Zustand zu tun.

<sup>1</sup> Das Lied vom Tannhäuser (I, 245ff), welches die Reize der Frau Venus mit feuriger Leidenschaft schildert, bezieht sich wohl, so weit die Wirklichkeit zu Grunde liegt, auf das Verhältnis zu Mathilde. Die Epitheta aber, welche Heine Frau Venus beilegt, sind sicher nicht auf Mathilde anzuwenden, denn Mathilde hatte kastanienbraunes Haar, während Frau Venus' edles Gesicht von 'blühend schwarzen Locken' wild umringelt ist.

NIEDERE MINNE.

Unter den Gedichten des 'Buches der Lieder' finden wir auch eine Anzahl der sogenannten Lieder der niederen Minne, welche Heine eingestreut haben soll, um der Sentimentalität der anderen Gedichte entgegenzuwirken; hier sind auch viele der Liebeslieder in der 'Nachlese' und die Gedichte auf verschiedene Pariser Schönheiten mit in Betracht zu ziehen. Heine versucht, diese grösstenteils anstössigen Gedichte zu entschuldigen, indem er sagt:

Nun der Gott mir günstig nicket  
Soll ich schweigen wie ein Stummer,  
Ich, der, als ich unbeglücket,  
So viel sang von meinem Kummer.

V, I, 231, 9-12

Wie zu erwarten ist, kommen die körperlichen Begriffe am häufigsten vor, 133 gegenüber 56 seelischen.

Im ganzen finden wir—Bewertung: 34; Körperliches: 133; Seelisches: 56; Körperlich-Seelisches: 9. Der Prozentsatz der Epitheta, welche seelische Eigenschaften zum Ausdruck bringen, ist hier sogar etwas grösser als in den Liedern der hohen Minne, denn Heine liebte nicht nur Mädchen von allerlei körperlichen Vorzügen, sondern auch von verschiedener Gemütsart, 'dumm' und 'klug', 'stolz' und 'blöde', 'gütig', 'sanft' und 'mild', 'grausam', 'ungezähmt' und 'wild', u. s. w. Er hatte sie alle gern, 'gross' und 'klein', 'fett' und 'mager', 'dick' und 'dünn'. Wir lesen von 'schlanken, weissen' Gliedern, 'weissem, geschmeidigem' Leibe, 'schlanker' Taille, 'schlanker' Hüfte, 'weisser' Brust, 'rotem' Mund, 'roten' Lippen, u. dgl. Heine ging ganz nach Belieben von einer Gattung zur anderen über, wie er selbst in dem Gedichte, 'Wechsel', naiv bekennt:

Mit Brünetten hat's ein Ende!  
Ich gerate dieses Jahr  
Wieder in die blauen Augen,  
Wieder in das blonde Haar.

R, I, 280, 17-20

Zuweilen kann er einen solchen Wechsel selbst nicht ganz verstehen:

Welcher Frevel, Freund! Abtrünnig  
Wirst du deiner fetten Hanne,  
Und du liebst jetzt jene spinnig  
Dürre, magre Marianne!

. . . . .  
Das ist Satans böse Tücke,  
Er verwirret unsre Sinne:  
Wir verlassen eine Dicke,  
Und wir nehmen eine Dünne!

NLL, II, 40, 16ff

Es scheint mir sehr fraglich, ob die unten angeführten Verse, die er in dem Jahre vor seinem Tode schrieb, wirklich die lautere Wahrheit enthalten:

Hab' eine Jungfrau nie verführt  
Mit Liebeswort, mit Schmeichelei;  
Ich hab' auch nie ein Weib berührt,  
Wusst' ich, dass sie vermählet sei. ,

Wahrhaftig, wenn es anders wäre,  
Mein Name, er verdiente nicht  
Zu strahlen in dem Buch der Ehre;  
Man dürft' mir spucken ins Gesicht.

NLL, II, 39, 21-28

#### DIE FRAUEN IM ALLGEMEINEN.

Schliesslich sind auch die Epitheta zu beachten, welche sich auf die Frauen beziehen, die in den Gedichten vorkommen, ohne jedoch der Gegenstand von Heines Leidenschaft zu sein. Hier überwiegen die körperlichen Begriffe wieder, 302 gegenüber 88 seelischen. Diese 88 Belege drücken aber etwa 60 verschiedene Geistes- und Gemütseigenschaften aus. Heine gebraucht eine verhältnismässig grosse Auswahl seelischer Begriffe, die meisten aber kommen nur ein einziges Mal vor.



Einen Überblick über die Gesamtheit der sich auf das schöne Geschlecht beziehenden Epitheta gibt folgende Tabelle:

	Bewertung	Körperliches		Seelisches	Körperlich-Seelisches
		Unbest.	Best.		
Josepha . . . . .	7 . . . . .	25 . . . .	6 . . . . .	4 . . . . .	1
Amalie . . . . .	32 . . . . .	30 . . . .	24 . . . . .	33 . . . . .	11
Therese . . . . .	12 . . . . .	21 . . . .	20 . . . . .	6 . . . . .	3
Gräfin B. . . . .	6 . . . . .	7 . . . .	7 . . . . .	1 . . . . .	0
Mathilde . . . .	6 . . . . .	6 . . . .	4 . . . . .	8 . . . . .	0
Mouche . . . . .	5 . . . . .	1 . . . .	4 . . . . .	6 . . . . .	1
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	68	90	65	58	15
		<hr/>			
		155			
Nied. Min. . . .	34 . . . . .	62 . . . .	71 . . . . .	56 . . . . .	9
Andere Frauen	35 . . . . .	127 . . . .	195 . . . . .	88 . . . . .	28
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	137	279	331	202	52
		<hr/>			
		610			

Von den einzelnen Körperteilen wendet Heine dem Auge die meiste Aufmerksamkeit zu; wir lesen von Augen 'schön', 'süss', 'fein', 'klar', 'leuchtend', 'gross', 'lieblich', 'licht', 'hold', 'sanft', 'keusch', 'freundlich', 'treu', 'klug', 'mild', 'wild', 'genial', 'fromm', u. s. w. Der Dichter schwärmt für 'blaue' Augen (11 mal); Amalie und Therese hatten blaue Augen; auch 'schwarze' Augen werden viermal erwähnt, 'braune' einmal und 'schwarzbraune' einmal.

Nach den Augen mit 89 Belegen kommen: das Gesicht (35 mal), die Lippen (24 mal), das Haar (21 mal), die Glieder (20 mal), die Hände (16 mal), die Brust (13 mal), der Leib (12 mal), die Wangen (12 mal), der Mund (12 mal), die Züge (10 mal), u. s. w.

Die Lieblingsepitheta, mit welchen Heine die Frau bezeichnet, sind—lieb: 79 mal; geliebt: 33; schön: 182; süß: 59; schlank: 16; weiss: 40; klein: 30; sanft: 11; mild: 9; stolz: 8; rein: 7; fromm: 7; hold: 50.

Die Unbestimmtheit eines Beiwortes ermöglicht freilich eine häufigere Anwendung als bei bestimmten Bezeichnungen möglich ist; aber bei Heine werden Epitheta wie 'schön', 'lieb', 'süß', 'hold', im Vergleich mit anderen auffallend oft gebraucht. Es beweist, dass das weibliche Geschlecht überhaupt eine grosse Anziehungskraft auf ihn ausübte; die Frau war für ihn ein 'schönes', 'liebes', 'süßes', 'holdes' Geschöpf; sie wurden alle von ihm 'geliebt', besonders die 'kleinen' mit 'weissem' Gesicht, 'weisser' Brust, 'weissen, schlanken' Gliedern, 'kleinen, weissen' Händen und Füßen.

Und aus dem grossen Überwiegen der körperlichen Begriffe den seelischen gegenüber sehen wir, dass dieses schöne, liebe, süsse, holde, kleine, weisse Geschöpf für ihn da ist zum sinnlichen Genusse, was aber Heines eignes Bekenntnis nur bestätigt:

Ich kann es nicht vergessen,  
Geliebtes, holdes Weib,  
Dass ich dich einst besessen,  
Die Seele und den Leib.

Den Leib möcht' ich noch haben,  
Den Leib, so zart und jung;  
Die Seele könnt ihr begraben,  
Hab' selber Seele genug.

NLL, II, 9, 25 ff

Ziehen wir nun die Epitheta in Betracht, durch welche Heine seinen Gefühlen Ausdruck gibt, seinen Geistes- und Gemütszustand darstellt, so starrt uns eine traurige Welt entgegen. Die Gedichte aus der ersten Hälfte seines Lebens behandeln, wie schon gesagt, hauptsächlich das Thema der Liebe, meistens der unglücklichen Liebe. In diesen Gedichten wird uns nicht so

sehr die Geliebte vor Augen geführt, nicht so sehr die Leidenschaft für die Geliebte ausgedrückt, sondern der Dichter schildert vielmehr immer wieder und wieder seine eignen Leiden. Dadurch verrät sich Heines Egoismus, denn er denkt vor allem an seine Schmerzen, an sich selbst—Heine, der leidende Held, wird zum Hauptgegenstand seiner Muse; wenn er singt, besingt er also meistens sich selbst. In der Nacht liegt er 'schlaflos', 'wach' mit seinem Kummer oder irrt 'klagend' im Walde herum; am Tage schwankt er 'träumend' durch die Strassen, wandelt 'stumm' im Garten oder liegt 'krank' im Grase; der 'traurige', 'blasse' Mann mit 'bleichem' Gesichte steht da, 'trostlos' und 'herzeblutend'—er ist 'krank', 'traurig', 'unselig', 'unendlich elend'; vor den Augen wird es ihm 'trüb' und 'trüber', die Glieder sind 'matt' und 'träge', das Haupt ist 'müde', er fürchtet, sein 'krankes', 'wundes' Herz werde vor 'allzu grossem' Wehe brechen. Besonders in solch einem Ausdruck wie dem letzteren, 'allzu grossem' Wehe, kommt der egoistische Zug stark zum Vorschein; der Dichter ist nicht nur 'elend', sondern 'unendlich elend'; aus seinen 'grossen' Schmerzen macht er die 'kleinen' Lieder; sein Herz, das 'vielgeduldige', soll ob dem Verrat nicht grollen; nennt man die 'schlimmsten' Schmerzen, so wird auch der seine genannt; er trägt 'Unerträgliches'; ihm will die Brust zerspringen vor 'wildem' Schmerzendrang; in Tränen löst sich auf sein 'übergrosses' Weh. Eine Zusammenstellung der Epitheta, mit welchen Heine seine Liebeskrankheit bezeichnet, folgt:

stumm—2 mal	elend—6 mal
leichenstumm	unglücklichselig
träumend—3 mal	fremd
verdiesslich	traurig—5 mal
arm	nachtumhüllt
blass—2 mal	klagend
krank—5 mal	aufweinend
bang—3 mal	trostlos
wehe—3 mal	trüb—4 mal
sorgenkrank	bleich—4 mal
müde	herzeblutend

schlaflos	Auge—trüb
wach (in der Nacht)	Gesicht—traurig
verwundet	blässlich
leidend	elend mager
jammervoll	blass—2 mal
herzekrank	bleich
trage Unerträgliches	Sinn—verdrossen
übergrosses Weh	träumend
grossen Schmerzen	Glieder—müde
allzu grossem Weh	matt
schmerzerfülltes Wort	träge
Herz—wund	Haupt—müde
kalt	Leben—dunkel
eingefroren	Liebe—traurig
krank—5 mal	trüb
dunkel—2 mal	Lieder—wehmütig
bedrückt	trüb
sehnlich	Welt—kalt
elend—2 mal	Klagelied—traurig
traurig	Schmerzen schlimmst
verwundet	die bittern Klagen
beschwert	weinen bitterlich
trübe	dunkles Sehnen
ernst	wilder Schmerzendrang
beengt	

Nicht immer wendet Heine solch trübe Epitheta nur auf sich selbst an: ein Reiter zieht im 'traurig stillen' Trab durch das Tal, ihm rollt eine Träne von der Wange 'kummervoll'; der Schiffer rudert mit 'traurigem' Takte; der Peter steht so 'still' und 'stumm' und ist so 'blass' wie Kreide, er spricht 'leise' vor sich her und schaut 'betrübet' auf Bräutigam und Braut, da wankt der 'arme' Peter vorbei, gar 'langsam', 'leichenblass' und 'scheu'; Almansor wankt 'träumerisch' einher, 'kalt' und 'verdrossen', und spricht:

Du bist wohl müd', und ich bin auch recht müd',  
 Und auch mein Herz ist müd' vom vielen Klopfen,  
 Und ausruhn wollen wir.



Ich bin recht müd'  
Und krank, und kranker noch als krank, denn ach!  
Die allerschlimmste Krankheit ist das Leben.

A, II, 293, 25-29

Aber Heine selbst kommt hinter allen diesen Gestalten zum Vorschein. So gross ist sein Weh, dass er es auch, wie schon angedeutet, in die Natur hineinträgt.

Auch in anderen als diesen traurigen Beiwörtern erblicken wir zu deutlich den egoistischen Zug Heines: er ist gewohnt, den Kopf 'recht hoch' zu tragen, sein Sinn ist auch ein 'bisschen starr und zähe', doch in der Gegenwart der Mutter ergreift ihn oft ein 'demutvolles' Zagen, wie 'mächtig' auch sein 'stolzer' Mut sich blähe. Er ist ein 'deutscher' Dichter, 'bekannt' im deutschen Land, nennt man die 'besten' Namen, so wird auch der seine genannt. Nicht einmal der Geliebten verrät sein stolzes Angesicht das ungeheure Leiden; er fragt:

Und willst du, dass der stolze Mund  
Das Bettelwort gestehe?

O dieser Mund ist viel zu stolz  
Und kann nur küssen und scherzen.

Von seinem Herzen behauptet er:

Gross ist das Meer und der Himmel,  
Doch grösser ist mein Herz,  
Und schöner als Perlen und Sterne  
Leuchtet und strahlt meine Liebe.

Er bittet das kleine, junge Mädchen an sein 'grosses' Herz zu kommen.

Aus dem 'übergrossen, unerträglichen' Liebesweh entwickelt sich seine pessimistische Lebensanschauung, sein Weltschmerz. Wie Almansor sagt: "Die allerschlimmste Krankheit ist das Leben!" Da des Dichters Herz so 'krank' und 'wund', die Glieder so 'matt' und 'träge' sind, will er sein 'müdes' Haupt in ein 'kühles' Grab legen. Sein 'dunkles' Leben ist 'gänzlich nachtumhüllt', er ist so 'traurig', er wollt', man schöss' ihn 'tot'. Aus dem 'bedrückten' Herzen ruft er:

Doch jetzt ist alles wie verschoben,  
 Das ist ein Drängen! eine Not!  
 Gestorben ist der Herrgott oben,  
 Und unten ist der Teufel tot.

Und alles schaut so grämlich trübe,  
 So kraus verwirrt und morsch und kalt,  
 Und wäre nicht das bisschen Liebe,  
 So gäb' es nirgends einen Halt.

Hk, I, 114, 13-20

Der Tod ist ihm die 'kühle' Nacht, das Leben der 'schwüle' Tag.

Der Weltschmerz, welcher damals Mode war, wurzelt bei Heine in der unglücklichen Liebe zu den Cousinen, Amalie und Therese. In der ersten Zeile des 1821 verfassten Liedes, welches als Einleitung zu den 'Traumbildern' dient, bezeichnet er die Leidenschaft zu Amalie als 'wild':

Mir träumte einst von wildem Liebesglühn

Aber jetzt bleibt ihm nur, was er einst 'glutenwild' in weiche Reime goss. Selbst im Grabe will er Amalie 'wild' küssen, umschlingen und pressen. Das Wort 'wild' bezeichnet hier eine durchaus sinnliche Leidenschaft. Heine wendet es öfters an in sinnlicher Bedeutung, wie z. B., wo er von der 'wilden' Rauheit seiner Liebe spricht, oder von Angeliques Augen, welche das 'wilde' Licht auf den Tanz der Leidenschaft ergießen. Tannhäusers Liebe zu Frau Venus ist wie ein 'wilder' Wasserfall; Kittys rote Lippen küssen so 'wild'. Ein besonders derbes Beispiel finden wir in einem kurz vor Heines Tode verfassten Gedichte. Der blinde, gelähmte, von Schmerzen gequälte Mann klagt, dass er der Mouche nur Worte bieten kann, meint aber dabei:

Doch vielleicht ist dir zuträglich  
 Nicht die wilde Lendenkraft,  
 Welche galoppieret täglich  
 Auf dem Ross der Leidenschaft.

Ja, ich fürchte fast, es riebe,  
Zartes Kind, dich endlich auf  
Jene wilde Jagd der Liebe,  
Amors Steeple-chase-Wettlauf.

NL, II, 51, 25ff

Wenn wir in Almansors Schmerz um Zuleima Heines eigenen Schmerz um den Verlust Amalies erblicken, so ist es wohl auch der wahre Charakter von Heines Leidenschaft, welcher in der Äusserung Almansors zum Ausdruck kommt, dass er nicht mehr das Lamm sei, das sich fromm und mild zu den Füßen seiner Schäferin hinschmiegt, sondern:

Ich bin der Tiger, der sie wild umkrallt,  
Und wollustbrüllend ihren Leib zerfleischt.  
Zuleimas Leib ist's, was ich jetzt verlange;  
Ich will ein glücklich Tier sein, ja, ein Tier.

A, II, 298, 5-8

Heines Herz war im Jahre 1823 von der Leidenschaft zu Amalie genügend geheilt, dass er darüber spotten konnte, wie wo seine Freunde ihn ausfragen:

Teurer Freund! Was soll es nützen,  
Stets das alte Lied zu leiern?  
Willst du ewig brütend sitzen  
Auf den alten Liebes-Eiern?

Hk, I, 116, 1-4

Welche Gründe Heine auch hatte, solche Strophen einzuschalten, so ist es nicht zu leugnen, dass eine Liebe, worüber man spottet, keine echte, tiefempfundene ist—man spottet einfach nicht über das, was einem heilig ist.

Den spöttischen Zug finden wir auch in einigen der an Therese gerichteten Gedichte, wie z. B.:

Teurer Freund, du bist verliebt,  
Und dich quälen neue Schmerzen;  
Dunkler wird es dir im Kopf,  
Heller wird es dir im Herzen.

Hk, I, 120, 1-4

So eine Strophe passt vielleicht auf Verliebtheit, aber es ist mir unmöglich, eine tiefe Leidenschaft darin zu entdecken, eine Leidenschaft, welche unsterbliche Lieder und Heines Welt-schmerz gebären sollte.

Wir werden uns klar über die Tiefe von Heines Liebe zu Therese, wenn wir zwei Gedichte aus seinem späteren Leben lesen. Nachdem er sich zwölf Jahre in Frankreich aufgehalten, kehrte er zum ersten Male im Jahre 1843 nach Deutschland zurück. In Hamburg sah er Therese wieder. Seine Aufnahme bei ihr beschreibt er in den Gedichten 'Alte Rose' und 'Wiedersehen.' Im ersten spricht er von ihrer früheren Schönheit, aber jetzt:

Jetzt, wo sie verwelkt, zerfetzt  
Und verklatscht von Wind und Regen—  
Liebster Heinrich bin ich jetzt,  
Liebend kommt sie mir entgegen.

Heinrich hinten, Heinrich vorn,  
Klingt es jetzt mit süßen Tönen;  
Sticht mich jetzt etwa ein Dorn,  
Ist es an dem Kinn der Schönen.

Allzu hart die Borsten sind,  
Die des Kinnes Wärzchen zieren—  
Geh ins Kloster, liebes Kind,  
Oder lasse dich rasieren.

I, I, 414, 19-30

Im zweiten Gedichte sitzen sie wieder wie früher am Fenster:

Einsilbig sass ich. Die Plaudertasche,  
Das Weib hingegen schürte beständig  
Herum in der alten Liebesasche.  
Jedoch kein Fünkchen ward wieder lebendig.

Und sie erzählte: wie sie die bösen  
Gedanken bekämpft, eine lange Geschichte,



Wie wackelig schon ihre Tugend gewesen—  
Ich machte dazu ein dummes Gesichte.

L, I, 424, 3-10

Hätte Heine je die kleinste Spur von wahrer Liebe für Therese empfunden, so hätte er solche Worte nie schreiben können. Es ist höchst wahrscheinlich, dass Heine in dem Falle Amalie und Therese mit einem Auge über ihre Reize hinweg nach dem Geldsack des Vaters schielte.

Eben weil Heine aus keinen tiefen Gefühlsquellen schöpfte, ist ein grosser Teil seiner Liebeslyrik von wenig künstlerischem Wert. Die äussere Form beherrschte er mit Gewandtheit, vermochte ihr aber häufig keinen inneren Gehalt zu geben. Es ist ihm jedoch gelungen, eine fließende, gefällige äussere Schönheit zu erlangen, was von vielen für Poesie gehalten worden ist. Selbst diese äussere Schönheit artet aber nur zu oft in blosses Reimgeklänge aus. Wie Heine Liebeslieder dichten konnte, ohne doch eine Spur von Liebe in der Brust zu hegen, beweist in auffallender Weise der Cyklus "Neuer Frühling", von welchem die meisten Gedichte, darunter bekannte Lieder, wie 'Leise zieht durch mein Gemüt' und 'Der Schmetterling ist in die Rose verliebt', auf Bestellung verfasst wurden. Freilich hatte er sich zu der Zeit, 1830, schon viel in dieser Gattung geübt und verstand, wie man solche Gedichte anfertigt.

Heines berühmter Weltschmerz rührt uns also nicht. Heibel hatte nicht ganz unrecht, wenn er sagte, dass der Riss Heine nicht einmal durch die Weste gehe, geschweige durch das Herz. Der 'arme, blasse Gesell', der in den Liedern dieser Periode spukt, erregt unser Mitleid nicht.

Diese traurigen, trüben Epitheta begegnen uns wieder in Heines Gedichten und zwar in den auf dem Krankenlager verfassten; hier drücken sie aber wirkliches Leiden und tiefen Kummer aus. Obgleich sich viel wertloses Zeug darunter befindet, was für Heine charakteristisch ist, klingt uns doch im ganzen aus den betreffenden Gedichten die Stimme der Verzweiflung entgegen. Das Sehnen nach dem Tode kämpft mit dem Begehren nach den Freuden dieser Erde.

Tiefen Pessimismus atmen die Epitheta aus, wie da, wo der Dichter verlangt, dass die 'verdammten' Fragen der Existenz gelöst werden. Warum schleppt sich der 'Gerechte', 'blutend', 'elend', unter Kreuzlast, während der 'Schlechte', 'glücklich', wie ein Sieger, auf hohem Rosse trabt? Ist der Herr vielleicht nicht 'ganz allmächtig', oder wäre er 'niederträchtig' genug, solchen Unfug selbst zu treiben? Nichts ist 'vollkommen' auf dieser Welt; 'schwarze' Flecken sieht man in der Sonne; selbst die 'lieben holden' Engel sind nicht ohne Mängel. Die 'böse' Welt, die so 'verdorben', verlässt er bald; 'ganz entsetzlich, tödlich ungesund' ist die Erde und zu Grunde geht alles, was hienieden 'gross und schön', denn dies ist das Menschenlos: was 'gut und gross und schön', das nimmt ein 'schlechtes' Ende.

Freilich scheint dieser pessimistische Ton zuweilen bloss durch Geldsorgen verursacht: wenn man nichts hat, sollte man sich begraben lassen, denn ein Recht zum Leben haben nur diejenigen, die etwas besitzen. Doch 'reiche' Leute gewinnt man durch 'platte' Schmeicheleien: das Geld ist 'platt' und will auch 'platt' geschmeichelt sein; drum schwinge 'keck' das Weihrauchfass vor jedem 'göttlich goldnen' Kalb, denn das Brot ist 'teuer', jedoch die 'schönsten' Worte hat man 'umsonst'.

Aber die Hauptquelle von Heines späterem Pessimismus ist natürlich in seiner jahrelangen quälenden Krankheit zu suchen. Seinen hilflosen Zustand beschreibt er mit derben, kernigen Beiwörtern, die nur dem Tiefempfundenen, wirklich Erlebten entspringen können: jahrelang wälzt er sich mit 'herben, qualvollen' Gebrechen am Boden; er leidet 'schreckliche' Misere; wie 'tief, tief entsetzlich' ist sein Unglück; Leib und Seele sind 'gebrochen'; er ist ein 'ausgebeutet armes' Skelett, eine 'arme unbegrabene' Leiche; seine Seele ist wie 'entseelt'; er ist 'abgemergelt' und 'krank', 'lahm' und 'blind', und so 'elend'; 'bedrängt' von 'schwarzen' Sorgen erlischt die 'arme' Seele 'verzweiflungsvoll'.

Diese Beiwörter drücken das Leiden, die Verzweiflung aus. Rührend und schön ist der Schluss des Gedichtes, wo Heine von vergangenem Glück träumt: er ist wieder jung und munter—

Hand in Hand mit der schönen Ottilie läuft er den Pfad hinunter—da bricht er eine Lilie, die gibt er ihr und spricht: "sei mein Weib, Ottilie;"

Was sie zur Antwort gab, das weiss ich nimmer,  
Denn ich erwachte jählings—und ich war  
Wieder ein Kranker, der im Krankenzimmer  
Trostlos daniederliegt seit manchem Jahr.

L, I, 428, 21-24

Dies ist wirklich schlagend und erschütternd—wir empfinden aufs lebhafteste, wie dem bereits vom Tode gezeichneten Manne zu Mute gewesen sein muss, wenn er aus schönem Traume wieder zur zermalmenden Wirklichkeit des Daseins erwachte.

Aber Heine bleibt Heine—die Illusion solcher Stellen wird gänzlich zerstört durch Strophen wie:

O Gott, verkürze meine Qual,  
Damit man mich bald begrabe;  
Du weisst ja, dass ich kein Talent  
Zum Martyrtume habe.

Ob deiner Inkonsequenz, o Herr,  
Erlaube, dass ich staune:  
Du schufest den fröhlichsten Dichter, und raubst  
Ihm jetzt seine gute Laune.

Der Schmerz verdumpft den heitern Sinn  
Und macht mich melancholisch,  
Nimmt nicht der traurige Spass ein End',  
So werd' ich am Ende katholisch.

Ich heule dir dann die Ohren voll,  
Wie andere gute Christen—  
O Miserere! Verloren geht  
Der beste der Humoristen!

NV, II, 90, 9-24



So etwas ist nicht als romantische Ironie zu entschuldigen oder zu erklären. Es war tief in Heines Natur begründet, dass ihm der vollkommene Ausdruck der Gefühle nicht gelingen konnte. Zuweilen schafft er zwar etwas Schönes, doch fällt er gleich wieder ins Unpoetische und Triviale.—Seine Seele war nicht gross genug, um auf dem Gipfel der Gefühlswelt zu tronen.

Bei seinem grossen Leiden ist es kein Wunder, dass der Tod Heine ein willkommener Gast schien: die Grabesstille ist ihm erwünschter als das 'albern rohe' Leben; das Grab ist das Paradies für 'pöbelscheue, zarte' Ohren; 'gut' ist der Schlaf, der Tod ist 'besser', das 'beste' aber wäre nie geboren sein. Wie 'langsam' kriecht die Zeit dahin, die 'schauderhafte' Schnecke; in seine 'dunkle' Zelle dringt kein Hoffnungsschimmer; er weiss, nur mit der Kirchhofsgruft vertauscht er das 'fatale' Zimmer. Er beneidet die Söhne des Glückes um ihr 'schmerzlos rasches' Verschneiden; Gott soll sich seiner erbarmen und die 'schreckliche' Tragödie enden, soll einen braven Banditen schicken, der ihn mit 'raschem' Stoss ermordet, nur den 'langweil'gen' Blutegel nicht, der 'langsam' saugt.

Aber bei all dem Flehen um einen schnellen Tod hält Heine doch fest an diesem 'schönen' Leben; er möchte noch viel 'schöne' Tage 'froh' hinleben, denn Leben wie der 'ärmste' Knecht in der Oberwelt ist 'besser' als Schattenführer am stygischen Gewässer sein. Dass sein Grab der Ruhm erwärmt, bietet ihm wenig Trost.—Eine 'bessere' Wärme gibt eine 'verliebte' Kuhmagd, die ihn mit 'dicken' Lippen küsst und 'beträchtlich' nach Mist riecht. Und in Verzweiflung, dass er die 'liebe, teure' Welt verlassen muss, ruft er kurz vor seinem Tode:

O Gott! wie hässlich bitter ist das Sterben!  
 O Gott! wie süss und traulich lässt sich leben  
 In diesem traulich süssen Erdenneste!

NV, II, 89, 16-18

Denken wir beim Lesen dieser Zeilen an die entsetzliche Lage Heines, so müssen wir staunen, wie leidenschaftlich er sich an diese Welt klammert—es ist die Sterbeklage des dem sinnlichen Genüsse ergebenen Menschen.



Heines wahre Lebensauffassung wird durch seinen eignen paradoxen Vers trefflich bezeichnet:

O schöne Welt, du bist abscheulich!

‘Abscheulich’ mit Rücksicht auf seinen physischen Zustand, ‘schön’ in anderen Hinsichten.

Und was ihm das Schönste auf dieser schönen Welt war, geht auch aus seinen Krankenbettdichtungen deutlich hervor. Was bereut der am Sterben liegende Dichter? Er denkt an die vielen Blumen, die er sich früher nicht bemühte zu pflücken; aber:

Jetzt, wo ich todessiech und elend,  
Jetzt, wo geschaufelt schon die Gruft,  
Oft im Gedächtnis höhnend, quälend,  
Spukt der verschmähten Blumen Duft.

Besonders eine feuergelbe  
Viole brennt mir stets im Hirn.  
Wie reut es mich, dass ich dieselbe  
Nicht einst genoss, die tolle Dirn’.

NV, II, 93, 21-28

Was möchte er vor allem tun, ehe der Tod ihn hinwegrafft?

Noch einmal, eh’ mein Lebenslicht  
Erlöschet, eh’ mein Herze bricht—  
Noch einmal möcht’ ich vor dem Sterben  
Um Frauenhuld beseligt werben.

Und eine Blonde müsst’ es sein,  
Mit Augen sanft wie Mondenschein—  
Denn schlecht bekommen mir am Ende  
Die wild brünetten Sonnenbrände.

L, I, 420, 25ff.

Das junge Volk liebt den Tumult der Leidenschaft; da er aber ‘unjung’ und nicht mehr ‘ganz gesund’ ist, möchte er noch einmal lieben, schwärmen und ‘glücklich’ sein ohne Lärmen. Doch bejammert er es, dass er der Mouche nur Worte, niemals

Fleisch, bieten kann. So ein Gedicht zeigt, mehr als ein ganzes Dutzend der früher an die Schönheiten der Pariser Boulevards gerichteten, welche Rolle das Sinnliche bei ihm spielte.

Wir haben oben darauf hingewiesen, dass Heine bei egoistischer Betrachtung seiner Liebesschmerzen seine Gefühle auch in die Natur hineinträgt—das ganze Weltall trauert mit. 'Traurig' und 'ernst' schaut der Mond, 'traurig' scheinen die Sterne, 'traurig' rauscht Baum und Blatt, die Vögel singen 'traurig', selbst der Frühling ist 'ernst' und 'traurig'. Die Blumen sind 'von Schmerz bewegt', die Rosen sind 'blass', die Veilchen 'stumm', die Sonne schaut 'kalt und verdriesslich' herab und grüsst 'verdrossenen' Blicks. 'Mitleidvolle' Lüfte fächeln ihm Kühlung, die Blumen schauen ihn 'mitleidig' an. Mit 'bräutlichem' Gesicht betrachten sich die Blumen 'zärtlich', die Veilchen sehen sich 'zärtlich' an, 'sehnsüchtig' beugen sich die Lili-enkelche zusammen.

Wir lesen auch von dem 'verliebten' Meere, dem 'ängstlichen' Geflüster der Lindenbäume, dem 'liebenden' Sonnenstrahl, der 'klagenden' Nachtigall, von 'klagenden' Bäumen, 'gleichgültigen' Sternen, 'klugen' Myrten; die schönen Augen der Frühlingsnacht schauen 'tröstend' nieder; mit 'gesenktem' Haupte erwartet die Lotosblume 'träumend' die Nacht; in dem Walde spriesst es 'jungfräulich lustbeklommen', u. s. w.

Bei dieser allgemeinen Naturbeseelung opfert Heine die Anschaulichkeit auf. Als das allerschlimmste Beispiel unplastischer Darstellung wird oft die bekannte Strophe angeführt, wo er den Sternen 'goldne' Füße beilegt und sie droben 'bang und sacht' wandeln lässt, damit sie die Erde nicht wecken. Der Mangel an Anschaulichkeit wird leider durch keine Phantasiewirkung ersetzt—im Gegenteil, solch eine zärtliche, mitleidvolle Trauerlei wird uns gerade zuwider.

Über und um diese sentimentalische Welt Heines fließen die Mondstrahlen hin, während die Nachtigall singt und die Lindenblüten duften. Sagt er doch selbst in der Vorrede zur dritten Auflage des 'Buches der Lieder':

Das ist der alte Märchenwald!  
Es duftet die Lindenblüte!  
Der wunderbare Mondenglanz  
Bezaubert mein Gemüte.

Ich ging fürbass, und wie ich ging,  
Erklang es in der Höhe.  
Das ist die Nachtigall, sie singt  
Von Lieb' und Liebeswehe.

I, 9, 1-8

Sein ganzes Leben hindurch bedient sich Heine des Moments der Naturbeseelung, doch nicht immer mit gleicher Wirkung. Von der weichlichen Empfinderei der Liebeslyrik befreit wirken die Bilder öfters lebhaft anregend, trotzdem die Anschaulichkeit fehlt, wie z. B. in *Atta Troll* (siehe oben). Auch in den Nordseebildern ist die Naturbeseelung ein beliebtes Darstellungsmittel, wie wo der 'ungestaltete' Nordwind 'platt' auf dem Bauch über dem Meer liegt und 'heimlich', mit 'ächzend gedämpfter' Stimme ins Wasser hineinschwatzt oder Runensprüche heult, so 'dunkeltrotzig und zaubergewaltig', dass die 'weissen' Meerkinder 'hoch' aufspringen und jauchzen, 'Übermut-berauscht'.—Dies macht doch einen viel tieferen Eindruck als die 'traurigen' Sterne, die 'stummen' Veilchen, die 'sehnüchtigen' Lilien und dergleichen Empfinderei. Daneben finden wir aber Stellen, welche uns kalt lassen, wie wo die 'weiche' Luna, 'weiblich gesinnt', aus 'leichtem' Gewölk hervorlauscht, 'zitternd und bleich', und nach dem 'scheidenden' Sonnengott 'schmerzlich' schaut.

Zuweilen sind die Schilderungen in den Nordseebildern konkret und plastisch. Wir sehen das Gewitter herannahen:

Dumpf liegt auf dem Meer das Gewitter,  
Und durch die schwarze Wolkenwand  
Zuckt der zackige Wetterstrahl,  
Rasch aufleuchtend und rasch verschwindend,  
Wie ein Witz aus dem Haupte Kronions.  
Über das wüste, wogende Wasser

Weithin rollen die Donner,  
Und springen die weissen Wellenrosse.

NZC, I, 181, 1-8.

Da bricht der Sturm über uns her:

Es wütet der Sturm,  
Und er peitscht die Wellen,  
Und die Well'n, wutschäumend und bäumend,  
Türmen sich auf, und es wogen lebendig  
Die weissen Wasserberge,  
Und das Schiffelein erklimmt sie,  
Hastig mühsam,  
Und plötzlich stürzt es hinab  
In schwarze, weitgährende Flutabgründe.

NEC, I, 173, 7-15

Diese Strophen stehen in starkem Gegensatz zu einem Gedicht wie Conrad Ferdinand Meyers 'Der Gesang des Meers':

Wolken, meine Kinder, wandern gehen  
Wollt ihr? Fahret wohl! Auf Wiedersehen!  
Eure wandellustigen Gestalten  
Kann ich nicht in Mutterbanden halten.

Ihr langweilet euch auf meinen Wogen,  
Dort die Erde hat euch angezogen:  
Küsten, Klippen und des Leuchtturms Feuer!  
Zieheth Kinder! Geht auf Abenteuer!

Segelt, kühne Schiffer, in den Lüften!  
Sucht die Gipfel! Ruhet über Klüften!  
Brauet Stürme! Blitzet! Liefert Schlachten!  
Traget glüh'nden Kampfes Purpurtrachten!

Rauscht im Regen! Murmelt in den Quellen!  
Füllt die Brunnen! Rieselt in die Wellen!  
Braust in Strömen durch die Lande nieder—  
Kommet, meine Kinder, kommet wieder!



Hier identifiziert sich der Dichter mit dem Meere, was bei Heine nie der Fall ist. 'Der Gesang des Meeres' gibt dramatische Bewegung von innen heraus, die Verse Heines äussere Bilder. Im 'Gesang des Meeres' wird das Zeitwort auffallend häufig angewandt, welche verbale Technik charakteristisch für Meyer ist im Gegensatz zu Heines Gebrauch des Beiwortes. Meyer beschreibt den Kreislauf des Wassers vom Meere durch Himmel und Erde wieder ins Meer zurück; Heine hingegen fängt ein bestimmtes Bild des Meeres auf und führt uns dasselbe malerisch vor die Augen. Wir sehen die Wut des Sturmes, die schwarzen Wolken, den zackigen Blitz, die schäumenden, bäumenden Wellen und das in den Abgrund hinabstürzende Schiff.

Auch Heines Schilderung des Sonnenuntergangs ist anschaulich und gut:

Die glühend rote Sonne steigt  
Hinab ins weit aufschauende,  
Silbergraue Weltmeer;  
Luftgebilde, rosig angehaucht,  
Wallen ihr nach; und gegenüber,  
Aus herbstlich dämmernden Wolkenschleiern,  
Ein traurig todblasses Antlitz,  
Bricht hervor der Mond,  
Und hinter ihm, Lichtfünkchen,  
Nebelweit, schimmern die Sterne.

NEC, I, 164, 30-165, 8

und wiederum:

Die schöne Sonne  
Ist ruhig hinabgestiegen ins Meer;  
Die wogenden Wasser sind schon gefärbt  
Von der dunkeln Nacht,  
Nur noch die Abendröte  
Überstreut sie mit goldnen Lichtern;  
Und die rauschende Flutgewalt  
Drängt ans Ufer die weissen Wellen,  
Die lustig und hastig hüpfen,

Wie wollige Lämmerherden,  
Die abends der singende Hirtenjunge  
Nach Hause treibt.

NZO, I, 183, 7-18

Diese Strophen können auch einen Vergleich aushalten mit Meyers 'Zwiesgespräch', welches gleichfalls den Sonnenuntergang am Strande behandelt:

Sonne:

Meine Strahlen sind geknickte Speere,  
Ich versank in blut'ger Heldenehre—

Abendröte:

Wie der Ruhm, will ich mit lichten Händen  
In das nahe Dunkel Grösse spenden.

Sonne:

Folge deiner Sonne! Längs dem Strande  
Schleppe nicht die dämmernden Gewande!

Abendröte:

Darf ich nicht ans Sterben mich gewöhnen  
Mit den sanften, mit den grünen Tönen?

Sonne:

Eile dich! Bevor den jungen Helden  
Eines neuen Tages Fackeln melden!

Abendröte:

Ich bin dein, dir folg' ich unaufhaltsam!  
Ich bin dein, doch zieh' mich nicht gewaltsam—

Das Weilen der Abendröte am Strande ist poetisch gedacht und schön, aber es fragt sich, ob sich der Stoff auf diese Weise am besten behandeln lässt, denn er ist in erster Linie zu objektiver Behandlung geeignet. Wenigstens hat das 'Zwiesgespräch', unsrer Meinung nach, nicht andere Vorzüge genug, welche den

Mangel an Bildlichkeit aufwiegen; wir ziehen in diesem Fall die anschaulichen Verse Heines vor.<sup>1</sup>

Neben diesen Schilderungen finden wir aber in den Nordseebildern viele Stellen, wie z. B. die mythologischen Anspielungen, die Heirat der Sonne und des Meergottes, die 'Krönung' Theresens, die beiden letzten Strophen des 'Meergrusses', u. s. w., welche nur dazu dienen, den Raum auszufüllen; denn wie in seiner Liebeslyrik so hat Heine auch in den Nordseebildern zu viel gesungen; er wusste wahrlich nie, wann er aufhören sollte. Deshalb ist in seinen Gedichten neben dem Guten viel Schlechtes zu treffen, hier und da ein Kern echter Poesie unter viel Spreu.

### SCHLUSSFOLGERUNGEN.

Heine arbeitet verhältnismässig viel mit dem Beiworte. In vielen von seinen Gedichten wird die Stimmung ganz und gar durch die Epitheta erzeugt; in anderen spielen die Beiwörter wenigstens eine bedeutende Rolle; ja, man kann sagen, in den meisten, die von wirklichem poetischem Wert sind, ist dies der Fall.

Die Epitheta gehören oft den einfachsten in der deutschen Sprache an; anderseits bedient sich der Dichter auch öfters langer, ungewöhnlicher, auffallender Zusammensetzungen.

Heine gebraucht sehr gern die mehr äusserlichen Momente, wie Kontrast, Wiederholung und Häufung der Beiwörter. Auch auffallende Anwendung ist ein beliebtes Stilmittel.

Ogleich er in der Wahl der Epitheta grosse Gewandtheit zeigt, ist doch die Wirkung derselben oft rein äusserlich und gesucht. Statt eines Gedichtes haben wir nur zu häufig eine witzige Wendung oder Reimgeklengel, statt inneren Gehaltes bloss äussere Form, was den ästhetischen Sinn keineswegs befriedigt. Besonders in der Anwendung der mehr äusserlichen Momente sehen wir das Haschen nach witzigem, sinnreichem Effekt.

<sup>1</sup> Damit soll nicht gesagt sein, dass die Gedichte Meyers im allgemeinen der Anschaulichkeit ermangeln, was durchaus nicht der Fall ist. Wir haben die betreffenden Strophen im Zusammenhang mit Heines Versen angeführt, nur weil die beiden Dichter hier wesentlich denselben Stoff behandeln, aber auf verschiedenste Weise verfahren.

In seinen Übersetzungen ist Heine nicht so geschickt im Gebrauch des Beiwortes wie in seinen eigenen Gedichten. Wiederholt gelingt es ihm nicht, den Geist des Originals wiederzugeben. Er gebraucht in den Übersetzungen eine etwas grössere Anzahl Epitheta als in dem Originale vorkommen; auch finden sich in den Übersetzungen Spuren der mehr äusserlichen Momente, deren er sich in seinen eigenen Gedichten gern bedient.

Die Anwendung der mehr äusserlichen Momente, das Suchen nach sinnengefälligem Effekte, ist wohl auf Heines orientalische Abkunft zurückzuführen; dabei ist auch die Tatsache in Betracht zu ziehen, dass er dasselbe Thema aber und abermals besingt,— um nicht zu langweilig zu werden, sucht er nach frappierenden Ausdrücken, witzigen Wendungen und gefälliger Form, damit seine Verse wenigstens äusserlich wirken.

Aus der häufigen Anwendung des Beiwortes schliessen wir, dass die Welt für Heine etwas Abgeschlossenes war—ihn interessierte mehr der gegebene Zustand als die sich fortwährend entwickelnde Handlung.

Im Gebrauch des Beiwortes zeigt sich Heine, der Mensch, vor allem als Egoist und ein dem sinnlichen Genusse Ergebener.

Die auf das weibliche Geschlecht angewandten Beiwörter bezeichnen überwiegend körperliche Vorzüge; die Epitheta in seinen Liebesergüssen beziehen sich meistens auf das Sinnliche statt auf das Geistige. Sogar in vielen auf dem Krankenlager verfassten Gedichten tritt dies auffallend zu Tage; durch diese Gedichte zieht sich ein verzweiflungsvolles Flehen um die Freuden dieser Welt, und diese Freuden bestehen für Heine in erster Linie in erotischen Genüssen.

Die Geliebten Heines sind wenig individualisiert, denn ihm ist es hauptsächlich um den egoistischen Erguss über seinen leidenden Zustand zu tun. Da wir aber an der Tiefe seiner Liebe zweifeln, so hegen wir auch Zweifel an der Echtheit seiner Schmerzen—wir glauben nicht an den berühmten Weltschmerz des Dichters.

In der Liebeslyrik wendet Heine die Epitheta häufig an, um seine Gefühle in die Natur hineinzutragen. Die ganze Welt



trauert mit ihm, wobei aber alle Anschaulichkeit aus den Gedichten verschwindet. Sein Leben lang war Heine gewohnt, die Natur zu beseelen, so dass den meisten von seinen Gedichten die Anschaulichkeit fehlt; diejenigen, in denen die trauernde Weichheit der Liebeslyrik zurücktritt, wirken am anregendsten. Wo er es unterlässt, die Natur zu beseelen, gelingen ihm plastische Schilderungen.

Das Beste hat Heine wohl, was seine poetischen Werke betrifft, auf dem Gebiete der Beschreibung und Erzählung geleistet. Der Mangel an echtem Gefühl vermindert häufig den künstlerischen Wert seiner lyrischen Gedichte.

*University of Illinois,*

JAMES A. CHILES.

*June, 1908.*

# AUGUST WILHELM SCHLEGEL AND GOETHE'S EPIC AND ELEGIAC VERSE.

(Concluded.)

The following alterations were made to remove feminine caesurae from the fourth foot. They are cited in full, and are typical of Goethe's method, not only here, but in the pieces discussed above. The first verse is always the earlier form with the error, the second the revision showing its removal.

*Elegies, I.*

- v. 9. "Noch betracht' ich Palläst' und Kirchen, || Ruinen  
und Säulen"  
Kirch' und Palast, ||
- v. 45. "Tausendfach wirken die Pfeile des Amors;  
|| denn einige ritzen"  
Vielfach  
|| einige ritzen
- v. 59. "So erzeugte sich Mars zwei Söhne. || Die Zwillinge  
tränket"  
die Söhne sich Mars. ||
- v. 73. "Eher lockten wir selbst an die Fersen, || durch  
grässliche Thaten"  
Eh' an die Fersen lockten wir selbst, ||
- v. 75. "Hartes Gericht an rollenden Rädern || und Felsen zu  
dulden"  
am rollenden Rad ||
- v. 101. "Dann versteh' ich erst recht den Marmor; || ich denk'  
und vergleiche"  
den Marmor erst recht; ||
- v. 111. "Amor schüret indes die Lampe || und denket der  
Zeiten"  
die Lampe indes ||
- v. 147. "O wie machst du mich, Römerin, glücklich ! || Gedenk'  
ich der Zeiten"  
O wie fühl' ich in Rom mich so froh ! ||

v. 199. "Juppiter senket die göttliche Stirne, || und Juno  
erhebt sie"

Stirn', ||

v. 203. "Aber nach Bacchus, dem weichen, dem holden, ||  
erhebet Cythere"

dem träumen-  
den, || hebet Cythere

v. 205. "Sie gedenket seiner Umarmung || und scheint zu  
fragen"

Seiner Umarmung gedenket sie gern ||

v. 209. "Weit von hier. Sie haben dem Römer || die Ernte  
vollendet"

des Römers || Ernte vol-  
lendet

v. 223. "Wenden sich Schlangen am Boden des Tempels, ||  
verschlossene Kästchen"

umher, ||

v. 253. "Diese Gestalten, ich lehrte sie formen! || Verzeih' mir,  
ich prahle"

ich formte sie selbst! ||

v. 257. "Denkst du, Freund, nun wieder zu bilden? || Die  
Attische Schule"

Denkst du nun wieder zu bilden, o Freund? || Die  
Schule der Griechen

v. 283. "Herzliche Liebe verbindet uns immer || und treues  
Verlangen"

stets ||

v. 287. "Bleibt geschlossen! Ihr macht mich verworren || und  
trunken, ihr raubet"

verwirrt ||

v. 291. "Einen Kusz auf diese Lippen, || o Theseus, zum  
Abschied"

Diesen Lippen ein einziger Kusz! || O Theseus, nun  
scheide

- v. 295. "Hinter die Häuser verbarg sich die Sonne, || nicht  
hinter die Berge"  
entwich, || nicht hinter den Berg,  
uns die Sonne
- v. 303. "Und von heut an seid mir noch schöner || begrüßet,  
ihr Schenken"  
Und noch schöner von heut an || seid mir begrüßet,
- v. 315. "Meinen Namen verschlang sie mit ihrem ; || ich merkte  
begierig"  
dem ihrigen ; || immer  
begierig
- v. 327. "Aber heute verweile nicht länger, || und wende die  
Blicke"  
mir nicht, || und
- v. 361. "Manche Töne sind mir zuwider, || doch bleibet am  
meisten"  
Verdrusz, ||
- v. 377. "Darum macht mich Faustine so glücklich ; || sie theilet  
das Lager  
Faustine mein Glück ; ||
- v. 385. "So erscheinet uns wieder der Morgen ; || es bringen die  
Stunden"  
Und so dämmert der Morgen heran ; ||
- v. 393. "Immer war sie die mächtige Göttin, || doch für die  
Gesellschaft"  
die mächtige Göttin, || doch war sie für die
- v. 429. "Meinen Helden, ich kenn' ihn besser ! || Es haben  
Tragöden"  
zu gut ! ||
- v. 469. "In die Erde möcht' er's vergraben, || um sich zu er-  
leichtern"  
vergrüb' er es gern, ||
- v. 475. "Keiner Freundin darf ich's vertrauen ; || sie möchte  
mich schelten"  
vertraun ; ||
- v. 489. "Und wie jenes Rohr geschwätzig || entdeckt den Qui-  
riten"



Und entdeckt den Quiriten, || wie jene Rohre geschwätzig

These thirty instances were corrected. There still remain in this group of twenty little elegies, which together consist of two hundred and forty-five distichs, the following faulty verses:

- v. 91, "O wie war ich beglückt!—Doch stille, || die Zeit ist vorüber,"  
 v. 129, "Aber wer nicht kam, war das Mädchen. || So hab' ich von Herzen"  
 v. 269, "Blick und Händedruck, und Küsse, || gemüthliche Worte,"

The ratio stands 30:3, or 91 per cent. The critical hunt for feminine caesurae in the fourth foot seems to have been very thorough here, even as compared with the preceding.

Goethe was also assiduous in removing impure dactyls. He removed them as follows: v. 45, ' | Tausendfach | ', v. 48, ' | einmal uns | ', v. 94, ' | Vorwelt und | ' and ' | Mitwelt zu | ', v. 156, ' | ehemals der | ', v. 159, ' | Siehe! Hier | ', v. 166, ' | mädchenhaft | ', v. 172, ' | Denkmal vor- | ', v. 191, ' | ihnen dies | ', v. 198, ' | Werkstatt um | ', v. 202, ' | schalkhaft und | ', v. 204, ' | Augen voll | ', v. 215, ' | jemals ge- | ', v. 220, ' | Unschuld, um- | ', v. 252, ' | Werkstatt, be- | ', v. 260, ' | altklug ge- | ', v. 265, ' So | phiste. Wer | ', v. 266, ' | Herrschaft so | ', v. 271, ' | da wird ein | ', v. 274, ' Au | rora hat | ', v. 296, ' | noch ein halb | ', v. 301, marked for correction, has ' | blieben weit | ', v. 305, ' | Oheim be- | ', v. 312, ' | seitwärts nach | ', v. 334, ' | viele Jahr- | ', v. 338, ' | von einem | ', v. 352, ' | einsam auf | ', v. 354, ' | hinwärts und | ' and ' | herwärts sich | ', v. 356, ' | Vogelscheu | ', v. 387, ' Qui | ritten, dies | ', v. 389, ' | Rufe geht | ', v. 419, ' | Seltsame | Gruppe muthwillig', also in a first attempt at revision, ' | seltsam ge- | ', v. 441, ' | Stillstand der | '; in all thirty-five instances. But there still remain about seventy or more impure dactyls of the same type. The ratio of corrections is here 35:70, or 33.3 per cent, about eight per cent lower than when Schlegel gathered an aftermath in the preceding.

Efforts were made to break up series of trochaic feet, or to make the verse as a whole more dactylic, as follows: vv. 13, 55, 74, 86, 123, 129, 153, 155, 164, 167, 169, 175, 180, 181, 183, 184, 213, 245, 278, 291, 299, 323, 357, 379, 395, though in some instances other reasons had weight in dictating the change.

The weak trochees were removed in several instances, from the body of the verse as well as from the first foot: v. 95, ' | ich bë- | ', v. 219, ' | ünd ës | ', v. 261, ' | Däs Än | tike', which Schlegel had pointed out in his review, v. 358, ' | äch, ich | ', and possibly a few others, though here it is hard to draw a line between what is permissible weakness and what is not.

The pentameter received due attention. Efforts were constantly made to secure a marked caesura and a congruence of the logical and metrical stresses there. The second hemistich was also corrected to contain two anapests, as Schlegel's prosody required. The number of these cases is small, but the poet's intention is clear. The proper accentuation of the hexameter was aimed at in a couple cases also.

Other corrections were dictated by considerations of meaning—poetic vividness, grammatical agreement, avoidance of five- or seven-footed verses, reduction of cynicism, etc., which do not concern our inquiry, but these make up a very small per cent of the corrections made. The revision, as a whole, was quite Schlegelian.

Some time after this, perhaps not before Jan., 1802, when, under date of the 17th, Goethe notes in his *Tagebuch*, "Abends Correctur von *Reineke Fuchs*," a revision of this epic was undertaken. It seems that Goethe was entirely unaided in the work. It seems not to have gone into the hands of the younger Voss in 1805, when he was commissioned to examine critically the *Hermann und Dorothea* and the *Achilleis*. Whatever the date, it must have required considerable time to revise the four books, or cantos, which were practically completed. It is also evident that a unity of purpose runs through these corrections, so that they were either not the product of a long period of time, or the poet had settled convictions in respect to a few things, which a

period of several years did not alter much. That the intention to revise all twelve cantos of *Reineke Fuchs* existed as late as May 1, 1805, we know from Goethe's letter of that date to Cotta, which contained the express comment on this work, "Nach neueren prosodischen Überzeugungen bearbeitet."

One of the most remarkable features of the original text of *Reineke Fuchs*, published in 1794, is the very large number of verses which contain a feminine caesura in the fourth foot. The author seems to have known nothing of any special laws of the caesura, but to have been content to divide his verse somewhere near the middle, by a pause in the sense, regardless of where it fell, whether in the third or the fourth foot, whether masculine or feminine, whether a true caesura that cuts a foot in two or merely a dieresis that coincides with the close of a metrical unit. These feminine caesurae in the fourth foot occurred as follows:

Gesang	I, 285 verses,	47 fem. caes. or 1:6
"	II, 287	" 34 " " " 1:8.4
"	III, 447	" 50 " " " 1:8.9
"	IV, 305	" 50 " " " 1:6.1
"	V, 287	" 43 " " " 1:6.6
"	VI, 434	" 71 " " " 1:6.1
"	VII, 265	" 60 " " " 1:4.4
"	VIII, 341	" 71 " " " 1:4.8
"	IX, 384	" 75 " " " 1:5.1
"	X, 480	" 81 " " " 1:6-
"	XI, 416	" 72 " " " 1:5.6
"	XII, 381	" 65 " " " 1:5.9
	Total, 4312	" 719 " " " 1:6-

Considering that there are five usual positions for the caesura, a masculine and a feminine in the third and the fourth feet, and the bucolic dieresis at the close of the fourth, and that a sixth pause might be made by the use of a dieresis at the close of the third foot, this table indicates no special preference for any particular caesura, though in fact a few more occur in the third foot than anywhere else, because it is more central than the fourth.



Any revision from the Schlegelian standpoint must look first of all to the removal of these improper pauses. The following corrections occur in the MS. of Goethe's revision:

Gesang I,

- v. 1. "Pfungsten, das liebliche Fest, war gekommen: || es  
grünten und blühten"  
Pfungsten kam, das liebliche Fest; || schon grünten
- v. 4. "Jede Wiese sprossste von Blumen || in duftenden  
Gründen"  
Blumen sprosssten hervor || in allen duftenden
- v. 5. "Festlich heiter glänzte der Himmel || und farbig die  
Erde."  
glänzte das himmlische Blau," || vielfarbig
- v. 9. "Lütke, der Kranich, und Markart, der Häher, || und  
alle die Besten"  
Häher, ||
- v. 28. "Ach! Er hat sie mit Unrath besudelt, || mit ätzendem  
Unflath"  
beschmutzt, ||
- v. 43. "Vor dem König: wie arm es gewesen, || und nichts  
ihm geblieben"  
gewesen, || nichts ihm
- v. 45. "Reineke hab' auch das ihm genommen! || Jetzt sprang  
auch der Kater"  
entwandt! ||
- v. 50. "Mehr als euch! Doch Wackerlos Klage || will wenig  
bedeuten"  
klagt || was wenig  
bedeutet.
- v. 64. "Lasst euch erzählen, wie er so übel || an Lampen, dem  
Hasen"  
schlimm ||
- v. 68. "Und sie setzten sich gegen einander, || begannen das  
Credo"  
Gegen einander setzten sie sich, ||
- v. 86. "Lange todt: das wäre das Beste || für friedliche Leute"  
so wäre gesorgt || für



- v. 91. "Alt und wahr, Herr Isegrim! sagt' er, || beweist sich  
das Sprichwort"  
|| zeigt sich
- vv. 92/3. "so hat auch wahrlich mein Oheim  
Eurer Worte sich nicht zu getrösten. || Doch ist es ein  
Leichtes"  
Und so getröstet mein Oheim  
Wahrlich eurer Worte sich nicht. || Doch ist's euch  
ein Leichtes
- v. 99. Wie ihr zusammen ein Bündnis geschlossen || und beide  
versprochen"  
ein Bündnis geschlossen, || euch wechselsweise  
versprochen"
- v. 100. "Als zwei gleiche Gesellen zu leben. || Das musz ich  
erzählen"  
zieh'n. ||
- v. 105. "Da beredetet ihr den Oheim, || er legte sich listig"  
Öhm, ||
- v. 114. "Isegrim kam von Ferne geschlichen, || verzehrte die  
Fische"  
schlich von Ferne sich an, ||
- v. 128. "Und ihm wacker das Fell zerzausten. || Verwundet  
entkam er"  
zerzauseten. || Schmäh-  
lich entkam er
- v. 136. "Reineke konnte vor Zorn nicht reden, || doch was  
er sich dachte"  
nicht reden vor Zorn, ||
- v. 141. "Edler Gebieter, ich darf es bemerken; || Ihr habet, es  
haben"  
sage nur dies; ||
- v. 145. "Sieben Jahre sind's her, und drüber, || da schenkte  
mein Oheim"  
Jahr und drüber sind's her, ||



- v. 233. "Eures Briefes fröhliche Botschaft, || es freuten sich  
alle"

Gehalt, || es freuten sich alle der Bot-  
schaft

- v. 234. "Da nun Reineke Klausner geworden, || so hatten wir  
weiter"

Da sich nun jener zum Klausner bekehrt, || so

- v. 237. "Aber leider bekam es uns übel. || Er lag in Gebüsche"  
schlecht. ||

- v. 239. "Meiner Söhne schönsten ergriff er || und schleppt'  
ihn von dannen"

er, || schleppt' ihn

zur Mahlzeit

- v. 245. "O erbarmt euch des bittern Schmerzes! || Er tötete  
gestern"

Wehs! || Er

- v. 246. "Meine Tochter, es haben die Hunde || den Leichnam  
gerettet"

doch retteten treu || die Hunde den  
Leichnam

Gesang II,

- v. 17. "Oder es soll euch das Leben kosten; || denn bleibt ihr  
dahinter"

kostet euch den Hals; || denn

- v. 25. "Löcher fanden sich hier und Höhlen, || mit vielerlei  
Gängen"

|| vielerlei

Gänge

- v. 26. "Eng und lang, und mancherlei Thüren || zum Öffnen  
und Schlieszen"

Lang und eng, und Thüren genug || zum

- v. 32. "Andre möchten noch neben dem Boten || im Hinter-  
halt liegen"

lägen vielleicht || im Hinterhalt neben dem  
Boten

- v. 37. "Denn es nutzt mir gewisz bei Hofe, || so darf ich es  
hoffen"  
bei Hofe gewisz, ||
- v. 52. "Sagte dagegen; was könnt' es euch helfen, || und wenn  
ich's erzählte"  
was hülff' es euch doch, ||
- v. 61. "Ei! Verschmähet ihr so den Honig, || den mancher  
begehret"  
|| mancher be-  
gehr't ihn
- v. 66. "Ist dem also, versetzte der Rothe; || da kann ich euch  
dienen"  
Fuchs; ||
- v. 69. "Saht ihr niemals so viel beisammen. || Da lüset' es  
Braunen"  
nie beisammen so viel. ||
- v. 74. "Heute bin ich zwar schlecht zu Fusze; || doch soll  
mir die Liebe"  
Fusz; ||
- v. 85. "Und sie kamen zu Rüsteviels Hofe; || das freute den  
Bären"  
Hof; ||
- v. 105. "Wie es wäre? dachte der Meister, || und brachte sein  
Beil mit"  
Mann, ||
- v. 117. "Nach der Mahlzeit bringt er ein Schlückchen, || es mag  
euch bekommen"  
Bringt geschäftig ein Schlückchen herbei, || bekomm's  
nach der Mahlzeit
- v. 122. "Hat sich ein Bär, ich sage die Wahrheit. || Sie folgten  
und liefen"  
scherze nicht, kommt! || Sie
- v. 172. "Rasend fuhr er unter die Weiber, || die unter einan-  
der"  
Auf die Weiber fuhr er hinein, || die



v. 175. "Seht, da unten schwimmt Frau Jütte, || die Köchin,  
im Pelze,"

Frau Jütte, die Köchin, || sie schwimmt dort  
unten im Pelze"

v. 183. "Als die Schläge so schändlich erdulden. || Er hatte zu  
schwimmen"

Als erdulden so schändliche Schmach. ||

v. 189. "Besser blieben sie doch zu Hause! || Da seht nun, er  
schwimmt"

Haus! ||

vv. 213/4. "hat ihm  
Wohl das Beil zu kosten gegeben. || Es zeigte der  
Bär sich"

"gab ihm

Wohl zu kosten das Beil; || fürwahr es zeigte

v. 239. "Ihr verlohret den Schopf, wie ich sehe, || das Fell von  
den Wangen"

verlohrt, wie ich sehe, den Schopf, ||

v. 266. "Solle man Reineke abermals fordern, || er solle sich  
stellen"

|| dasz er sich

stellte

v. 270. "Und es vereinigte sich der König || mit seinen Genos-  
sen"

Aber der König vereinigte sich || mit

v. 272. "Liesz' er sich aber zum drittenmal fordern, || so soll  
es ihm selbst und"

|| sollt' es

ihm

v. 274. "Ist er klug, so kommt er in Zeiten. || Ihr schärft ihm  
die Lehre"

Zeiten her, || schärft

Gesang III.

vv. 8/9. "da fand er  
Vor dem Hause Reineke sitzen, || er grüest' ihn und  
sagte"

"und haussen

- Fand er Reineke sitzen, || er grüsst' ihn freundlich  
und sagte
- v. 11. "Euer Leben bedrohet der König || wofern ihr euch  
weigert"
- || wenn
- vv. 17/19. "er wollte den Boten  
Wieder geschändet nach Hofe senden. || Er nannte  
den Kater  
Immer seinen Neffen, und sagte: Neffe, was setzt man"  
er schickte den Boten  
Gern geschändet nach Hofe zurück, || da nannt' er  
betrüglich  
Immer Neffe den Kater, und sagte:
- v. 33. "Mancher grüset uns freundlich bei Tage, || doch  
käm' er im Finstern"
- Tag, ||
- v. 36. "Bleib ich hier, was sollen wir essen? || Und Reineke  
sagte"
- essen wir denn? ||
- v. 49. "Lob ich mir Mäuse, die schmecken am besten. || Und  
Reineke sagte"
- das bleibt mein Geschmack. ||
- v. 51. "Da mir bekannt ist womit ich euch diene, || so lasst  
uns nicht zaudern"
- Weisz ich nun womit euch gedient ist, || lasst uns
- v. 55. "Seiner Hähne den besten entwendet. || Das wollte  
Martinchen"
- gemaus't. ||
- v. 61. "Wache davor, indessen ihr mauset; || ihr werdet zu  
Haufen"
- maus't; ||
- v. 62. "Sie im Dunkeln erhaschen. O höret, || wie munter  
sie pfeifen"
- hört, ||
- v. 67. "Denn es haben mitunter die Pfaffen || auch Böses im  
Sinne"
- die Pfaffen || mitunter Böses

- vv. 72/2.                   “sprang in die Öffnung, es schämte  
Sich vor Reinekens spottenden Worten, || und fiel in  
die Schlingen”  
                                  Beschämt vor Reinekens Spotte  
Sprang in die Öffnung, und fiel || sogleich in die  
trügliche Schlinge
- v. 83.   “Singet man so bei Hofe zum Essen? || Es klingt mir  
bedenklich”  
                                  zur Tafel bei Hof? ||
- v. 93.   “Isegrim war nach Hofe gegangen, || das wollt’ er be-  
nutzen”  
                                  Hofe, || das wusst’ er und wollt’  
es benutzen
- v. 96.   “Reineke trat in die Wohnung der Frauen, || und fand  
sie nicht heimisch”  
                                  Frau, ||
- v. 97.   “Grüss euch Gott! Stiefkinderchen, sagt’ er, || nicht  
mehr und nicht minder”  
                                  sprach’s, ||
- v. 99.   “Als Frau Gieremund kam des Morgens, || wie es nun  
tagte”  
                                  kam, || beim ersten Grauen des  
Tages
- v. 122.   “Aber sie liesz es an Worten nicht fehlen, || sie schalt  
ihn, du handelst”  
                                  die Worte sparte sie nicht, || sie
- vv. 145/6.                   “es kam mit zackiger Gabel  
Hastig der Pater herbei, und glaubte || den Räuber  
zu fällen”  
                                  mit s c h w e r e r zackiger Gabel  
Kam der Pater hastig herbei || den Räuber zu fällen
- v. 151.   “Unbedachtsam schnupfte die Köchin; || es habe der  
Teufel”  
                                  das Weib; ||
- v. 161.   “Schmerzlich geschlagen, und übel verwundet, || so  
nahe dem Tode”  
                                  mit Wunden bedeckt, ||

- v. 171. "Und mit Schlägen schmerzlich beladen, || wie musst  
du dich schämen"  
bedeckt, ||
- v. 181. "Nun zum drittenmal musz man ihn fordern; || ist  
dieses geschehen"  
fordre man ihn; || ist
- v. 187. "Seine Gesundheit aufs Spiel zu setzen, || und dennoch  
am Ende"  
Wer setzt seine Gesundheit daran, || nur dennoch
- v. 192. "Oder geh' ich, als käm' ich von selber, || ihr dürft nur  
befehlen"  
selbst? || Ihr
- v. 201. "Wie ihr des Königs Ladung verachtet, || ich sage, ver-  
spottet"  
Königes verschmäht, ||
- v. 207. "Stellt ihr euch nicht, so seid ihr verurtheilt. || Dann  
führet der König"  
verdammt. ||  
Gleich führet
- v. 219. "Meines Rechtes selber wahren. || Ich hoffe, der König"  
Diesmal wahr' ich selber mein Recht. || Ich
- v. 225. "Seinen Zorn im Busen bezwungen; || denn freilich be-  
gleiten  
Jeglichen Zorn bezähmt; ||
- v. 227. "Aber es geht ihm niemals zu Herzen; || sie finden  
zusammen"  
zu Herzen geht es ihm nie; || sie
- v. 230. "Dann versammeln sich König und Herren, || in kitz-  
lichen Sachen"  
Herrn, ||
- v. 233. "Denn sie haben den Tod mir geschworen, || und ge-  
rade die schlimmsten"  
Die den Tod mir geschworen, || und grade die  
schlimmsten von allen
- v. 249. "Etwas zu gut, indes ich weg bin! || Ich will's euch  
gedenken



Wenn ich weg bin etwas zu gut! || Ich will es euch  
denken

v. 266. "Sonst kann euch die Beichte nicht helfen. || Ich weisz  
es, versetzte"

hilft euch die Beichte zu nichts. ||

v. 267. "Reineke: darum lasst mir beginnen, || und höret be-  
dächtig"

das Wort, ||

v. 321. "Denn ich lief in die Wohnung des Pfaffen || und traf  
ihn beim Essen"

des Pfaffen Behausung, || traf ihn

v. 326. "Schlaget, werfet, fanget und stechet, || so rief der er-  
grimmte"

stecht, ||

v. 343. "Alle schrienen so laut sie konnten. || Die übrigen  
Bauern

verführten ein lautes Geschrei: ||

v. 359. "Und damit ich ihn tüchtig betröge, || beschrieb ich  
ihm ernstlich"

Und beschrieb ich ihm ernstlich || damit ich ihn  
tüchtig betröge

v. 379. "Und erschrocken erwachten die Leute, || sie schliefen  
am Feuer"

Da erwachte sogleich || erschrocken ums Feuer das  
Landvolk

v. 409. "Und so war die Beichte vollendet. || Da gingen sie  
weiter"

vollbracht. ||

vv. 410/4.

"Nach des Königes Hof. Der fromme Grimbart und  
jener

Kamen durch schwärzliche fette Gebreite; || sie sahen  
ein Kloster

Rechter Hand des Weges, es dienten geistliche Frauen  
Spät und früh, dem Herrn daselbst, und nährten im  
Hofe

Viele Hühner and Hähne, mit manchem schönen  
Capaune"

"Nach des Königes Hofe, durch schwärzliche fette  
Gebreite

Sahen rechts ein Kloster am Weg, || wo geistliche  
Frauen

Spat und früh dem Herren sich widmeten, || dann  
auch im Hofe

Viele Hühner und Hähne, mit manchem Kapaunen  
ernährten"

v. 416. "Reineke pflegte sie oft zu besuchen, || da sagt' er zu  
Grimbart"

|| sagte zu  
v. 425. "Handelt ihr so? Unseliger Oheim, || und wollt ihr  
schon wieder"

Ohm ! || Gerathet ihr

wieder

v. 426. "Um ein Huhn in Sünde gerathen, || nachdem ihr  
gebeichtet?"

die Sünde, || nachdem ihr alles  
gebeichtet?

v. 432. "Über ein schmales Brückchen hinüber, || und Reineke  
blickte"

hinweg, ||

v. 440. "Lasst ein Paternoster mich sprechen. || Die Seelen  
der Hühner"

Hindert am Paternoster mich nicht. ||

Gesang IV,

v. 7. "Muthig kam er heran und gelassen, || als wär' er des  
Königs"

gelassen heran, || als

v. 9. "Ja, so trat er vor Nobel, den König, || und stand im  
Palaste"

zum König hinan, ||

v. 17. "Eure Freundschaft würd' ich verlieren, || woferne die  
Lügen"

verlör' ich mit Recht, ||

- v. 18. "Meiner Feinde, wie sie es wünschen, || euch glaublich  
erscheinen"  
so wie sie gewünscht, ||
- v. 20. "Hört den Beklagten so gut als den Kläger; || und  
haben sie vieles"  
|| ha-  
ben sie vieles
- v. 49. "Mag es zum Nutzen, mag es zum Schaden || auch im-  
mer gereichen"  
zum Schaden, || zu was es nur  
wolle, gereichen
- v. 72. "Alle gingen dem Fuchs zu Leibe, || sie hofften die  
Frevel"  
zu Leibe dem Fuchs, ||
- v. 81. "Alles wusst' er bei Seite zu lehnen, || und alles zu  
stellen"  
lehnt' er bei Seit', || und alles wusst' er zu  
stellen
- v. 88. "Reineke Fuchs sei schuldig des Todes! || So soll man  
ihn fahen"  
Schuldig des Tods sei Reineke Fuchs! ||
- v. 99. "Ungern hörten sie an das Urtheil, || und trauerten  
alle"  
|| trauerten alle
- v. 124. "Habet acht, und haltet zusammen! || Entkäm' er uns  
heute"  
ihn fest! ||
- v. 128. "Isegrim sprach: was helfen die Worte? || Geschwinde  
verschafft mir"  
was hilft das Geschwätz? || Nur  
eilig verschafft mir
- v. 131. "Aber Reineke hörte sie schweigend; || doch endlich  
begann er"  
Schweigend hörte Reineke zu; ||
- v. 133. "Wisset ihr doch kein Ende zu finden. || Wie musz ich  
mich wundern!"  
Aber das Ende findet ihr nicht. ||

- v. 138. "Euren Oheim zum Tode zu bringen; || ihr meint, es  
gelänge"  
Mit dem Oheim zum Tode; || ihr meint, fürwahr, es  
gelänge
- v. 142. "Hinter ihnen strömte die Menge || der Armen und  
Reichen"  
Hinten strömte die Menge || der Armen und Reichen  
gewaltig
- v. 156. "Braun versetzte: stellt nun die Leiter, || ich will ihn  
schon halten"  
Stellt nun die Leiter, so murmelte Braun, ||
- v. 176. "Gilt es den Hals, die Noth ist dringend, || wie soll ich  
entkommen?"  
mich dränget die Noth, ||
- v. 189.  
(möcht') Noch zum letztenmal öffentlich sprechen || und red-  
lich bekennen"  
(spräch') aus, || u n d w ä r e  
geständig
- v. 204. "Unter die jungen Lämmer und Ziegen || die neben der  
Heerde"  
Zickelchen || die sich  
im Freien
- v. 208. "Leckte das Blut; es schmeckte mir köstlich! || Und  
tötete weiter"  
das war ein Geschmack! || Ich  
tötete
- vv. 209/10.  
"Vier der jüngsten Ziegen und asz sie, || und übte  
mich ferner,  
Sparte keine Vögel, noch Hühner, || noch Enten, noch  
Gänse"  
|| verzehrte sie ferner zur  
Übung,  
Spart' ich weder Vogel noch Huhn, || noch Enten  
und Gänse



vv. 216/7.

“Ja, er wusste mir gar | die Grade der Sippschaft |  
am Finger

Vorzurechnen. | Ich liesz mir's gefallen: || Wir schlossen  
ein Bündnis”

Ja, er rechnete mir die Grade

Vor. Ich liesz mir's gefallen. || Wir schlieszen ein  
Bündnis bedächtig

vv. 221/2. “Stahl ich das Kleine. Was wir gewonnen, || das  
sollte gemein sein,

Aber es war nicht gemein, wie billig; || er theilte nach  
Willkür”

Gewonnen wir was, || das

Aber nie war es wie billig, gemein; || er

v. 234. “Keine Rippe konnt' ich erlangen, || sie wäre denn  
gänzlich”

Ach, kein Rippchen erlangt' ich alsdann, || sie

v. 248. “Möcht' ich wahrhaftig das grosse Geheimnis || nicht  
länger verhehlen”

Darf dies grosse Geheimnis fürwahr || nicht länger  
verhehlt sein

v. 257. “Nicht der Schatz mit Klugheit entwendet, || so war es  
geschehen”

entwandt, ||

Out of a total of one hundred and eighty-one verses defective in this respect of feminine caesurae in the fourth foot, one hundred and thirty-six are corrected. To be sure, more than half of the alterations consist in mere elisions or the simplest kind of transpositions of words at the caesura itself, but a goodly number show considerable verbal change to effect the revision. We must further consider that this revision stopped about forty lines short of the end of Canto IV. Eight feminine caesurae belong to these remaining lines. Another consideration is the following: The manuscript of this revision is not continuous, but shows lacunae of from one to several verses here and there throughout the four cantos. These lacunae

represent refractory passages which Goethe postponed to some future day, when a more poetic mood or a lucky accident might suggest an amendment. A goodly number of these refractory errors are feminine caesurae in the fourth foot, e. g., Canto I, vv. 274, 278, 280, 283, Canto II, vv. 14, 185, 262, 281, 285, Canto III, vv. 74, 241, 272, 318, and Canto IV, vv. 150, 158, 165, 186, 211, 212, 260, just a full score. If we add these intended corrections to those actually made, and deduct from the whole number in the four cantos the eight at the close of the fourth which were not reached by the poet, the ratio of corrections is 156:173, or 90.2 per cent.

It should be noted in passing that Goethe's work shows some evidence of carelessness, or of fatigue, especially toward the last. At times he seems to mistake a feminine caesura of the third foot for one in the fourth, or a bucolic dieresis following a trochaic foot for one of the outlawed pauses. Again he makes a feminine caesura occasionally where the original had a masculine, but as this was done merely by re-writing a full form instead of a contracted one, it may be only an inadvertence of the poet or of the copying scribe, e. g., 'gehen' for 'gehn', 'bestehen' for 'bestehn', 'freuen' for 'freun'. In one case a trochee, 'bittre' is expanded into 'bitterer' before a bucolic dieresis, seemingly under the impression that the change was necessary to remove a feminine caesura. In another case a thesis of three short syllables is produced by the expansion of 'andre' to 'andere', thus: ' | āndĕrĕ || mīt | '.

Care was taken occasionally to correct verses which had no proper caesura, or such as had two or more, to avoid the monotonous tripartite division, but these changes are relatively insignificant. They would have been made without regard to any special system of prosody.

The hunt for impure dactyls was not so severe as in previous revisions, yet a number of them were removed, preferably, it seems, from the fifth foot, which was felt to require an especially fluent dactyl. The principal cases are as follows: Canto I, v. 18, ' | Grimbart den | ', v. 29, ' | Blindheit sich | ', v. 35, ' | könn-

te, was |' and ' | Drangsal die |', v. 37, ' | Leinwand von |', v. 52, ' | damals be- |', v. 112, ' | Oheim für |', v. 150, ' | niemals zur |', v. 181, ' | Grimbart ge- |', v. 265, ' | legte viel |', v. 266, ' | liegt sie! Durch |', Canto II, v. 20, ' | Anfang zu |', v. 80, ' | Honigsatt |', v. 99, ' | Vielfrasz. Mit |', v. 152, ' | Unflath sich |', v. 195, ' | Froh dasz er |', v. 240, ' | Handschuh da- |' occurs in a lacuna, v. 269, 'ge | wandt sei. So |', Canto III, v. 43, ' | Nachbar, der |', v. 48, ' | Wildpret und |', v. 50, ' | Gastmahl ge- |', v. 64, ' | Abend, denn |', v. 81, ' | Wildpret ver- |', v. 90, ' | Absicht: fürs |', v. 119, ' | vorwärts noch |', v. 190, ' | Botschaft ver- |', v. 296, ' | Unglück be- |', v. 300, ' | Vorsatz und |', v. 316, ' | Rückkehr die |', v. 346, ' | seltsam zu |', v. 424, ' | Grimbart ent- |', v. 438, ' | Übel, Herr |', Canto IV, v. 34, ' | strafbar ver- |', v. 61, ' | Eichhorn, die |', v. 98, ' | Grimbart und |', v. 109, ' | boshaft al- |', and v. 136, 'hin | abliesz, und |', in all, thirty-six instances in one thousand three hundred and twenty-four hexameters, a trifle more than one third as many proportionally as in the elegies, etc. But it might be that the original text of *Reineke Fuchs* did not contain relatively so many of these inelegances, it being on the whole more trochaic? An estimate of the number of them, made on the basis of an actual count for the first hundred verses of each of these four cantos, gives two hundred and sixty-five as the total in the original text. Of these about three fourths, at least, or two hundred, are as serious as any which the poet corrected. If we take this lower number, the ratio of corrections is only 36:200, or 18 per cent, a little over half as high as that for the *Römische Elegien*, and less than half that of *Elegien II*, etc., of the first group.

But the metrical structure of *Reineke Fuchs* was cruder in other respects than that of the later pieces. Trochaic series were broken up, as, for example, Canto I, v. 21, " | Trät ër | vōr dēn | Könīg ünd | " becomes " | Trät ër zūm | Könīg hēr | ān ünd | ", v. 94, " | Wār' ër | hīer ~~ä~~ | Hōfē | " becomes " | Wār' ër zū | gēgēn ām | Hōfē | ", v. 97, " | Abēr | wās ihr | Übēls ān | " becomes " | Abēr wās | frēvēntlich | ihr ān | ", v. 202, " | Zēhēn |



jüŋgě | Söhně | ” becomes “ | Zěhěŋ | wäckěřě | Söhně | ”. Similar cases occur: Canto I, vv. 44, 70, 108, 126, 127, 143, 154, 208, 209, 220, 229, 240, 242, 263, Canto II, vv. 76, 96, 105, 126, 144, 168, 173, 205, 212, 215, Canto III, vv. 5, 29, 38, 39, 44, 78, 79, 100, 123, 135, 144, 163, 183, 188, 194, 197, 200, 205, 229, 270, 271, 283, 285, 296, 299, 301, 304, 305, 308, 399, 417, 418, 439, Canto IV, vv. 3, 38, 127, 205, 259, and possibly others, though the increase in the number of the dactyls was not in all cases the chief reason for the change. However, the poet's intention is clear, for the cases in which any alteration reduces the number of dactyls in a verse are very rare. Two other causes led to some of these changes, first, a desire to strengthen weak trochees, and second, a wish to make the scansion more certain and congruent with the sense.

Of the first the following are examples: Canto I, v. 167, ‘ | sīch mēin | ’ > ‘ jětzt sīch mēin | ’, v. 193, ‘ | Dēr ěr | mordeten ’ > ‘ | jēnēr ěr | mordeten ’, v. 121, ‘ bei | ěinēm | Bauer ’ > ‘ bēim | rēichhēŋ | Bauer ’, Canto II, v. 5, ‘ durch | ěinē | Wüste ’ > ‘ durchstrīch | dīē | Wüste ’, v. 49, ‘ von | ěinēr | Speise ’ > ‘ von | lösēr | Speise ’, v. 76, ‘ | āllēŋ | mēinēŋ Vēr | wandten ’ > ‘ | mēiner | gānzēŋ Vēr | wandtschaft ’, v. 126, ‘ mit | ěinēm | Pfahle ’ > ‘ mit | spītzīgēm | Pfahle ’, v. 142, ‘ | ěinē | sorgliche ’ > ‘ | wēlchē | sorgliche ’, v. 205, ‘ | ūnd ěr | dachte ’ > ‘ | ūnd ěr gē | dachte ’, v. 253, ‘ In | sēinēm | Elend ’ > ‘ In | sōlchēm | Elend ’, Canto III, v. 5, ‘ Auf | ěinēm | Baume ’ > ‘ Auf | schāukēlndēm | Aste ’, v. 57, ‘ mit | ěinēr | Schlinge ’ > ‘ mit | künstlīchēr | lāufēndēr | Schlinge ’, v. 112, ‘ | ěin vēr | fallenes ’ > ‘ | dēnn ěin vēr | fallenes ’, v. 135, ‘ | Vōr | dīē | Öffnung ’ > ‘ | Rēcht vōr | dīē | Öffnung ’, v. 157, ‘ | sēinē | schwērē Vēr | wundung ’ > ‘ | dīē | jāmmer | līchē Ver | wundung ’, v. 163, ‘ | grōssēŋ | ’ > ‘ | schrēcklīchēŋ ’, v. 279, ‘ | ūnd sō | ’ > ‘ | gleichfālls | ’, v. 283, ‘ mit | āllēm | Fleisze ’ > ‘ mit | möglīchēm | Fleisze ’, v. 301, ‘ zu | ěiner | Platte ’ > ‘ zu | mōnchlīchēr | Platte ’, v. 304, ‘ mit | vīlēŋ | Schande ’ > ‘ mit | hāszlīchēr | Schande ’, v. 308, ‘ | ěinēŋ | Speicher ’ > ‘ | Abēr ěm | Speicher ’, v. 316, ‘ | dēn gē | schwollenen ’ > ‘ | sēinēŋ gē | schwollenen ’, v. 310, ‘ | ūnd ěin | ’ > ‘ | āuch ěin | ’, v. 319, ‘ | ūnd ěch | ’ > ‘ | ābēr ěch | ’, v.



347, 'Und | sēinē | Schinken' > 'zu | glēich mīt dēm | Schinken',  
v. 382, ' | In dēr | ' > ' | Und in der | ', v. 391, ' | jēdē | ' >  
' | jēglic'hē | ', Canto IV, v. 69, 'mit | sēinēn | wenigen' > 'be-  
| glēitēt vōn | wenigen,' and yet others not so striking

A goodly number of instances show an effort to make the ac-  
cent accord with the poetic measure. This will appear from  
the following citations, the original standing first, the revision  
following it.

Gesang I.

v. 175. "Speiset nur einmal des Tags, || lēbt | wīe eīn | Klaus-  
ner, kasteit sich"

mīt | kläusnēr | ischer

Kasteiung

v. 208. " | Und sēchs | grōssē | Hunde, etc."

| Sēchs dēr | trēfflichēn | Hunde

v. 270. "Rath mit ihnen zu halten || wīe ēr dēn | Frevel be-  
strafte"

auf | dās z mān dēn |

Frevel

v. 275. "An dem Tage der Herrn || wēnn | sīe zū | nächst sich  
versammeln"

Herren || so | bāld siē zū | nächst

Gesang II.

v. 43. "Als den edelsten | Männ, || dēn | ēr ām | meisten  
erhöhet"

| Männ, || dēn | ēr | sēlbt am

meisten

v. 139. "Und von den Füßen das Fell || blieb | in dēr | klem-  
menden Spalte"

| fēst in dēr |

v. 145. "Alle fielen ihn an || die | mīt dēm | Meister gekom-  
men"

|| so | vīel mīt dēm |

v. 212. "O wie bin ich so froh || dasz | ich dēn | tölpischen  
Bären"

|| diewēil ich dēn |

## Gesang III.

v. 25. "Er ist grimmig und stark; || dasz | ich ūm | vieles  
nicht hätte"

. . . Grimmig ist er und stark || so | dāsz ich ūm |

v. 82. "Sicher brächt' er euch Senf. || Er | ist ein | höfflicher  
Knabe"

Ein | höfflicher | Knabe

fürwahr ist's

v. 102. "Alle | wie wir hier | sind, || hät | er Stief | kinder ge-  
heizen"

Und er | hat uns mit | freundlichem | Grusz || Stief |  
kinder

v. 120. "Da das Reineke sah || lief | er zur | anderen Seite"

Reineke merkte sich das || und | lief zur

v. 165. "Eilte dem Ort zu entfliehen || wo | er sö | vieles er-  
duldet"

|| all | wō er sö | vieles

geduldet

v. 176. "Endlich brächte zu Recht || der | schön sö | vieles  
verschuldet"

|| nach | dēm er sö |

v. 182. "Kommt er | dānn nicht, | so möge das Recht || ihn  
schuldig erkennen"

Kommt er auch dann nicht, so möge

v. 191. "Sei es wie es auch sei, || wollt' | ihr mich | öffentlich  
senden"

|| und | wöllt ihr mich |

v. 205. "Viele, viele Beschwerden, || sind | vör dēn | König  
gekommen"

sie | sind vör dēn |

v. 214. "Denn ihr habt ja wohl oft || auch | än gē | richtlichen  
Tagen"

|| auch | sēlbt än gē- |

richtlichen

v. 218. "Oheim, ihr rathet mir wohl, || dasz | ich zů | Hofe mich  
stelle"

|| ich | stëllë bëi | Hofe

mich diesmal

v. 285. "Scherzend Oheim genannt, || und | wır sınd | keine  
Verwandte"

|| wir | äbër sınd |

v. 332. "Und so lief ich voraus, || bis | zů dëm | Speicher, da  
liesz ich"

|| bis | hın zům |

v. 418. "Aber er meinte die Hühner, || wie | sïe ïm | Freien  
spazierten"

|| die | ëbën ïm |

#### Gesang IV.

v. 5. "Wenigstens stellt' er sich so, || da | ër mıt | Grimbart,  
dem Dachse"

|| in | dëm ër mıt |

v. 25. "Habt ihr den Frieden gehalten, || den | ich dën |  
Thieren geboten"

|| den | jüngst ich

dën |

v. 39. "Schlugen und schimpften sie ihn, || eh' | ër ïns |  
Wasser gekommen"

|| be|vör ër ïns|

Wasser gelangte

v. 127. "Lasst uns eilen und rächen || was | ër än | allen ver-  
schuldet

|| so | wïe ër's än | allen

v. 184. "Und er wandte darauf || sich | vön dër | Leiter zum  
Volke"

sich drauf || gebëugt vön dër |

v. 238. "Von dem Silber und Golde || das | ich än | sicherer  
Stätte"

| liegt mır än |

v. 246. "Aber wie ihr befiehlt, || will | ich eüch | alles erzählen"

|| so | wıll ich eüch |

It will have been noted that in a large number of the above lines a normal declamation would leave the thesis of one foot, usually that containing the caesura, empty. When such is the case, an effort is generally made to remove all uncertainty of scansion. Elsewhere many cases of uncertain accentuation remain, especially where a series of monosyllables occur, as in *Gesang III*, v. 102, above cited.

At times Goethe seems to try to avoid monotonous likeness of the two hemistichs of his hexameter, also the tripartite structure, but the evidence is so slight and uncertain that it has little value, and is not adduced here. There is no evidence that he sought to break up series of amphibrachs.

This is the sum total of Goethe's critical work which is directly connected with Schlegel's advice and suggestion. It is clear that, whether Goethe *owes* all this to Schlegel or not, his revisions, so far as they extend, are thoroughly in the spirit of that critic's demands, as made at that time, though not of such as he made from 1805 onwards. The revision is thoroughgoing only in one principal point, that of removing the feminine caesura from the fourth foot of the hexameter. The removal of impure dactyls was undertaken as perhaps desirable but by no means essential. The increase in the number of dactyls, especially the interruption of series of trochees, was felt to be quite important, for the sake of variety of structure. Trochees were always accepted as necessary, and not condemned, except where the logical content was very slender, and not even then, generally, in the first foot. But above all things, the meaning, the poetic content, must be conserved, if possible, in spite of the existence of any of the above-mentioned faults. Only some essential defect of form, like that of five- or seven-footed verses, or wanting thesis, or theses of three syllables, must be removed at any cost.

The original production of only one of Goethe's classical poems falls later than these earliest metrical discussions with Schlegel, that of the *Achilleis* fragment. It might be instructive to inquire whether it shows an approach toward Schlegel's ideal of the hexameter.



The revisions, made by Goethe and others, which actually came into the printed text of *Reineke Fuchs*, *Hermann und Dorothea*, and the *Achilleis* fragment, are relatively so few and of such a nature that they do not appreciably alter the metrical structure of the poems. A comparison of the structure of these three poems, with respect to the few principles involved in the revisions, will give a reasonably accurate index of Goethe's progress.

We have seen that in *Reineke Fuchs*, written in 1792, 719 feminine caesura occurred in the fourth foot out of 4312 hexameters, i. e., 1:6—, or 16.7 per cent of the verses. In *Hermann und Dorothea*, written in the fall of 1796 and spring of 1797, this percentage is remarkably reduced. Taking the first hundred verses of each of its nine cantos, there occur 34 instances, i. e., 1:26+, or only 3.7 per cent. In the *Achilleis*, written in March and April, 1799, there occur 12 feminine caesurae in the fourth foot, out of 651 hexameters, i. e., 1:54+, or 1.84 per cent. Evidently the conviction that such caesurae are not legitimate antedates the completion of *Hermann und Dorothea*. Therefore, if Goethe owes this conviction to Schlegel, he must have derived it from his published works, not from personal interviews or correspondence. We know that Wilhelm von Humboldt criticized this caesura as impermissible, in his letter of May 30, 1797, to Goethe. *Hermann und Dorothea* went to press in June following. On the other hand Schlegel's first published condemnation of the feminine caesura in the fourth foot appeared in his review of Neubeck's 'Gesundbrunnen', published in No. 243 of the *Jen. Allg. Litt. Zeit.*, which must have issued as late or a little later than the date of issue of Goethe's poem. At any rate it could have had no influence whatever upon the original metrical structure of the poem, nor upon the poet's own revisions made before the manuscript went to the press. The only remaining demand, in regard to the caesura, made by Schlegel in print at an earlier date, is that contained in the review of the *Horen*, in 1796. Here he had declared that the masculine caesura of the third foot should be preferred, because

otherwise the two hemistichs would be too much alike, unless the verse closed with a spondee. This cannot be even juggled into a condemnation of the feminine caesura of the fourth foot.

If we examine now the use of impure dactyls, we find that in *Reineke Fuchs* serious cases occur on an average of one to every five verses; in *Hermann und Dorothea*, one to four; in the *Achilleis*, however, not over one to ten. The chief change is in the use of nouns like 'Herrschaft', 'Denkmal', verbs like 'anhält', 'ausrisz', adverbs like 'vorwärts', 'nochmals', etc. Goethe seems to have reached the conviction, that such words do make a dactyl too heavy for elegance, and he tried to avoid them in practice. In the *Achilleis* there are not above a dozen such instances in 651 verses, or 1:54. In *Hermann und Dorothea*, there are not less than 80 nouns, 30 adverbs, etc., and a few verbs, in 900 verses, or 1:8+. In *Reineke Fuchs*, there are about 45 such cases in 400 verses, or 1:9—. This conviction may then be due to Schlegel's conferences and insistent criticisms.

If we inquire whether Goethe's verse becomes more dactylic on the whole, we have the following evidence to show that it did not. Of course the fifth foot of an hexameter must be a dactyl, except in a very few cases, where it is replaced by a spondee. This is one of the essentials, and Goethe observed it from the beginning. Taking, then, the first four feet of his verses, in which a variation of usage can occur, we find in 400 verses of *Reineke Fuchs*, i. e., 1600 feet in all, 812 dactyls, or 1:1.970; in 900 verses of *Hermann und Dorothea*, i. e., 3600 feet, 1853 dactyls, or 1:1.942, a very slight increase; but in *Achilleis*, in 651 verses, i. e., 2604 feet, 1320 dactyls, or 1:1.972, an infinitesimal decrease in frequency even below the ratio for his first epic. It would be difficult to show that any change took place even in the arrangement of the dactyls and trochees with respect to one another, that Goethe even cared much to avoid series of several trochees, i. e., cared more at a later date than in 1792.

Schlegel insisted even at this early date, that there is a decided difference in the quality of trochees. Some are pure

trochees, the second syllable being unquestionably short, as an inflection ending, or a definite article, or an unstressed syllable of a dissyllabic stem; some are spondaic, if not true spondees, the second syllable being such that it could scarcely be permitted to fill but one *mora* of a dactyl. Goethe's usage does not show that he paid any regard to such distinctions.

Yet one thing is somewhat notable. Goethe used but few such spondees, or heavy trochees, in the sixth foot of his verses in *Reineke Fuchs*, not above 8 per cent. In *Hermann und Dorothea*, this usage has increased to almost 24 per cent, and in the *Achilleis*, to about 22 per cent. One might suppose this to indicate an effort on Goethe's part to fulfil Schlegel's demand, that a verse should not end with a trochee, if it had also a feminine caesura in the third foot, since that would render the two hemistichs too much alike. Investigation shows that Schlegel himself does not respect this demand in practice, and a careful scansion reveals the fact, that not over one fourth of these final spondees, in Goethe's verse, are accompanied by the caesura mentioned. Yet this fact alone is not decisive, for a verse may close with a spondee, and not be defective, whatever be the position of the caesura. If we consider all those verses in which a feminine caesura occurs in the third foot, about 43 + per cent close with a spondee, or spondaic trochee, while, of those verses which have a masculine caesura in the third foot, only about 26.5 per cent close thus. This would indicate a certain degree of favor for a heavy close, in accordance with Schlegel's suggestion.

Perhaps the most important point of all for comparison is the attitude of poet and critic toward improperly accented words. It is doubtless difficult to produce a large number of German hexameters, or elegiac distichs, without sinning against German accentuation. So we find nearly every poet who wrote in hexameters, from Klopstock down to the most recent experimenter, introducing occasionally words of such a type that they cannot be fitted into the hexametric scheme, without putting the syllable with the principal stress into the thesis of a foot.



Schlegel not only admitted such words into his own verse, on the ground that the end justifies the means, but he looked upon them as a sort of adornment to be sought for, and introduced many examples without the slightest metrical excuse. We have seen Goethe accept two such misaccented words, viz., 'Neügiër' and 'rückwärts', at Schlegel's suggestion, in passages most difficult of amendment. We have seen him use 'sänft ein | schäukelndén' of his own motion in the preliminary revision of the epigrams. It must not be concluded from this, that Goethe learned this abomination from Schlegel; for Goethe's predecessors, Klopstock and Voss, indulged in these misaccented forms far more frequently than he. We should rather say that he sought to avoid them as far as possible, and to preserve the German hexameter as an accent verse, pure and simple, and not a quantitative. This is further shown by the fact that all of the later suggestions for metrical improvements, made by the younger Voss, Riemer, etc., and which involved improper accentuation, were unconditionally rejected by Goethe. An examination of all the revisions above, made by Goethe, shows that, with the exception of the three instances noted, he did not introduce a single incorrect accent, but was constantly alert to make even the sentence accent agree with the metric scheme. Yet in the heat of original composition, when so many things have to be attended to, a false accent will slip in occasionally, and having slipped in, become so organically unified with preceding and following lines that the self-criticizing poet may never be able to file them out. In *Reincke Fuchs* there are very many awkward and incorrect sentences, in which the meter must be rescued at the expense of the meaning, but only a few cases occur, where single words are improperly stressed, as the following:

Gesang II, v. 154.

"Der krümm | bëinige Schloppe, mit | dëm brëit | näsigen  
Ludolf"



Gesang VI, v. 149.

"Mit ein | fältigem Wesen, als wüsst' er's eben nicht anders"

Gesang VI, v. 154.

"Dasz er manchen güt | müthigen Mann zum Mitleid be-  
wegte"

Gesang VIII, v. 74.

"Die läng | bëinige Mähre! Der Henker mag's ihr bezahlen"

Gesang IX, v. 185.

"Wie sein Betragen mir scheint, aũf | rĩchtig bekennen; ich  
denke"

Doubtless a rigid scansion would reveal a few other instances, but a half dozen, or even a half score, such violations in over four thousand hexameters, represent but a small body of metrical sinning, and when compared with the practice of Klopstock and Voss, is eloquent in praise of Goethe's thorough-going belief in a purely accentual prosody.

When we turn to *Hermann und Dorothea*, we find the number somewhat increased, but still remarkably small. We find 'näch | lassend', 'hãlb- | | sēidēn', 'hãlb | wãhrēn', 'hĩn | zĩehēndēn', 'ãus | drũcklich', 'hũch | hērzĩg', occurring twice, 'hĩn | gĩng', 'hēim | fũhrtē', 'vũr | sĩchtĩgē', 'ēhr | wũrdĩgē', with perhaps a half dozen compounds of 'un' like 'ũn | mũthĩg', etc., which may be readily tolerated, and may have been normal usage with Goethe, for we find him refusing to change, at Schlegel's suggestion, ' | dīesēn ũn- | glũcklĩchēn | Mast' in *Alexis und Dora*. Reckoning all these as false accents, there are only seventeen instances in two thousand and thirty-four verses (17:2034), or 1:120.

In the *Achilleis*, we find 'näch | lĩes', 'ãuf | fũhrēnd', 'ãuf | fũrdērndē', 'wũhl wũllēnd', 'Rũck | kēhr', 'hĩn | ēĩlētē', 'ãus | gēhēt', 'ãuf | thũrmēnd', 'klãr | äugĩgē', 'ēhr | wũrdĩgē', 'zēhr | jãhrĩgē', 'ãr | bēĩtēndēn', and 'vũr | sĩchtĩgē', or thirteen instances in six hundred and fifty-one (13:651) or 1:50 verses, a considerable increase. When we note that none of these are compounds of 'un', but such as are unconditionally bad, there are proportionally four times as many in the *Achilleis* as in *Hermann und Dorothea*. Compared with Schlegel's later prac-

tice (165:424), 1:2.5 verses, or with his earlier, which varied from 1:6.5 to 1:14.4 verses, Goethe's violations of accent are still remarkably low in number.

Still we must note a gradual increase in the use of such forms. Did Goethe become reconciled to them through Schlegel? or through the practice of Voss in his *Luise* and the translations of Homer, which he read carefully preparatory to writing the *Achilleis*? Schlegel had never published any commendation of such usage, and his only personal conference, which occurred before the production of the *Achilleis*, was in Feb., 1799, when he made two calls upon Goethe, during which they discussed the prosodic structure (?) of the Greek elegy. But Goethe's increased usage shows itself already in *Hermann und Dorothea*. All in all, it is probably due more largely to the influence of Voss' Homeric lines than to a merely possible recommendation from Schlegel.

If Goethe had finished the *Achilleis*, or had ever used these classic meters later, we might have a better means of determining how long these convictions lasted, and to what extent he gave in his practical adhesion to innovations largely introduced by Schlegel, Wolf, and their satellites. *As it is, we find Goethe willingly using the critical powers and formal skill of August Wilhelm Schlegel to reform his older verses in accordance with prosodic convictions gained earlier and elsewhere, but yielding considerably in respect to certain classes of impure dactyls, in favor of Schlegel's views of quantitative feet.*

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## CHAUCER'S LEGEND OF GOOD WOMEN.

Over Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women* have been breaking, for a decade and a half, waves of increasingly discordant criticism. Surely a word of apology will not seem superfluous for the embarking on this storm-tossed sea of one who must confess, at the outset, that he has neither chart nor compass for navigating the perilous waters of the fourteenth century. In plainer phrase, I am neither a "Chaucer specialist" nor a "mediaevalist." I must steer my frail bark, therefore, by what alone I do profess to have (by what I am going to comfort myself in likening to the polar star):—a love for Chaucer. The very recklessness of my proposed voyage, then, will pardon, I feel sure, the personal element in a further word of introductory explanation.

During my first year of teaching literature, being burdened with many courses, I was unable to prepare them all with the scholarly thoroughness which might have been desired. My Chaucer course, in particular, I was perhaps guilty of neglecting, depending almost wholly on my previous, not too extensive, knowledge of the poet and teaching the subject in what was, doubtless, an egregiously "aesthetic" fashion. I made a great deal of Chaucer's simplicity, his objectivity, and his humor; I did not cease to emphasize his psychological and dramatic powers; but I fear that I followed out in very little detail the question of his sources and of the literary "forms" which he employed. In fact, as I now look back, I am aware that I must have left almost untouched the broad field of recent Chaucerian criticism. What was, I suppose, one of the most unscientific aspects of my method was my almost total disregard for the chronology of the poet's writings. It was partly as a result of this that we did not reach the *Legend of Good Women* till the very end of the year.

I had become at this time (what I had never been before)—an enthusiastic admirer of Chaucer; but I cannot affirm that I



came to the *Legend* with any great enthusiasm. I had a hazy memory of having read it some years before and of having been insufferably bored, especially by the legends themselves. I had resolved, accordingly, not to compel my students to wade through all these tedious narratives. And yet, even so, the *Legend*, as I remembered it, presented to my mind a most fascinating (because seemingly insoluble) problem. How *could* it have been composed when it apparently *was* composed? There it is!—on its left hand the *Troilus*,<sup>1</sup> on its right the *Canterbury Tales*: on its left hand the *Troilus*, the one long poem in the language, I felt inclined to think, which may be mentioned with no sense of critical eccentricity in the same breath with *Paradise Lost* and the great tragedies of Shakespeare; and on its right the *Canterbury Tales*! Why should Chaucer—this was the problem—after having composed a work which in spite of its subject is essentially a *modern* poem, a poem which in perfection of construction, in realistic completeness of detail, in subtlety of character portrayal, in humor, and especially in its grasp of the irony of life, not even its own author ever surpassed—why should Chaucer, I asked myself, after having written this and before giving a fresh exhibition of these same powers in the *Canterbury Tales*, have produced such an essentially mediaeval, artificial work as the *Legend of Good Women*, a work which, in spite of the undeniable lightness of touch of its Prologue, is so conspicuously lacking in the dramatic and ironic qualities of the *Troilus* and the *Canterbury Tales*?

With this baffling enigma before me, I went through the *Legend* with care and attention, reading for the first time the A as well as the B version of the Prologue. It was upon the comparison of the two prologues that my attitude toward the *Legend of Good Women* underwent a radical change. In the alterations and additions which Chaucer had made in the later version, I suddenly discovered (as I believed) the real significance of the poem. Its astonishing originality flashed, as in an instant, upon

<sup>1</sup>The *House of Fame*, too (whose position between the *Troilus* and the *Legend* I am for the moment disregarding), presented to my mind a similar problem. But in the case of the *House of Fame* the solution of the difficulty was possibly a simple one—merely a mistake in accepted chronology.



me. The *Legend of Good Women* an artificial, mediaeval poem! Never again (I declared) would I be guilty of applying such supremely inapplicable adjectives as these to this individual and unsurpassable imaginative achievement, a creation of poetic art quite worthy to be ranked with the *Troilus* on the one hand or the *Canterbury Tales* on the other, and far transcending both of those masterpieces in the quality of uniqueness. Now all this, it may be granted, was rather ardent—but I was innocent as yet of such things as Chaucer bibliographies; and the thought had never so much as crossed my mind that my new conception of the *Legend* was in any respect unorthodox or that I had been doing anything more or less than experiencing, in my own turn, a pleasure common to all past students of the *Legend*. Not long afterward, however, I chanced to see Professor Lowes' first article—in the Publications of the Modern Language Association<sup>1</sup>—based on the French sources of the *Legend* and arguing the priority of Prologue B. With the reading of this essay I awakened to the fact that a long and learned controversy had been waged over this question of the double prologue;<sup>2</sup> I discovered, too, that this problem, the solution of which seemed to me as plain as daylight, was regarded by the critical world, even by partisans of the dispute, as curiously confusing. Without delay I read all the 'literature' of the subject on which I could lay hands; and yet at the end, though I now saw how heretical it was, I found myself clinging tenaciously to my own conception. In the heat of the moment (perhaps without displaying much sense of humor, considering the weight of authority against me) I struck off for my Chaucer class a somewhat vehement lecture.

All this was many months ago. And now, in preparing this same paper for publication, the natural course to have followed, doubtless, would have been to moderate somewhat that positiveness of utterance which, however pardonable in the class-room (that realm over which the teacher, like a little despot, rules by divine dogmatic right), might seem less becoming in the pages

<sup>1</sup>xix, 593.

<sup>2</sup>For a history and bibliography of the problem, see Dr. John C. French's *The Problem of the Two Prologues to Chaucer's Legend of Good Women*, Baltimore, 1905.

of a learned journal. But on consideration I asked myself whether much of our recent criticism does not, from its very modesty and candor, lose both in clearness and in force, whether something may not be said, after all, for an occasional Swinburnian superlative. And so I decided to let this brief introductory explanation take the place of alterations and omissions. I reproduce my paper, therefore, in its original and unexpurgated form, trusting to my critics (if I am so fortunate as to find any) to point out wherein the ardor of a perhaps somewhat youthful enthusiasm may have betrayed me into excess, and trusting, too, that those whose views are most vehemently attacked will find, in these prefatory confessions, extenuation of any vivacities of expression which may have fallen from the lips of this bull (if the bull may be pardoned) in the china-closet of Chaucerian criticism.

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In the opening paragraph of the Prologue to the Legend of Good Women, Chaucer divides knowledge into two kinds: that which comes through sense experience, and that which is based upon authority. The poet shows his thoroughly English, empirical mind by expressing a clear preference for the former method of seeking truth, since it only after that method has failed—after it has been found impossible to prove a thing “by assay”—that he tells us we should consult authority:

Tha n mote we to bokes that we finde,  
or again:

Wel oghte us tha n honouren and beleve  
These bokes, the r we ha n non other preve.

When sense evidence is lacking, in other words, then authority should be our refuge; and we should never be guilty of rejecting a statement as untrue merely because we ourselves have never happened to receive—through our own eyes and ears

—the proof of its validity.<sup>1</sup> (The fact that the poet's own reverence for books—when he turns from these abstract considerations to his personal experience, in the passage beginning, "And as for me,"—bears suspicious earmarks of being a reverence for his *account-books*<sup>2</sup> need not detract in any way from the purely philosophical value of his original generalization.)

Now interesting as all this may be in itself, it is only when it is considered in relation to the work it serves to introduce that this passage takes on its full significance. Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women* is a poem of which the theme is, to all intents and purposes, *Good women exist*, and in which the proof of this thesis consists of a number of examples of feminine virtue taken from old authorities. As an introduction to this poem, may it not be accounted a little curious that Chaucer should have chosen to enunciate the doctrine that we should resort to authority to support a proposition only when our world of experience gives us no chance to verify its truth? In just what spirit did Chaucer expect the ladies of his day to take this singular compliment?

Keeping the subject of the *Legend* itself constantly in mind, one needs to do no more than glance through these open-

<sup>1</sup> Just how far Chaucer means what he seems to say of reverence for books and authority, is a question to which it is not yet necessary to venture an answer. In this connection, however, it is interesting to note the opening couplet of the *Wife of Bath's Prologue* (spoken in regard to the woes of marriage):

Experience, though noon auctoritee  
Were in this world, were right y-nough to me,  
for the *Wife of Bath*, all must agree, is one whose intellectual temper is exceedingly like that of her creator. Indeed, the whole of her *Prologue* is pertinent to the point under discussion.

<sup>2</sup> Is this saying too much? Chaucer declares that every year when May comes, he leaves his books and goes out into the fields to spend the whole day worshipping the daisy. Now, when we remember the poet's duties as comptroller, and when we note that it is the daytime which he spends in the meadow (the hours ordinarily devoted to his "rekeninges" rather than the evening when usually he sits over "another boke"), it suddenly turns out that it must be his *account books* that he leaves and it is of these that he exclaims,

to hem yeve I feyth and ful credence,  
And in myn herte have hem in reverence  
So hertely,

etc. The two versions of the *Prologue* should be carefully compared at this point, especially the "Farwel my studie" of A and the "Farwel my book" of B.



ing lines to be aware of their suspicious—indeed, much more than suspicious—character:

A thousand tymes have I herd men telle,  
 That ther is joye in heven, and payne in helle;  
 And I acorde wel that hit is so;  
 But natheles, yit wot I wel also,  
 That ther nis noon dwelling in this contree,  
 That either hath in heven or helle y-be,  
 Ne may of hit non other weyes witen,  
 But as he hath herd seyde, or founde hit writen;  
 For by assay ther may no man hit preve.  
 But god forbede but men shulde leve  
 Wel more thing then men han seen with yē!  
 Men shal nat wenen every-thing a lyē  
 But-if him-self hit seeth, or elles dooth;  
 For, god wot, thing is never the lasse sooth,  
 Thogh every wight ne may hit nat y-see.  
 Bernand the monk ne saugh nat al, parde!

Than mote we to bokes that we finde,  
 Through which that olde thinges been in minde,  
 And to the doctrine of these olde wyse,  
 Yeve credence, in every skilful wyse,  
 That tellen of these olde appreve stories,  
 Of holinesse, of regnes, of victories,  
 Of love, of hate, of other sundry thinges,  
 Of whiche I may not maken rehersinges.  
 And if that olde bokes were a-weye,  
 Y-loren were of remembraunce the keye.  
 Wel oghte us than honouren and beleve  
 These bokes, ther we han non other preve.

In the light of the poem he is about to write, what is it that Chaucer is saying in these lines? Something like this, is it not?—The proposition that women are faithful in love (or that good women exist) is, to be sure, a proposition to the truth of which no one “dwelling in this contree” may be able to testify; no one may be discoverable to whom any sense



evidence of its validity has been vouchsafed. Nay, more! Of such a proposition it may perhaps be said: "by assay"—by actual experience—"ther may no man hit preve." Yet why let the mere fact that there can be no empirical evidence of the reality of faithful women, why let a little thing like that stand in the way of one's trust in their existence?

God forbode but men shulde leve

Wel more thing then men han seen with yë!

A man must not imagine "every-thing a lyë" just because it fails to come within the limited circle of his own experience or the experience of his fellows, or condemn a conception as purely fantastic just because the reality behind it fails to rise above the narrow horizon of his own age. Take, for example, the case of hell:—no one living in these parts has ever been there; yet think of the bigotry of denying, for that reason, the existence of the place! Authority gives us ample ground for our belief. Well, the proposition, good women exist is just like the proposition, hell exists.<sup>1</sup> Simply because no man can be gotten trace of who ever saw, or heard, or became otherwise sensibly aware of the presence of a good woman, let us not illiberally infer that no such creature exists; but let us rather, just as in the case of hell, establish the reality of this seemingly hypothetical being by means of "auctoritee." When sense evidence fails, books are our salvation,

Through which that olde thinges been in minde—  
there is the rule in a nutshell! Or, to put the same thing in a slightly different way: in regard to any subject concerning which there is doubt, "than" ought we to

honouren and beleve

These bokes, ther we han non other preve.

Our subject, Chaucer seems to say, is good women. There exists as to good women no such "other preve"; ergo, let us to our "bokes" and write a *Legend of Good Women*. Indeed, as that word "ergo" itself suggests, what Chaucer has done may be formulated in a severely logical way. Smiling benignly on the fine ladies of his day, the poet submits to them this

<sup>1</sup> See *Wife of Bath's Prologue*, 371.

pair of premises: (1) The man who gets evidence from books indicates by that fact that there exists no evidence from experience for what he would assert. (2) I am going to write a treatise to prove that women are good, getting my evidence from books. Chaucer, in other words—by omitting to draw the obvious inference from his preliminary propositions—pays a gallant and tactful compliment to the logical sense of his fair readers. At one stroke the poet proves that he is himself a true artist and that even toward the end of the fourteenth century the age of chivalry is not past. Indeed, not only does he recognize the logical faculty of woman; he makes, too, a delicate and graceful tribute to the feminine sense of humor, by refusing to enter upon a crass explanation of his satire.

“‘Satire’!” a horrified voice exclaims, “Never! The mere suggestion of satire in connection with this beautiful creation of Chaucer’s, this fragile vision of the poet’s fancy, is too horrible to entertain. Of what, in your remarks about this opening passage of the Prologue, have you been making yourself guilty?” The ‘opening passage’ (I reply)—as if that were all! The moment we accept the hint that passage so plainly offers, a thousand considerations, wholly unconnected with those introductory lines, seem to crowd upon us to heighten and confirm their obvious purport. The variations in the two versions of the Prologue!—especially the changes connected with the “ballad”! The inexplicable tameness of Chaucer’s attitude under the unjust accusation of Cupid! The infelicitous choice of heroines for the legends! The strange manner in which the stories are handled! The stupid blunders throughout the work! Its unfinished condition! The very title of the poem itself! All these points—and numberless others—rush at once into our minds, till we are literally compassed round with witenesses. “Yet, after all,” that same entreating voice replies, “may not these dreadful suspicions be explained away, and the Legend saved for the cause of serious poetry?” Alas! my friend, do not indulge the hope, for you cannot read a hundred lines of the Prologue before your eye will fall on a passage

which will deprive you of your last solace, a passage in which Chaucer himself confirms your most terrible suspicions and sanctions the correctness of that satirical interpretation of his poem so plainly foreshadowed in the opening verses.

Let us look, for a moment, at these lines in which Chaucer has kindly taken us into his confidence.

After telling of his custom, when May comes, of going out into the fields to worship the daisy, and after an apostrophe to this flower as his light and guide in this dark world, he suddenly, with a change of key that must startle the most lethargic reader, interrupts himself with the exclamation,

But wherfor that I spak, to give credence (97)  
To olde stories, and doon hem reverence,  
And that men mosten more thing beleve  
Then men may seen at eye or elles preve?<sup>1</sup>

As much as to ask: What earthly connection has my introduction about books and belief in old authority with all this that I have just been saying?—a question which, coming from Chaucer, is quite equivalent to the declaration that there exists the deepest and most organic connection (vastly more intimate than the apparent one) between the introduction and all that follows, a hint, in other words, of the very broadest kind, that this opening passage is the real key to the poem. But, as if all this were not enough, as if he would give his reader every chance, the poet answers his own question, adding significantly,

That shal I seyn, whan that I see my tyme;  
I may not al at ones speke in ryme.

What would we not give for a glimpse of the sly gleam in Chaucer's eye, when, in the privacy of his own chamber, he composed that couplet (the last line of which, I may not al at ones speke in ryme, might well be stamped in gold on the outside of every copy of his works)? Professor

<sup>1</sup> Even though the passage were punctuated otherwise than with the mark of interrogation, the effect would remain the same. But that Skeat's punctuation is correct is shown by *Book of the Duchesse*, 1034, and *Parlement of Foules*, 17.



Skeat remarks<sup>1</sup> that the promise contained in these lines Chaucer never fulfills. Perhaps so. For my own part, I should hardly have phrased it in just that way. To declare, explicitly, in blunt unvarnished terms just what was the relation of his introduction to the rest of his poem, Chaucer, doubtless, never did find his "tyme." To have found it might have proved indiscreet, might have involved results unpleasant for himself. For if, as some have imagined, this book has allegorical reference to Queen Anne, or, it may even be, was written at her request, and since, at any rate, it was certain to be read by the ladies of the court, it may perhaps be deemed a display of policy on Chaucer's part to have veiled, very slightly, the intended satire, and to have permitted the ladies to receive the book as a compliment to their sex—a thought which painfully suggests that I was in error a moment ago in referring to the introduction as a delicate tribute to certain perceptive powers of the feminine mind, and that, so far from meaning anything of the sort, Chaucer must have actually been relying for his own personal safety on the absence in his fair readers of both logical acumen and the sense of humor. Yet even had there been no occasion for this exercise of diplomacy, I choose to believe that he would have taken the same method for con-

<sup>1</sup> In his note on the line in the *Oxford Chaucer*. Professor Skeat is evidently following Bech (*Anglia*, v. 356), who remarks in connection with the passage under discussion: "Im anschlusse hieran sagt uns der dichter, dass seine liebe zu den büchern nur gestört werde, um im frühling der verehrung des masslebens platz zu machen. Ch. kommt somit auf das eigentliche thema seines prologes, und wir sehen, dass das von den büchern gesagte nur mittel zum zweck war. Aber der zweck ist nun erreicht und das thema auch! Wie kommt der dichter dazu, noch einmal (*Prol.* v. 97ff.) darauf zurückzukommen? Er sagt dort:

But wherfore that I spake to yive credence  
To olde stories, and doon hem reverence,  
And that men mosten more thyng beleve  
Then they may seen at eighe or elles preve;  
That shal I seyn, whane that I see my tyme;  
I may nat all attones speke in ryme.

Das *wherfore* hat er uns ja bereits v. 25ff. zur genüge angegeben, und wenn er etwa mit v. 101 andeuten wollte, dass er später darauf zurückzukommen gedächte, so tut er dies im verlauf des prologes durchaus nicht. Wir können also nicht umhin, die verse 97-102 als eine unebenheit in der composition zu betrachten. In der ursprünglichen fassung (*Gg.* 4, 27) hingegen ist das zurückkommen auf die *bokys olde* erklärlich, weil dort eine neue veranlassung, ihnen glauben zu schenken angeführt wird. Dort heisst es im anschluss an die verse:

ffor thys werk ys al of anothyr tunne  
Of old story er swich stryf was begunne

folgendermassen (v. 81ff.):

But wherfore that I spak to yeve credence,"

and the writer then goes on to quote the A version of the passage. It is especially easy to agree with Bech's statement in regard to the introduction, "dass das von den büchern gesagte nur mittel zum zweck war."



veying his idea. Chaucer (the statement is made after due deliberation) is a humorist. And it is to be set down as perhaps the fundamental rule of the humorist—if that rule may be cast in the mould of the well-known proverb about the cat—that there is more than one way of saying a thing. Because Chaucer, then, in this case, chose to speak otherwise than “al at ones,” need we infer that he has failed to speak at all?

As soon as we compare the lines of which I have been speaking with the corresponding passage of the A text of the Prologue, we perceive the main motive behind the revision and the immense superiority of the later version. Indeed, the moment we grasp the fact that the *Legend of Good Women* is a satire, at that moment the so-called problem of the two prologues ceases to be a problem. With the humor of the lines in mind, a comparison of the two versions of the introduction is sufficient to show with what delicate sureness of touch Chaucer has improved on his own work; but the two forms of the later passage—the B version of which has just been quoted—are, if possible, even more convincing. This is the way the A Prologue reads:

But wherfor that I spak, to yeve credence  
To bokes olde and doon hem reverence,  
Is for men shulde autoritees beleve,  
Ther as ther lyth non other assay by preve.  
For myn intent is, or I fro yow fare,  
The naked text in English to declare  
Of many a story, or elles of many a geste,  
As autours seyn; leveth hem if you leste!

That last phrase, in itself, reveals the satirical purpose of the author—as much as to say, “I am going to narrate a collection of old wives’ tales; swallow them, if you are big enough fools!”—and it all seems excellently done; but how crude it appears in comparison with the sly interrogation of the B version—and the curiosity-provoking insinuation of its answer! The whole passage in A, taken in connection with what precedes, comes as a vastly less abrupt and startling interruption,

and as such, is vastly less effective. But though the B version is more striking, it is also, until we perceive the satirical purpose of the poem, much more mysterious, and after we perceive that purpose, much funnier than A. Indeed, in A, Chaucer has been guilty—in order to throw them off the track—of deliberately misleading his readers, for he suggests in the lines,

myn entent is, or I fro yow fare,

The naked text in English to declare

Of many a story,

that the connection of the introduction with the rest of the poem is the purely arbitrary fact of its reference to "authority," and through this suggestion he renders less probable than ever the discovery of its hidden irony and satire, of its real relation, in other words, to what follows.<sup>1</sup> In B, however, Chaucer has

<sup>1</sup> The question may well be asked whether Chaucer—*longo intervallo*, to be sure—has not done in the *Parlement of Foules* just what he has done in the *Legend*, whether, in other words, his professed reverence for books both at the beginning and the end of that poem is not really far from being what it purports to be. Chaucer begins, in stanza one, by telling of the terrible pangs of love, pangs so terrible that their "wonderful working" leave him in doubt "wher that I wake or winke." He, then, in stanza two, goes on to say that he himself has never experienced love, but has had the good fortune to read of its "miracles" in books. In stanza three he says, "But wherfore that I speke al this?"—an interrogation which he reproduces almost exactly in Prologue B—what connection, in other words, has all this with my subject? Just as in the *Legend*, the introduction has an ostensible and a hidden connection with the rest. Its supposed purpose is to lead up to the account of the book which was the cause of the dream narrated in the main body of the poem. Its real effect (at least, on the poet's own basis) is to negate the value of the love poem that follows as being the dream of a man who has never experienced love but has gotten his knowledge of it at second hand—through books. Thus does Chaucer make sport of his own production! Note especially (for I must not go into the matter here in detail), lines 27-28 and compare them with 90-91. Compare both of these couplets, in turn, with the stanza beginning at 99, and all three of these passages with the opening of the next stanza. Note, too, the lines (29-31):

This book of which I make mencloun,  
Entitled was al thus, as I shal telle,  
'Tullius of the dreame of Sciploun',

the second of which certainly sounds like an expression of profound reverence for books! (Compare, for this same sort of humor, *Troilus*, ll. 904-5; *Ibid.*, 1174-6; *House of Fame*, 864; *Franklin's Tale*, 288-90.) Finally, note the end of the poem. When the dream was done, says Chaucer,

I wook, and other bokes took me to  
To rede upon, and yet I rede alway;  
I hope, y-wis, to rede so som day  
That I shal mete som thing for to fare  
The bet; and thus to rede I nil not spare.

"I have read without profit all my life," Chaucer seems to say—or do I grossly parody his meaning?—"but nevertheless, on the slim chance that some day I may hit on something practically worth while, I shall persevere in my unremitting studies." Nor need this interpretation be in any way retracted, if the suggestion be accepted that in the phrase "som thing for to fare the bet" there is embodied a sly solicitation for some tangible royal favor. Chaucer is quite capable of crowding several meanings into even fewer lines than these, and the notion that this last stanza of the *Parlement of Foules* is in the same vein as the poet's *Complaint to His Empty Purse* falls in, beautifully, with the view that his veneration for books was not so pure and disinterested as it seems. In the long line of illustrious thinkers who, from Roger Bacon to Huxley, have expressed the deep reverence of the English mind for *experience* as the only valid basis for truth, Chaucer deserves to rank among the greatest.

adopted the infinitely more truthful and artistic<sup>1</sup> method of permitting his readers to mislead themselves. He accomplishes his purpose—of covering up his real design—just as effectively as in A, but at the same time he acquits himself of all tangible responsibility for having conspired to restrain the intellectual freedom of his readers. He has taken what we should call in these days—an “immunity bath.”

Now as soon as the comparison of the two versions is extended, the discovery is inevitable that the case just under consideration is a perfectly typical one, and it may be asserted, therefore, without hesitation that whatever other subsidiary motives may or may not have affected its recasting (as, for example, the question of references to Queen Anne), Chaucer's central motive in revising the Prologue was this: to increase the irony and satire of what he had written, yet at the same time to make that irony and satire more subtle and imperceptible than ever; to add to the fun, but keep it perfectly concealed; to deepen, in reality, the humor of the poem, yet at the same time, in appearance, to retain its seriousness. Now this was not an easy task, it will be readily admitted, for even a Chaucer to set himself. But that it was one which he must have relished, and that it was one which he—perhaps above any other poet that ever lived—was fitted to accomplish, is just as wholly beyond dispute. To describe his success words are inadequate. Excellent, when taken by itself, as the A Prologue indubitably seems, the B Prologue is so immeasurably superior that the A version in comparison looks like the mere crude sketch of a prentice hand. Hardly in the whole range of English literature shall we find a poet's revision of his own work that exhibits a surer and more unerring art. The vaunted revisions of Tennyson come nearer affording contrasts than comparisons. His are mere surface polishings; Chaucer's is organic. If, then, the satirical purpose of the *Legend* be once admitted, on only one basis can the theory of the priority of A ever be revived: in the belief, namely, that Chaucer, being vouchsafed a prophetic vision of his critics, out of the kindli-

<sup>1</sup> The lines in A may be objected to, also, as dramatically premature.



ness of his nature had mercy on them—for “pitee renneth sone in gentil herte”—and deliberately went through his first version, cutting out all the rarest hits, expurgating the subtlest irony and satire, and diluting away the funniest situations.

Near the beginning of the second book of the *Troilus and Criseyde* occurs a stanza<sup>1</sup> of the greatest interest in connection with the *Legend of Good Women*. Pandarus and Cressid are together:

With that she gan hir eyen doun to caste,  
And Pandarus to coghe gan a lyte,  
And seyde, ‘nece, alwey, lo! to the laste,  
How-so it be that som men hem delyte,  
With subtil art hir tales for to endyte,  
Yet for al that, in hir entencioun,  
Hir tale is al for som conclusioun.

“How-so it be,” Chaucer was evidently one of these “men,” and these words of Pandarus afford an infinitely felicitous description of the poet’s “entencioun” in the *Legend*. Might not some of the criticisms of his poem have been more felicitous, had the critics profited by those other warning words?—

Beth war, I prey yow; for, by hevene king,  
Ful many a man weneth to seen a thing,  
And it is al another than it semeth.  
He that misconceyveth, he misdemeth.

What has Chaucer apparently done in the *Legend of Good Women*? He has written a Prologue in which he is charged by the God of Love with heresy against love’s law, and in which, after a remonstrance so feeble that it seems like an admission of his guilt, he agrees, on the intercession of the Queen of Love in his behalf, to write, as penance for his sins, a glorious poem in honor of good women—the legends themselves being the fulfilment of the promise. What has Chaucer really done in the *Legend of Good Women*? To begin with, he has clearly shown his own reverence for love. Then, through the foolish charge of heresy and other absurdities on Cupid’s part, he causes the God of Love to make an

<sup>1</sup> No. 37.



ineffable dunce of himself, places even the Queen of Love in a ridiculous light, and finally, as penance for his literary sins against the other sex—sins that exist only in the imagination of Cupid—he writes, in the legends themselves, a most unmerciful satire upon women. In other words, as penance for an act he never committed, he commits that very act.

It is as if a young minister—who had really never been guilty of the slightest unorthodoxy, being, in fact, exceptionally “sound” in his beliefs—were to be called before the authorities of the Church, publicly charged with heresy, tried, found guilty, and (through the mercy of the court) sentenced to write, as a sort of penance, a book in which he should openly retract his previous offensive utterances. The young man, seeming by his silence to admit his guilt, hastens contritely away to compose the treatise. At length it is published, and is accepted by his accusers and the Church for what it ostensibly is—a humble confession of his sins and a complete disavowal of his heretical ideas. Yet, all the while, in reality, it is a covert promulgation of exactly those beliefs which he had formerly never harbored but for the supposed utterance of which he had been held up as an object for the scorn of every white and pious soul. Something comparable to this is Chaucer’s achievement in the *Legend of Good Women*. Here, surely, the comic spirit approaches the sublime. And the *Legend*—instead of being a collection of tedious old tales told in mediæval fashion and bound together by a prologue which, though pretty and charming in places, is highly artificial and almost servilely based on earlier models—is seen for what it is: a satire, in the highest degree original, saturated with the modern spirit, a poem whose humor and irony are so gigantic, so colossal—one seeks in vain for a word sufficiently large—as to defy description, and yet whose facetiousness is not more stupendous than it is subtle, whose satirical shafts are not more keen than they are unsuspected. Before this achievement, even Swift’s “monumental” jest against Partridge, the almanac-maker, dwindles

to the proportions of a mere schoolboy's prank. And yet, after all, the most thoroughly Chaucerian aspect of this wonderful poem remains to be mentioned: the fact, namely, that the author conveys to his readers a convincing impression of his own sincere reverence for love, his real regard for woman and trust in womanhood, and that he accomplishes this at the very time when he is letting fly at woman and womanhood his sharpest darts. What could be more typically Chaucerian?

As was said before, the moment we perceive that its humor is the real soul and essence of the Legend, the reason for practically every one of the important changes in the B version is made clear, the reason (to take a number of the most mooted passages) for

- (1) the expansion of the opening lines about the daisy, the full description of the real May scene, and the many changes in the scene where Cupid accosts Chaucer,
  - (2) the suppression of the "old age" passages,
  - (3) the suppression of the name of Alceste in the ballad, and the temporary concealment of her identity,
  - (4) the transfer of the ballad from the attendant ladies to Chaucer,
  - (5) the suppression of the long "book" passage,
  - (6) the expansion of the "bird-mating" passage,
- and finally, common to both versions, the reason for
- (7) the selection of the Romance of the Rose and the Troilus as the basis of Cupid's charge against Chaucer.

Though I may thereby be postponing the most interesting part of the discussion, I cannot, perhaps, proceed more logically than by taking up these topics in succession.

In order that the God of Love, later on, may put himself in a ridiculous position, and in order to demonstrate the extreme absurdity of the charge he is to bring against the poet, it is necessary that Chaucer should give clear evidence in

advance, before the question of heresy is even suggested, of his own reverence for love. The more effectively this is shown, the more utterly foolish Cupid's angry outburst of temper will appear. A large number of the new passages in B are plainly inserted with this end in view (whether they also serve to introduce or emphasize allegorical references to Queen Anne need not here be considered, since that hypothesis, interesting as it is, is quite insufficient in itself to account for all the changes). Especially significant in this connection is the affection exhibited in B for the flower of love and the preparation for the identification of Queen Alceste with the daisy. When the reader of Prologue B reaches the line (in the description of the Queen)

For al the world, ryght as a dayesye, (218)

his thoughts immediately run back to the beginning of the poem, he remembers (what then seemed rather inexplicable) how Chaucer addressed the flower as his "lady sovereyne" and as "she that is of alle floures flour," and he realizes that all the love and adoration which the poet expressed then for the daisy was bestowed in reality upon the Queen of Love—a depth of devotion, in itself, sufficient to render utterly ludicrous Cupid's charge of heresy against love. In A there is no such specific preparation, and when the reader of that version reaches the line

For al the world, right as the dayesye, (150)

he remembers the earlier description only in the most general way. Even in A, to be sure, the facts of the poet's "affeccoun" and his longing to praise the flower "aright" are by no means neglected. A considerable portion of the passage, however, is simply a description of the opening and closing of the flower and another portion is an indirect apology on the part of the writer to the flower and leaf poets for his borrowings from them. In B, on the other hand, all this is strictly subordinated to the poet's love for the daisy. In this version he is content with no purely impersonal description. The first glimpse of the opening flower prompts the exclamation:

That blisful sighte softneth al my sorwe, (50)



and this leads at once to an outburst of worshipful adoration in which the flower is invested with all the qualities of a human mistress, fervid lines concluding with the affirmation,

Ther loved no wight hotter in his lyve. (59)

Again, instead of merely picturing the closing of the flower (as in A), Chaucer declares that he runs to see it go to rest, and with suggested sympathy for the daisy's fear of darkness, he looks forward to the coming of another morning, when once more "hit wol uncloze." "Allas!" he exclaims,

that I ne had English, ryme or prose,

Suffisant this flour to preyse aright.

At the point corresponding to this in A, the poet offers as an explanation of his inability to praise the flower aright the fact that other folk before him have reaped the poetical field, the implication apparently being that theirs were powers adequate to the praise which he despairs of uttering. The lines constitute an indirect apology (I say "indirect" because it is in the third person) for what Chaucer borrows from these writers, and an expression of hope that they will not be offended, since his own work is written in their honor. The purpose of the passage is plainly the apology, and in spite of the ingeniously logical turn by which the poet connects it with what precedes, it impresses the reader as being somewhat of a digression, natural enough perhaps and yet on that account not less a real digression; while a few lines further on, with the poet's expression of neutrality in the flower and leaf controversy, he indulges in a still further departure from his main subject. In B all this is quite otherwise. Here the reference to the flower and leaf poets has the most intimate connection with its context continuing without a break what comes before, for here (though Chaucer still acknowledges his indebtedness) the lines are not primarily an apology at all, but an appeal for help—couched, be it noted, in the second person! In this version, the poet's despair of being able to sing the praises of the daisy is due not merely to the consciousness of his own weakness and to the fact that others have already



reaped the corn, but, vastly more, to the hopelessly lofty nature of his theme. It would hardly be stretching the sense of the passage to assert that in this version the implication is that even the flower and leaf poets would be inadequate to the subject. All they can do is to give help and "forthren" the poet "somwhat" in his work. And when he asks them to have forbearance with him for his borrowings, he does not seek forgiveness on the ground (as in A) that he is writing in their honor, but rather (to use his own words),

Sin that ye see I do hit in the honour (81)  
Of love, and eek in service of the flour  
Whom that I serve as I have wit or might.

And following these words, as a culmination of his praise, he breaks out into an apostrophe to the daisy as his light, his mistress, his guide, his earthly god.<sup>1</sup> In other words, to sum the matter up, the entire passage (B 29-96) has an unbroken continuity, the dominant note of the whole being the poet's intense and burning love for the flower, a love whose every syllable is reflected forward on Alceste; while in A (29-80) the lines have no such unity and with the two digressions already noted, the poet wanders so far that when (at line 81) he comes back to his reference to the introduction we are not aware of any very striking incongruity. At this point in B, on the contrary, the transition is so startling as to reveal its carefully calculated effect—an effect whose significance we have already noted. Here again, then, the B version has the advantage; indeed, it may be said of this whole portion of A that where continuity is desirable it is twice broken, while where it should be lacking it is present.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This replaces the expression of neutrality in the flower and leaf controversy, which, in B, is inserted later.

<sup>2</sup> It may here be remarked that the passages just discussed in the text (B 40-67 and 68-83 as compared with the corresponding lines in A) are the two on which Dr. Lowes places such emphasis in arguing the priority of B and its greater dependence on French models. His reasoning, in my judgment, is far from convincing. As for the relative number of phrases from the *marguerite* poems in the two versions of the Prologue, it will be shown later in the essay that a motive is discoverable—vastly more reasonable, I shall contend, than Dr. Lowes' "dulled remembrance" theory—which turns the closer resemblance of B to its "models" into an argument *against* the priority of that version. As for the relative unity of B 40-67 and the corresponding lines in A, a matter of which Dr. Lowes makes so much, it is important to remember that a poetical passage has two kinds of unity: its

Omitting the short passage, already discussed, in which Chaucer comments on the opening lines of the Prologue, it will be seen, on continuing the comparison, that the next set of changes in B serves the same purpose as those already noted. In A, after only a line or two recording a day spent in the fields, the poet tells how he comes home, goes to bed, and dreams of roaming again in the meadow. In B, on the other hand, nearly a hundred lines are devoted to an elaborate de-

internal unity as a passage, and the unity it attains in virtue of being perfectly integrated with the poem of which it forms a part. Of this latter, more important, kind of unity—concerning which Dr. Lowes has in this connection practically nothing to say—the attempt has been made, above, to show that the B version, at the point under debate, possesses a much higher degree. Yet even in regard to the *internal* unity of the passages it is for me impossible to agree with Dr. Lowes. So far from finding B a promiscuous “heaping up” of phrases borrowed from the *marquerite* poems, while A is a “compact, close-knit unit,” the exact opposite of this seems to me much nearer the truth; and as for “carefully arranged chronological sequence” (a matter, I should be inclined to say, of exceedingly little importance), I see no appreciable difference between the two versions. Says Dr. Lowes: “B. begins with morning (49), passes at once to the rehearsal of the virtues of the flower and the declaration of the poet’s own love for it (50-59)—making utter shipwreck of grammar (52-3) in piecing the gleanings together!—comes then to evening (60), and goes back without transition to daylight (64), influenced in the latter instance, as it happens, by the passage in Deschamps on which Chaucer had his eye without regard to what preceded in his own lines.” (*P. M. L. A. xiv*, 659). Commenting on these points one by one, I agree that Chaucer begins as Dr. Lowes says; as for the “utter shipwreck of grammar,” I fail to perceive it; the poet then comes to evening, but not without implying (in the phrases “whan that hit is eve” and “the sonne ginneth weste”) the duration of the day; by what authority Dr. Lowes asserts that he then goes *back* without transition to daylight, I do not know. Indeed, it seems as if it were Dr. Lowes rather than Chaucer who has “had his eye” too closely on Deschamps at this point, for the expression, “wol uncloze,” plainly implies, if it implies anything, that the poet goes *forward* to the next morning, and thus, instead of neglecting all “definite order of time,” completes “the cycle of the twenty-four hours” just as fully and with a “forward movement” just as “steady” as in the A version.

Applying the argument which runs through all this part of his discussion to the “apology” passage, Dr. Lowes says: “Assume, now, that B. was written with the *marquerite* poems fresh in mind, and the apostrophe to their writers becomes the spontaneous expression of the feeling of the moment. Assume, further, a revision when the *marquerite* songs had themselves become an “olde story,” and the change from *ye* to *they* records exactly the natural change of attitude toward the poems.” To assume that Chaucer’s dulled remembrance of the *marquerite* poems could have had a *negative* effect on the new Prologue might not be beyond the range of possibility, but to assume that it could have had a positive effect like that asserted amounts in this place to the hypothesis that Chaucer, instead of writing poetry, is in the business of making a laborious description of his own psychological process of forgetting, or, to use Dr. Lowes’ own words, that Chaucer is in the business of recording “exactly [his] . . . natural change of attitude toward the [*marquerite*] poems.” Surely it is a strange compliment to Chaucer’s art as a poet, however great a compliment it may be to him as an introspective psychologist, to imagine that he altered the vividly dramatic second person in his appeal to the poets in B into the indirect and weakly reminiscent third person of the A version. Dr. Lowes in connection with the passage under discussion, quotes these lines from Gower:

The thing is torned into was;  
That which was whilom grene gras,  
Is welked hey at time now.

It is the unique function of the poet that the green grass which he creates remains green forever; and yet we are asked to believe—for this is what it amounts to—that Chaucer deliberately transformed that verdure which might have been perennial into “withered hay.” Even these lines of the “moral Gower” seem to turn ironically against the critic who employs them.

scription of a real day spent in worship of the flower and it is only after this that the poet goes home and dreams. Aside from the fact that this part of the revision contains one of the two or three most charming passages of poetry that Chaucer ever wrote, it has at this place several obvious organic advantages over A. It is to be noted that just as there is a real May scene and a dream May scene in B, so there is a real Chaucer and a dreaming Chaucer. Now in order to intensify the later irony, it is highly desirable for the poet to show that the real Chaucer as well as the dreaming Chaucer is a devout worshipper of the daisy; and this becomes even more desirable if we make the not unplausible assumption that the charge of Cupid against the poet had its counterpart in real life, that the ladies of the court, for instance, had really chided Chaucer for telling the story of the false Cressid. Furthermore, the new passage is an immense improvement psychologically, for the real May-scene motives the dream May-scene. This is a favorite device of Chaucer's.<sup>1</sup> What more natural, after Chaucer has spent a whole day in the fields, than that, when he falls asleep, he again should be there in imagination; and what more natural, after kneeling all day in reality before the flower of love, than that, in his dreams, he should behold the God of Love and with him the lady that the flower typifies? The talking lark of version A becomes quite superfluous! In A, to be sure, Chaucer has also spent a day abroad, but since the fact is merely stated and all but the slightest touch of description is omitted, the effect of the real May scene is here poetically insignificant, and for the purpose of psychological preparation is practically of no account. Finally, even though the import of these manifest improvements be overlooked, the fundamental fact can hardly be missed that the

<sup>1</sup> The employment of this device is found in the *Parlement of Foules*, in connection with which the stanza beginning at line 99 is of interest:

The wery hunter, slepinge in his bed,  
To wode ayen in his minde goth anon;  
The juge dremeth how his plees ben sped;  
The carter dremeth how his cartes goon;

etc. A beautiful and very subtle example of the same thing is found in the *Troilus* (v. st. 177) where Troilus' walking "up and down" in the forest in his dream is a plain reminiscence of his walking "up and down" (St. 171) on the walls while awaiting Cressid. See also *Troilus*, v. st. 54.



new passage in B increases immensely our faith in the depth and sincerity of the poet's devotion to the flower of love.

When we compare the dream-scene of A with the dream-scene of B (omitting for the moment the matters of the ballad and the name of the Queen), we perceive more changes of the same sort. In A the poet is leaning "under a bente" when Cupid addresses him. In B he is kneeling by love's flower. The improvement is so plain as to put Chaucer's motive quite beyond dispute. The most opportune time to accuse a man of being an atheist would hardly be when he was on his knees devoutly praying. Yet Cupid makes about as fit a choice when he picks out for his charge of heresy against love the very moment when Chaucer is kneeling by love's flower. If this is not a splendid stroke of dramatic irony, what is it? To take a parallel, though inverse, case—where the effect is tragic rather than comic: Cupid denouncing Chaucer as his foe in the very midst of his devotion to love presents a figure much like that of Othello, who, at the very moment of his ancient's greatest treachery, persists in referring to him as "honest Iago." The especial mockery of the scene in the Legend is that the God of Love sees the poet kneeling by his flower, yet remains stupidly blind to the significance of the fact. All the changes in B show that Chaucer had a conscious desire to increase the comic irony of the scene. The "what dostow heer In my presence" of A gives place to "what dostow heer, So nigh myn owne flour"; "A werm to comen in my sight than thou," is altered to "A werm to neghen neer my flour than thou," etc. Surely Cupid is a blockhead. That he is to surpass even this exhibition of the lack of humor seems hardly credible till one has finished reading the Prologue. Meanwhile, what shall be said of Alceste ("whose sense of humor," Dr. Lowes remarks,<sup>1</sup> "has not always descended to her commentators")? She, too, can hardly be accused of over-profound insight on this occasion. Indeed, the sweet condescension of her manner when she intercedes in Chaucer's behalf, becomes, in the light of the real circumstances, almost more laughable than Cupid's loss of

<sup>1</sup> Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc., xx, 776.



temper; and the fact that she perceives what a fool the little god is making of himself and exhibits in contrast to him, as she supposes, her own sense of humor renders her position doubly ridiculous and ironical. The irony of the situation—this is just what happens in the case of Iago—gets the better of the very one who prides herself on her own power to detect and rise above the irony of life.

Though the discussion of the specific charges brought by Cupid against Chaucer may best be deferred, one point, because of its intimate connection with what has just been said, may be considered now. The God of Love, in the A version, twice refers to Chaucer as an old man:

Wel wot I ther-by thou beginnest dote, (261)  
As olde foles, whan hir spirit fayleth,

and

thou reneyed hast my lay, (314)  
As othere olde foles many a day,

and Alceste, too, makes a similar reference, remarking of the poet,

Whyl he was yong, he kepte your estat; (400)  
I not wher he be now a renegat.

It was pointed out by ten Brink<sup>1</sup> that these allusions are consistently lacking<sup>2</sup> in the B version, and on that fact he rested in no inconsiderable measure, his argument for the priority of B.

That these "old age" passages have been taken so seriously, it must be said to begin with, is one of the most remarkable features of this remarkable controversy over the two prologues. Chaucer surely—as surely as any humorist that ever lived—is more likely to turn things topsy-turvy when talking of himself than he is to utter sober truth; and reasoning from antecedent probability one might plausibly maintain that the prologue in which he has the most to say of his dotage is likely to be the earlier. But fortunately one need rest the case on no such *a priori* considerations, nor need one exercise any in-

<sup>1</sup> *Englische Studien*, xvii, 14.

<sup>2</sup> In B 337 "wrecches" is substituted for the "olde foles" of A 315.

genuity in searching out a special motive for the exclusion of these references from B, for the poet's motive is palpably none other than the one already so frequently referred to, his desire, namely, to impress his readers with the spontaneity, the depth, and the intensity of his love for the daisy and for her whom the daisy typifies. On the sincerity of this love, as has been repeatedly said, depends the whole irony of the prologue. But now suppose that Chaucer is really approaching old age, and that, for him, the period of passionate love has long since passed—what becomes of his protestation, "Ther loved no wight hotter in his lyve"? The reader will inevitably be inclined to think that the poet has been exaggerating his "affecioun," and in spite of all to suspect him of underhand motives. Cupid, to be sure, is just the one to call a man a fool at the very moment when he is proving himself the incarnation of wisdom, for wisdom and foolishness are, after all, mainly matters of opinion; but even Cupid would be unlikely to twit Chaucer about his age unless there were at least a suggestion of objective evidence behind the taunt; and when Alceste, who has no motive for exaggerating Chaucer's years, comes forward to corroborate Cupid, the matter is made infinitely worse. The poet in revising the Prologue evidently saw the opportunity for improvement, and, bent on removing every suggestion of validity from Cupid's charge, wisely cut out the references to his age.<sup>1</sup>

But now let us return to the matter of the ballad and of the suppression till the end of the Prologue (in B) of the name of the Queen of Love. These have been generally regarded as the most perplexing questions in connection with the whole problem of the two versions. They are so intimately bound up with each other that they must be considered together.

In A the writer himself announces that the Queen is Alceste and the nineteen ladies sing a ballad in her praise, the last line of each stanza being,

<sup>1</sup> The fact that Chaucer actually was a man of, say, 45 years when he composed Prologue B is a matter of no importance for the purely imaginative conception of the work, but that fact does render the reference to old age in A quite infelicitous, since the reader is at once tempted to go beyond the poem itself for an interpretation and to find in the poet's actual age corroboration of Cupid's taunt. Chaucer must have realized this.

Alceste is here, that al that may desteyne. (209)

In B the identity of the lady is not revealed and Chaucer declares that he may himself well "seyne" the ballad in her honor, the last line of each stanza this time appearing in the form

My lady cometh, that al this may disteyne.

Now the moment the humorous and satirical object of the Legend is grasped, the simply immense improvement, dramatically and ironically, wrought by these changes will be obvious. (Since I wish, first of all, to make clear my own position in this matter, it will perhaps be permissible to waive, for a moment, the objection raised by ten Brink and Dr. Lowes that in B the ballad forms no part of the action,<sup>1</sup> and to assume—what seems to me like no assumption at all—that the "Hyd, Absalon," is the expression of Chaucer's feelings at the moment when he first beholds the Queen of Love.) The improvements in B, I repeat, wrought by the changes in the ballad are palpable. In the first place, to have Chaucer, instead of the ladies, praise the Queen of Love will add still further evidence of his real reverence for love and beauty and will increase emphatically the absurdity of Cupid's tirade. In the next place, the effectiveness of all this will be greatly enhanced if Chaucer is ignorant that it is Alceste, the Queen of Love,<sup>2</sup> who stands before him; for, if he knows who she is, then his praise of her beauty and indeed his whole attitude toward her (witness Cupid's own motive, later on, in forgiving Chaucer!) will come under the suspicion of being merely the diplomatic manœuvres of one who has offended her law and who hopes by flattery to escape merited punishment, while, on the other hand, if he remains ignorant of her identity, then his praise will be beyond question spontaneous and sincere and his motives quite above any suggestion of policy or calculation. By suppressing the name of Alceste the poet raises all the rest of the Prologue to a level of high dramatic irony. I use the word "dramatic" in the strictest sense, for Chaucer's device is exactly that of the playwright and the situations to which it gives rise are, in the best

<sup>1</sup> This objection is considered in detail below.

<sup>2</sup> Note, he describes her on her first appearance as "a quene."



sense, theatrical. To recognize the dramatic value of hidden or mistaken identity one needs but a cursory acquaintance with either the theatre or the history of the drama. Suppose that Shakespeare, after writing the scene of *As You Like It* in which Rosalind in disguise teaches Orlando to make love, had felt dissatisfaction with what he had done, and taking pity on Orlando for his ignorance of the true state of affairs, had altered the passage in such a way as to make him aware of the identity of his fair instructor. To imagine this would be hardly more absurd than to imagine that Chaucer altered B to A at the point under discussion. In both cases such a change would mean the striking out of the most dramatically effective situation in the whole work.

This situation in the Legend—the humorous as well as the dramatic culmination of the Prologue—is, of course, the one where the God of Love charges Chaucer with gross forgetfulness in failing to include Alceste among the fair women of his ballad. Of the many inferiorities of the A version the greatest of all, perhaps, is the absence of this situation (for the term “situation,” so applicable to B, is quite meaningless when applied to the corresponding lines of A); and great as are the other advantages wrought by the transfer of the ballad to Chaucer and the alteration in its last line of Alceste to *My lady*, they must be deemed of quite secondary importance compared with the fact that these changes are what makes possible this final ironic climax. The humor of that climax, one almost blushes to point out, is the fact that Cupid rebukes Chaucer for omitting his Queen from the ballad, and yet all the while the “*My lady*” of the poet’s song refers to no other than Alceste herself! Not only has Chaucer done all that the god chides him for neglecting—he has done more. The only honor Cupid seems to think his Queen should have received is a place in the ballad, apparently co-ordinate with the other ladies, and he suggests, as a reason for this mark of esteem, the fact that the poet is “so gretly in hir dette”. But Chaucer, who, since he is innocent,



is really under no deep obligation to Alceste after all,<sup>1</sup> quite on his own initiative, spurred on simply by the sight of her beauty and ignorant indeed of her identity, has subordinated all the others to her:

My lady cometh, that al this may disteyne.

Surpassingly unkind it certainly is in the poet to permit the Queen of Love—not long before Cupid utters his remonstrance—to call attention to the little god's omniscience. Surely Cupid's "omniscience" must have consisted in a knowledge of mere facts rather than of their inner relationships and meaning, a kind of knowledge that on more than one occasion has proved disastrous.

It is on the situation of which I am speaking that ten Brink placed such emphasis in arguing the priority of B. Now for ten Brink's scholarship I have—as, indeed, all lovers of Chaucer are bound to have—high respect; and I would not willingly say anything to leave a contrary impression. But even Homer nodded. And a fair criticism, I think, can hardly acquit ten Brink of having taken, on this occasion, an actual nap. If I comment on his argument, then, very frankly, it is not in order to hold it up to ridicule, but to render all the clearer, by pointing out his error, the real nature of the situation whose significance he seems so wholly to have missed. Ten Brink's view may be put in a single sentence. He held that the very peculiar reproof of Cupid can make sense only in case the *My lady* of the ballad originally did not refer to Alceste at all, and from this he reasoned that the god must have been previously acquainted with the song, as a separate poem, before its insertion in the Prologue and while its last line still had no reference to Alceste. These are his own words: "Und dass Chaucer das kleine gedicht bereits vor jener begegnung mit Alceste verfasst hatte, ergibt sich schon aus dem umstand, dass Amor die ballade kennt, noch deutlicher aber aus dem sehr eigenthümlichen vorwurf, den er dem dichter aus anlass der-

<sup>1</sup> Note, in this connection, the couplet,

Wel hath she *quit* me myn affeccoun  
That I have to hir flour, the dayesye!

(B 523)

selben macht. Nachdem er nämlich diesem den namen der königin Alceste genannt und Chaucer das lob der edeln schönen verkündet hat, heisst es weiter (v. 537ff.):

Than sayde Love: A ful greet negligence  
Was it to the, that ilke tyme thou made  
"Hyde, Absolon, thy tresses" in balade,  
That thou forgate hire in thy song to sette.

Das hat jedesfalls nur sinn, wenn nach Amor's auffassung das *My lady* im refrain der ballade ursprünglich nicht Alceste meinte. Auf den tieferen zusammenhang der stelle näher einzugehen, würde uns hier zu weit führen."<sup>1</sup> "Das hat jedesfalls nur sinn, wenn"—what could be truer? Indeed the reproof of Cupid does make no sense, and it makes no sense for the profound and abstruse reason that the whole passage is—a joke on Cupid! Possibly before this some critic has remarked that Don Quixote's notions about windmills make no sense, and we shall in all likelihood live to hear that some other commentator has discovered something "sehr eigenthümlich" in the remarks of the Hatter at the mad tea-party in Alice's Adventures in Wonderland. Certainly it was a strange caprice of fate that reserved for Bernhard ten Brink the utterance of what is perhaps the most ponderous explaining away of one of Chaucer's delightfully humorous sallies ever perpetrated. Suppose that ten Brink, commenting on the scene in Henry IV where Falstaff is explaining to Prince Hal how after the robbery he was beset by a multitude, had singled out Falstaff's exclamation, "All! I know not what you call all; but if I fought not with fifty of them, I am a bunch of radish: if there were not two or three and fifty upon poor old Jack, then am I no two-legged creature," and had then gone on:

<sup>1</sup> *Englische Studien*, xvii, 16. If one wishes to follow ten Brink in his incredibly matter-of-fact argument, one can admit all his premises without being compelled for a moment to accept his conclusion as to the chronological order of the two prologues: for, assuming that the ballad, with the refrain *My lady cometh*, existed as an independent poem prior to either prologue, and that the God of Love obtained his knowledge of the ballad while it was in this form, is it not still entirely conceivable that Chaucer wrote *A first*, altering the *My lady* to *Alceste*, and that *then*, perceiving the possibility of an excellent joke on Cupid, changed the refrain *back* in his revision to its original form? In this case, although Cupid's reproof would then have a justification in the letter, it would certainly have none in the spirit, and the joke on him would remain, though, to be sure, not quite so good as one, essentially unchanged.

—"This very peculiar (*sehr eigenthümlich*) remark of Falstaff's makes sense only in case (*hat jedesfalls nur sinn, wenn*) Hal and Poinc really had with them a large number of other persons not mentioned in the text and ordinarily not shown in the stage representations of the play;" if ten Brink, I say, had perpetrated this bit of illuminating Shakespearian criticism, he would have achieved something exactly parallel to what he has attained in his choice commentary on Chaucer's Prologue. The omission of Alceste's name from the ballad is a preparation for Cupid's "peculiar" reproof in precisely the dramatic sense in which the disguise of Hal and Poinc in the robbery scene is a preparation for Falstaff's "peculiar" explanation. The difference between Chaucer and Shakespeare is that in the former the fun is slightly more concealed. Falstaff perceives as well as any one that the joke is on him; how typical of Chaucer the fact that the God of Love remains ignorant of his own stupidity! Ten Brink, in other words, has not discovered that Chaucer in this passage is enjoying a laugh up his sleeve because Cupid—at the very moment when he is gravely informing the poet that he is a blundering fool—is making an immitigable ass of himself. And the top-notch of irony is attained when the God of Love caps his incomparable rebuke with the declaration:

Thy litel wit was thilke tyme a-slepe.<sup>1</sup> (547)

Some persons, if they had found themselves in Chaucer's position, taunted with having neglected to do exactly that which they had really performed with the most scrupulous, albeit unconscious, care, would have flared up in an angry protest against the injustice of the charge and in a not less violent statement of the real facts. Chaucer keeps silent and bides his "tyme":—

I may not al at ones speke in ryme.

He knows that his innings are approaching. The opportunities for revenge are to be entirely ample. When he comes to write up the account of this little affair, he can do it in his own way

<sup>1</sup> This line, without a hundredth part of the effectiveness it has in B, occurs in precisely the same form in A—an excellent example of the complete dependence of a passage on its context for the degree of its poetical merit.



—and then there are those legends of good women waiting to be composed!

Ten Brink, therefore, in that excellent phrase “das hat jedesfalls nur sinn, wenn,” has unconsciously supplied the very weightiest support for the belief that the *Legend* is a humorous, satirical poem and that *A* is the earlier version. Indeed this whole matter may be put in the form of a dilemma, which, as far as I can perceive, must prove quite as disconcerting to those who, on the basis that the poem is a serious one, assert the priority of *A* as to those who declare that *B* was written first. Either this passage is a joke on Cupid and the whole work is a satire, or else Ten Brink has really pointed out a grave difficulty, has raised a serious question that must be answered. Why, if the whole poem is a perfectly solemn affair, did <sup>1</sup>Chaucer make the climax of its Prologue a scene in which the God of Love commits an absurd blunder? <sup>2</sup>Ten Brink’s explanation, even on his own basis, is hopelessly inadequate. But the solutions of the problem offered by those who affirm the priority of *A* are scarcely more satisfactory. <sup>3</sup>The adherents of both versions are equally in difficulty.

Thus far my whole argument in regard to the name “Alceste” has rested on the assumption that there is no suppression of that name in the *A* version. To use the word “assumption” in this connection may seem strange in the light of the author’s plain declaration on the Queen’s first appearance,

Hir name was Alceste the debonayre, (179)

<sup>1</sup> The triumphant answer to this question, of course, will be: it was precisely because he had committed this blunder that the author revised the *B* version of the Prologue. For myself, I desire to have no part in an assumption that Chaucer could have been guilty of such childish art even in a rough first draft (which *B* clearly is not). And in the next place, if *A* be the revision, Chaucer’s success in remedying his blunder consisted merely in the substitution for an intrinsically strong *situation* at the climax of his poem, of lines which are but a repetition of a motive already fully worked out in the *A* version. Both of these points are considered in more detail below.

<sup>2</sup> For example take that offered by Dr. French (in his *The Problem of the Two Prologues to Chaucer’s Legend of Good Women*, Baltimore, 1905—p. 63): “Among the beautiful and faithful women mentioned in it [the ballad] the name of Alceste does not appear, since in the original form it occupied the place of honor in the refrain. This justifies the reproof; for whether Love interprets the refrain, ‘My lady cometh,’ as applying originally to Alceste or not, the poet has failed to ‘set her in his song.’ Very naturally there immediately follows the injunction to make good his neglect by giving her the place of climax in the *Legend*.” How all this “justifies the reproof” I fail to see, for surely (still assuming the poet to be serious) that reproof would be even more peculiar than ever if Love rebuked Chaucer for putting Alceste *above* the others instead of merely side by side *with* them.



yet in spite of this and other lines and in spite too of the opinion—this time a unanimous one—of both parties to the Prologue controversy, I am not at all certain that the word “assumption,” as I have used it, is the wrong one.

It has long since been pointed out, as a glaring inconsistency in A, that although the name of the Queen is distinctly announced at the beginning and is repeated afterward on several occasions, Chaucer three times shows his ignorance of her identity: (1) in his words to Alceste herself,

And yeve me grace so long for to live (449)

That I may knowe soothly what ye be;

(2) in direct answer to Cupid's question whether he knows who his benefactress is—

And I answerede, ‘nay, sir, so have I blis, (493)

No more but that I see wel she is good,’

and (3), by implication, through his surprise when Cupid tells her name,

And I answerde ageyn, and seyde, ‘yis, (505)

Now knowe I hir! And is this good Alceste,

The dayesye, and myn owne hertes reste?

The blunder seems an exceedingly stupid one; indeed, owing to the reiteration of both the name and the profession of ignorance, it seems like a dozen blunders rolled in one. In B, though in a much less aggravated form, the inconsistency still remains, for in this version also Alceste has once spoken her own name:

I, your Alceste, whylom quene of Trace. (432 B, 422 A)

Those who argue the priority of A say that in removing the repeated errors on this point from his first draft, Chaucer inadvertently overlooked one instance. And certainly, judged in respect to this matter alone, the more nearly consistent should be accepted as the later version.

Now the delightful critical occupation of finding blunders in the works of great poets is one that should in no way be discouraged; yet in the light of the exceeding stupidity of these particular errors, might it not be admitted that a theory

which should account for all these passages in both versions on the basis that they are not blunders at all, would, other things being equal, have something in its favor? It seems to me that the whole matter may perhaps be cleared up by observing that a sharp distinction must always be drawn by the reader of either Prologue between Chaucer the author and Chaucer the dramatic person.<sup>1</sup> It is plainly the author who—having, like all authors, the gift of omniscience—tells us that the Queen is no other than Alceste; and this at once suggests that while there is no suppression of the name (in A) by the writer—and none therefore for the reader—there may be such a suppression for “Chaucer” the dramatic person, who has never had the privilege of reading either version of the Prologue. Further examination of the A text tends, on the whole, to corroborate this suggestion. The name “Alceste” occurs three times in the ballad, but, as is explicitly stated, it is the sight of the flower that prompts the song of the ladies and there is nothing either in the passage introducing it or in the ballad itself to indicate to “Chaucer” that Alceste and the Queen are one and the same. The next occurrence of the name is in the line,

Then spak Alceste, the worthieste quene, (317)

and it is clearly the author who uses it. Not till we hear the name from the mouth of Alceste herself—

I, your Alceste, whylom quene of Trace— (422)

do we find what appears to be an opportunity for “Chaucer” to learn the identity of the Queen, and this line—be it noted—occurs in B as well as A. The natural question, then, presented by both versions, is: why, after Alceste’s distinct declaration, does “Chaucer” apparently remain in ignorance? The answer is: a careful examination of the lines involved reveals no necessity of assuming that “Chaucer” overhears all the dialogue between Cupid and Alceste. Indeed, there are two or three little touches (in addition to the “blunders” under con-

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Lowes himself (*P. M. L. A.* *xix*, 655)—apparently without recognizing the fatality of it to his own view—seems on the point of making just this distinction, but fails to follow it out.

sideration) which positively suggest that he did not hear it. At the very end of the dialogue, Cupid, turning from Alceste to "Chaucer," says:

'Go thanke now my lady heer,' (A 444, B 454)

indicating thereby that Alceste is at some distance, and the poet actually rises and then kneels again before beginning his address to the Queen. Furthermore, had he overheard the previous conversation, he might have been expected to make some reference to it in his answer; but, as a matter of fact, his reply presupposes no knowledge of the dialogue, the last line of Cupid's speech—or, for that matter, the very demeanor of Cupid and Alceste—being in itself sufficient to reveal to the culprit what has happened and to whom he owes his forgiveness. More than this may be said: "Chaucer's" reply returns for its basis to Cupid's original accusation and the speaker repeats some of Alceste's arguments in a manner which, had he overheard her remarks, would render some of his own rather superfluous; while it is hardly too much to say that his entreaty,

And yeve me grace so long for to live, (A 449, B 459)

in whatever spirit it is uttered, indicates that he has not heard Alceste's own entreaty,

I axe yow this man, right of your grace, (A 423, B 433<sup>1</sup>)

That ye him never hurte in al his lyve,<sup>2</sup>

lines which follow immediately after the Queen's announcement of her name.

If there is any reason in this analysis of the matter, what has happened may at once be perceived. The poet has committed no blunder in either version. In the A Prologue there is, however, a rather perplexing confusion between the two Chaucers and this confusion the author has eliminated in his later version by striking out every preliminary reference on his own part to the name "Alceste." The final reference—"I, your Alceste, whylom quene of Trace"—which involves no such confusion, he did not remove and its retention serves the perhaps useful purpose of giving the reader a hint in ad-

<sup>1</sup> In B "aske" replaces "axe".

<sup>2</sup> Note, also, 409: "For sith no cause of death lyth in this cas."



vance of Cupid's revelation. Whether even this reference might not better have been cut out in the revision, may be an open question. That the author really intended to cut it out—anyone who so wishes is free to believe. But the point is that, as it stands, it is not necessarily an inconsistency, much less is it a bungling error. As a result of all this—in other words, if it be agreed that there is, for "Chaucer," a suppression of Alceste's name even in A—my original observations on the point, while still valid as replies to previous arguments, are rendered, as comments on A, partly superfluous, and the inferiority of this particular aspect of the earlier version, though still marked, is much less striking than was at first contended.

Before leaving the matter of the ballad and the name "Alceste," we may notice some of Dr. Lowes' remarks in this connection. The pith of his whole argument is that while B is admittedly the fresher, the more spontaneous, perhaps the more delightful version, A, on the other hand, exhibits firmer touch, surer craftsmanship, more compact unity. He keeps reiterating, in both his articles, the statement that in its architectonic and dramatic qualities A is superior, and that it is in order to improve the Prologue in these respects that Chaucer in his revision has sacrificed some of the charm of the earlier version—palpable evidence of mature art and conscious self-restraint. Now while I gladly agree that B is the more charming of the Prologues—vastly more charming, I should say—in my opinion it is not pre-eminently in charm that the B version excels the A. I feel, on the other hand, and I think I have already shown some ground for my feeling, that it is precisely in its structural qualities, in compactness and unity, that the B version is strikingly superior to A. Especially is the former almost infinitely more dramatic than the latter. In fact, in comparison, A can hardly be called dramatic at all, while, as for compactness, A is relatively both loose and straggling.

What Dr. Lowes (following, as he phrases it, "ten Brink's brilliant argument in this connection") seems to consider the most marked dramatic improvement in A, in his opinion the



revised version, is the fact that while in B Chaucer gives the ballad himself, in A it is sung by the nineteen ladies. He remarks, "in B. the balade formed, indeed, part of the Prologue, but not part of the action therein represented, whereas in A, the balade belongs distinctly to the action itself. . . . Its happy transfer in A. from the poet to the attendant ladies, by virtue of which it becomes an integral part of the action, may once more be readily explained by the absence of the direct suggestion of the original, in whose place was now uppermost the instinct of the maturer artist, trained in the school of the *Canterbury Tales* for close-knit unity of structure."<sup>1</sup> This brings us to the objection which, earlier in the argument, I promised to consider, the contention, namely, that in B the ballad is not a part of the action of the Prologue. It forms, Dr. Lowes says elsewhere, a sharp interruption to the direct movement of the poem, the time being "changed from past to present," and in a foot-note he quotes approvingly Dr. Mather's suggestion that the ballad must be conceived as sung by the poet "to himself." Why Dr. Lowes chooses just this opportunity to commend the view of Dr. Mather it is a little difficult to perceive, for Dr. Mather, in the very passage referred to, makes it abundantly clear that in his opinion the ballad, even though "sung" by the poet "to himself," is most decidedly a part of the action and involves no change whatever from past to present. "And lo! from afar," says Dr. Mather, "comes walking the god of love leading by the hand a queen who wears a daisy crown. The poet fearing not a little the god, and loving already the queen, sings, to himself we must suppose, this ballade in her honor:—[Here the ballad is quoted.] As Chaucer thus challenges for his lady a place above the beauties of olden time, a company of nineteen ladies, the good women of the *Legende*, draw by," etc.<sup>2</sup> Here, plainly, the ballad is conceived as "sung" at the very moment when the ladies are approaching, and "sung" by "Chaucer" the dramatic person, not the author. This testimony of Dr.

<sup>1</sup> *P. M. L. A.*, xix, 681.

<sup>2</sup> *Riverside Literature Series*, No. 135, xxv.

Mather's is all the more significant as coming from one who, while accepting B as the earlier version, is engaged in no special plea in behalf of A. His view in regard to the ballad is eminently the natural one; only the special pleader for the priority of A, it seems fair to say, would ever think of any essentially different interpretation. Taken as a whole, the lines involved certainly produce the impression that the ballad is the spontaneous utterance of "Chaucer's" feeling at the moment when he sees the queen approaching. If one make the contrary assumption, that the writer himself halts the Prologue to inject a lyric poem, what possible appropriateness can there be in the refrain "My lady cometh"? Furthermore, Cupid's reference to the ballad, at the end of the Prologue, plainly corroborates the view that it is a part of the action. Ten Brink thought otherwise, but in order to think otherwise he was compelled, after a most strangely literal-minded, matter-of-fact argument, to make the monstrous assumption that Chaucer allowed the whole effect of the climax of his poem to rest on a matter to which no allusion was made in the poem itself. Could the mature Chaucer, even in a crude first draft (and, whether first or not, a crude draft the B text palpably is not) have been guilty of such puerile art? To answer "yes" involves an assumption in which I desire to have no part, and I agree here very heartily with the replies to ten Brink's argument by Professor Legouis<sup>1</sup> and Dr. French. Says the latter: "Legouis accuses ten Brink of forgetting the rights of fiction, and argues that whether the ballad was written before the Prologue or not, it is here conceived as improvised on the spot, and must be so accepted both by the reader and by the god of Love, who is presumed to be, like other gods, omniscient. This view seems to me to be thoroughly just. ten Brink has in fact strangely confused literal fact and poetic fiction, and his conclusion, so far as it depends upon the god of Love's acquaintance with Chau-

<sup>1</sup> I regret that I have been unable to see a copy of Professor Legouis' article.

cer's verse, has a very unstable foundation.'" But why, it may still be asked, if the author intended the ballad as part of the action, did he not make his purpose perfectly clear? Why did he introduce it in such a peculiar way? That Chaucer might have introduced it in a more satisfactory way—in a way easier, at least, for his critics—I freely admit, though that is the extent of my admission. But after all, is not the reason for his method fairly obvious? He perceived the humor which might be derived from a transfer of the ballad to himself. Yet to represent himself as standing forth at the approach of Alceste and singing a solo, while the ladies paused to listen, would be not merely a flat denial of the modest and "fearful" character which he had given himself, but, more than that, would be quite impossible and absurd. He escapes the difficulty, and solves his problem not unacceptably, in the lines introducing and following the ballad. For the attainment of a definite effect, he intentionally drops the distinction between author and dramatic person, seeming for a moment to identify the two Chaucers; but his device should not blind us to the fact that the distinction itself still remains and that it is virtually "Chaucer" in whose mouth the ballad is placed. Possibly the author used the present tense and caused a momentary union of the poet and actor in order to show that the real as well as the dreaming Chaucer could do honor to the Queen of Love, for the writer is not merely recalling a former mental condition, he is repeating it in the very act of recollection. Indeed, the phrase just used suggests a description of the ballad as an objectification of "Chaucer's" mental state. In so far, it is comparable to a soliloquy of Hamlet or Iago, and, quite as truly as one of those monologues, is a part of the action of the poem in which it occurs. In fact, Chaucer's method is perhaps more realistic than Shakespeare's. Those persons must be considered mistaken, then,—and some adherents of the priority of

<sup>1</sup> French, 23. I agree again with Dr. French when he remarks that "one must be in a particular frame of mind before it occurs to one, on reading this poem, to ask whether the poet composed the three stanzas of the ballad on the spot, and whether the god of Love overheard him, or read his heart." I may take this opportunity of saying that, while it misses what I consider the main point, Dr. French's dissertation seems to me one of the best discussions of the Prologue problem.



A are included here—who speak of B as the more “subjective” version. It is the more objective. Had the “transfer” of the ballad been from the ladies to Chaucer the writer, then the change might indeed be spoken of as from the dramatic toward the subjective, or even the lyrical. But the transfer is from the ladies, who are, relatively speaking,<sup>1</sup> more a part of the scenery and atmosphere of the poem than participants in its action, to the “Chaucer” who is (not excepting even Cupid and Alceste) the central dramatic person of the Prologue, and through this transfer the ballad is woven into the immediate texture of the poem in a way which makes its function in A seem loose, ineffectual, and undramatic. The proof of this last statement—the immense artistic advantages derived from putting the ballad in the mouth of “Chaucer”—has already been dwelt on at some length. Yet Dr. Lowes would have us believe that Chaucer “sings” the ballad in the B Prologue because there was once a French poem in which its author did the same thing. The fallacy in the reasoning—a fallacy which, in my opinion, runs through all Dr. Lowes’ inferences from his French “sources”—rests on the attempt to judge each passage or situation as if it were an isolated poem instead of judging it in relation to the larger significance of the Legend as a whole.<sup>2</sup> Asked: which is the more dramatic, a ballad by Chaucer or one sung by the nineteen ladies attending the queen?—any one judging independent of contexts would agree in selecting the ladies as the more dramatic medium; but considered with respect to the action of the piece as a whole (if I may be pardoned for repeating what I have already emphasized), it is vastly more dramatic, and productive of a situation of the most compelling

<sup>1</sup> They still dance and sing in B. Chaucer has preserved, in other words, whatever “action” they contribute to the poem.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Lowes seems to justify this method with respect to B by virtually declaring that Chaucer himself frequently neglected to consider the relation to its context of what he was writing. He speaks—to take a single instance from many that might be noted—of one of the changes in A as “precisely the sort of change we should expect where a passage written with the eye on a foreign original is later revised with the eye on its relations to its own context.” (*P. M. L. A.*, xix, 661, n. 2.) That Chaucer, in using these sources, might once or twice or even a dozen times have done as Dr. Lowes suggests is possibly believable. But to assume that whole passages of the B Prologue were built up in this blind manner—such an assumption concerning the author of the *Troilus*, at a period after the composition of the *Troilus*, seems to me frankly subversive of all confidence in the argument constructed on it.



irony, to place this spontaneous outburst of praise for the Queen of Love in the mouth of the man who, a moment later, is to be charged with the most contemptuous hatred of love and all love's kind. To have deliberately given up this situation in order to hand over the ballad to a group of attendants would have been a proceeding to describe which "tame" would be itself too tame a word.

When we examine in the A version the lines corresponding to Love's rebuke in B, we get additional light on another "problem" of the two prologues. Let us have the lines in A before us:

'a ful gret negligence (525)

Was hit to thee, to write unstedfastnesse  
Of women, sith thou knowest hir goodnesse  
By preef,<sup>1</sup> and eek by stories heer-biforn;  
Let be the chaf, and wryt well of the corn.  
Why moldest thou han writen of Alceste,  
And leten Criseide been a-slepe and reste?  
Sin that thou wost that kalendar is she  
Of goodnesse, for she taughte of fyn lovinge,  
And alle the boundes that she oghte kepe;  
Thy litel wit was thilke tyme a-slepe.

What evidence has Cupid that Chaucer knows the stories of good women of old, and the tale of Alceste in particular? And what evidence has the reader? The answer is obvious. In a long passage peculiar to the A Prologue, Cupid has revealed his knowledge of Chaucer's learning, of the poet's sixty books old and new, of his ample equipment, that is, to have written works quite different from those he has actually composed. In other words, just as Chaucer's ballad in B prepares for Cupid's rebuke for the omission of Alceste from that ballad, so the long book-passage in A prepares for Cupid's rebuke<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. introductory lines of the Prologue.

<sup>2</sup> Indeed, the later passage—which, coming at the end, ought to be a fresh and effective climax—is little more than a repetition of the former one. Compare, for instance,

But yit I sey, what eyeth thee to wryte (311)  
The draf of stories, and forgo the corn?

with

Let be the chaf, and wryt wel of the corn,— (529)  
more proof of the less careful finish of A.

for not having written of good women in general and of Alceste in particular. Does not the omission of the latter rebuke from B, therefore, supply a pretty good reason for the omission of the book-passage from that version? One may be asserting, perhaps, an exceedingly subtle and abtruse proposition when one declares that no preparation is needed for that which is never to occur; yet it was evidently in recognition of no less profound a truth than this that Chaucer cut out the book-passage in his revision. It will be said, perhaps, that this passage serves another purpose also: to show that Chaucer is equipped for doing his penance, that he has the erudition requisite for the writing of his legends. The obvious answer to this is that the ballad in B supplies this same information to the reader, supplying it even more effectively because more specifically and suggesting the appropriate identification of the attendants of Alceste with the ladies of the ballad—another improvement, by the way, rendered possible by the transfer of the song from the ladies.

From his omission of the book-passage Chaucer has incidentally derived an additional advantage. In A, the Queen's suggestion that Chaucer write, as penance, an account of the lives of good women seems wholly lacking in originality after Love has complained to Chaucer so verbosely for not having done just this. Cupid with "exquisite tact"—if I may borrow a phrase of Dr. Lowes<sup>1</sup>—has stolen Alceste's thunder. Whatever credit there be for the bright idea plainly belongs to him. In B the suggestion comes, without discount, from Alceste.

Before leaving the book-passage, I may note that it contains evidence in itself of Chaucer's underlying satirical purpose in

<sup>1</sup> The argument in connection with which Dr. Lowes uses the phrase above quoted may be briefly noticed (*P. M. L. A.*, *xix.* 671, n. 4). He places side by side A 439-440 and B 449-450:

Al lyth in yow, doth with him what    Al lyth in yow, doth with him as  
 yow leste.  
 And al foryeve, with-uten lenger    I al foryeve, with-uten lenger space.

And then he goes on to say, "In A., *Alceste* is to forgive the poet; in B., the *god of Love*. If one assume the priority of A., and ascribe the changes in B. to Chaucer's desire to emphasize more strongly the beneficent agency of the Queen, one has to face the remarkable fact that at the very climax of the action the hard-won forgiveness which in A the god of Love, with exquisite tact, deputed to Alceste herself, in B. *is actually taken from her*, and granted Chaucer by the god alone!" I may be wrong, but it appears to me that Dr. Lowes has things here exactly upside down. I take the

the Legend. The critics have expended a good deal of wonder over the fact that the God of Love has appealed in this passage to books against women and have exercised a good deal of ingenuity in trying to explain the difficulty away. Their efforts should have been in precisely the opposite direction. The less appropriate the books cited by Cupid the greater the joke on him, and in the light of the *Canterbury Tales* what jest could be more exquisite than to have Cupid complain because Chaucer had failed to make use, in praise of women, of portions of that very "book of wicked wyves" which was the favorite volume of the Wife of Bath's fifth husband, the "cursed" book at which "he lough alwey ful faste" and from which the Wife herself, in an evil day for her ear, rent out three leaves? Then, too, there is that delicious line wherein Cupid exclaims of these ancient heroines,

And yit they weren hethen, al the pak. (299)

Whatever others may choose to think of Chaucer's blindness to anachronisms<sup>1</sup> (some of his lapses of this sort will bear deeper scrutiny than they have received), I cannot convince myself that he did not know what an infinitely good joke he was cracking in that line. In fact this is the one and only passage of the A Prologue that contains things whose absence one regrets in B. Yet the passage as a whole in B would have been not only superfluous but positively disruptive of the unity of that version; and so Chaucer cut it out. It is here that we have a real example of the sacrifice of parts to the whole.

We now come to another question closely related to the matters just considered. In both versions of the Prologue, Love's charge of heresy rests primarily on the fact of Chaucer's having

<sup>1</sup> See the last paragraph of the Monk's Prologue.

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"foryeve" of A as in the imperative mode, and I am hence at a loss to see wherein, in this *command*, Cupid is "deputing" the forgiveness to Alceste with "exquisite tact." I do not aver for a moment that this imperative has the real significance of a command, for its force is indeed neutralized by what comes before; but I do contend that the expression in B is much the more tactful, and—while in both versions Cupid really decides the matter in the very act of letting another decide it—in no sense whatever can I agree with Dr. Lowes' remarkable statement that in B the forgiveness "*is actually taken from her, and granted Chaucer by the god alone!*" What Cupid says in B is, in effect: "Madame, your charity is so beautiful that you have convinced me. As far as I am concerned 'I al foryeve,' but I delegate all my power in the matter to you ('al lyth in yow'); dispose of the case as you wish."



translated the Romance of the Rose and written the story of the false Cressid. It may be said, at the outset, that in emphasizing these particular works Cupid has made a rather unfortunate selection, the weakness of which both Alceste and the culprit himself (though "Chaucer" palpably understates his case) to a certain degree point out. In the first place, it is possible that there was a real basis of truth behind the couplet:

Or him was boden maken thilke tweye                    (366)  
Of som persone, and durste hit nat withseye.

Then, too, the Rose is a translation; if Cupid had a real grievance, it would certainly have been more to the point to select, as the basis of his charge, works which were without qualification Chaucer's own. But more than this may be asserted. Whatever is true of Jean de Meung's, Guillaume de Lorris' part of the Rose is quite the opposite of a heresy against love's law, and certainly that portion of Chaucer's translation ought to have been allowed, in some measure, to offset the rest.<sup>1</sup> And this at once suggests an interesting question. It should not be forgotten, Professor Kittredge has remarked,<sup>2</sup> "that precisely that part of the Roman de la Rose to which the God of Love objects in the Prologue to The Legend of Good Women—that part in which women are satirized—is not included in the fragmentary version that has come down to us." If, then, this version be really Chaucer's, and if it were really never completed, the poet could have pleaded in answer to Cupid's charge: "I translated the part of the Rose that honors love, but before I had gone far in the rest I became so disgusted that I gave it up;" while if, as the majority of critics seem to think, only "fragment A" is Chaucer's, and if his translation was never carried further, his 'heresy' consisted in the actual praise of love. Either situation is certainly strikingly in keeping with the satirical object of the Legend, and under the circumstances suggested, Cu-

<sup>1</sup> Why should Cupid complain, for instance, of the flattering description of himself ending in the lines?—

He semede as he were an aungel

That down were comen fro hevene clere.

<sup>2</sup> *Harvard Studies and Notes*, I., 64.



pid's singling out of the Rose would constitute simply one more blunder of the same kind that he repeatedly shows his aptitude for making. At any rate the matter is of interest in connection with the question of Chaucer's authorship of the extant version of the French poem. Is it not barely possible that some of the critics have exercised too little imagination in accepting at its face value the statement in the Prologue that the poet translated (the whole of) the Romance of the Rose?<sup>1</sup>

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(To be continued.)

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<sup>1</sup> In asking this question the references to Chaucer's translation in other writers are not forgotten.

## SELBSTANLEIHE UND WIEDERHOLUNG IN SCHILLERS DRAMATISCHEM NACHLASS.

Schon die oberflächliche erste Lektüre der dramatischen Bruchstücke und Entwürfe Schillers, oder vielmehr ganz besonders diese, erweckt den Eindruck, dass eine grosse Anzahl Motive sich mehrfach wiederholen, bisweilen in auffallender Übereinstimmung der Ausdrucksweise. Einige, freilich auch nur sehr wenige, der sprachlichen Parallelen zwischen den Fragmenten und den vollendeten Werken sind schon hie und da verzeichnet<sup>1</sup>. Der einzige Hinweis auf die allgemeine Beobachtung der Wiederkehr der Motive jedoch, der mir zur Stunde erinnerlich ist, ist eine kurze Bemerkung Kettners in der Einleitung zu Schillers dramatischem Nachlass in der Säkular-Ausgabe (Seite V): "In einigen erkennt man leicht die Weiterbildungen bereits ausgeführter Motive". Kettner teilt hier die Fragmente in fünf Gruppen, nach dem Stil, den der Dichter bei der Vollendung dem betreffenden Entwurfe gegeben hätte, ("Die Maltheser" und "Themistokles" z. B. sind als einfache heroische Tragödien angelegt), oder nach dem dramatischen Problem (z. B. das entdeckte Verbrechen in der "Polizey", den "Kindern des Hauses" und der "Elfride", die Vererbung in der "Braut in Trauer" und der "Agrippina"). Nur was sich von den Wiederholungen für die Kenntnis der Schillerschen Bühnentechnik verwerten lässt, ist soweit bereits behandelt worden, nämlich von Julius Petersen.<sup>2</sup>

### I.

#### WARBECK UND DEMETRIUS.

Die weitaus zahlreichsten sachlichen und sprachlichen Übereinstimmungen bieten, wie man wohl erwarten dürfte, der War-

<sup>1</sup> z. B. in Heinrich Stickelberger, *Parallelstellen bei Schiller* (Progr. d. Gymn. Burgdorf 1893), Ludwig Beller mann, *Schillers Dramen*, 3. Aufl., 3. Band (Berlin 1905), Gustav Kettner, *Anmerkungen zum 8. Bande der Säkularausgabe von Schillers Werken*.

<sup>2</sup> *Schiller und die Bühne*. (Palästra XXXII). Berlin 1904.

beck und der Demetrius, die darum die Betrachtung eröffnen mögen<sup>1</sup>.

Zunächst fällt bei Warbeck wie bei Demetrius die Familienähnlichkeit auf: W S. 118, Z. 31 "Ein andres, aber begreiflicheres, Motiv seines Betragens ist seine Ähnlichkeit mit König Eduard, welche etwas göttliches und wunderbares hat. Er selbst ist die Dupe derselben und nach auszen ist sie äusserst wirksam"; S. 160, Z. 33 (Randglosse zu Z. 11) "Vergleichung angestellt zwischen Warbecks Gestalt und den Yorkischen Bildnissen"; Z. 21 "Lord Hereford erstaunt über die grosze Ähnlichkeit Warbecks mit König Eduard, er fühlt die Gewalt des Bluts und ist überzeugt dasz er den wahren Sohn seines Herrn vor

<sup>1</sup> Die Anführungen beziehen sich auf *Schillers dramatischer Nachlass. Nach den Handschriften herausgegeben von Gustav Kettner*, 2 Bände, Weimar 1895; mit Verwertung der Textverbesserungen, die Leltzmann im *Euphron* (Band 4, Seite 508-537) und Köster im *Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum* (Band 23, Seite 185-196) verzeichnet haben. Wo es im folgenden nötig scheint, wird der Demetrius mit D, der Warbeck mit W näher bestimmt. Zur rascheren Orientierung über die Zeitfolge der einzelnen Teile der Bruchstücke diene folgende Inhaltsübersicht für die Kettnersche Ausgabe; Warbeck: I. Studienheft, Seite 116-132, Zelle 20. II. Skizzenblätter zur Exposition, Seite 132, Zelle 21, bis Seite 142, Zelle 2. III. Skizzenbuch zu Akt I und II, Seite 142, Zelle 4, bis Seite 158. IV. Szenar, Seite 159-175, Zelle 17. V. Szenenentwürfe in Prosa, Seite 175, Zelle 18, bis Seite 181, Zelle 15. VI. Ausgearbeitete Szenen, Seite 181, Zelle 16, bis Seite 197, Vers 416. Demetrius: I. Vorstudien, Seite 197-259 (1. Studienheft, Seite 199-243, 2. Collectanea, Seite 244-259). II. Skizzenblätter, Seite 83-113. III. Ausgeführtes Szenar, Seite 114-167. IV. Entwürfe zu Akt I und II, Seite 168-196. V. Teile des ursprünglichen ersten und zweiten Aufzugs in Versen, Seite 61-80 (teilweise älteren Datums als die unter IV genannten Entwürfe). VI. Der erste Akt, eine fertige und zwei halbvollendete Szenen des zweiten, Seite 3-60. Innerhalb des Studienheftes zum Demetrius hat Köster a. a. O. ältere und jüngere Partien nachgewiesen, und zwar stellen Seite 199-209, Zelle 27 der Kettnerschen Ausgabe (ursprüngliche Zählung Seite 117-128) und Seite 235, Zelle 20, bis Seite 239, Zelle 18 (165-170) den älteren; Seite 209, Zelle 28, bis Seite 235, Zelle 20 (129-164) und Seite 239, Zelle 19, bis Seite 243, Zelle 12 (171-175) den jüngeren Teil des Heftes dar. Auch in den Skizzenblättern (II-175) hat Köster eine andere Reihenfolge als die der Kettnerschen Ausgabe dargetan. Da ich mich Kösters Darlegungen anschliesse\* und in den Anführungen im folgenden die chronologische Reihenfolge möglichst einzuhalten strebe, erscheinen die Seitenzahlen der Zitate öfters bunt durcheinandergewürfelt.

\*Eine weitere Bestätigung erhalten Kösters Ausführungen über das Altersverhältnis der einzelnen Gruppen durch den Umstand, dass die Katholiken, denen anfänglich eine führende Rolle in der Intrigue mit der Person des Pseudodemetrius zugedacht war, sehr bald gänzlich verschwinden (S. 239, Z. 17 "die Catholiken, besonders die Jesuiten, müssen auch geschäftig seyn, ja vielleicht kann die Hauptintrigue von ihnen ausgehen"; S. 86, Anm. 2, Randglosse: "Wenn sie weg gegangen, hat er eine Scene mit dem Jesuiten, der ihn katholisch machen will"; S. 87, Z. 31 "Ein Jesuit könnte sich eingeführt werden"). Im Szenar haben sie mit Demetrius selbst schon nichts mehr zu tun; die Bemerkung "Jesuiten sind vielgewaltig" S. 137, Z. 10, bezieht sich rein sachlich auf die Zustände in Polen. Nicht beipflichten aber kann ich Köster, wenn er meint, Schiller sei sich schon sehr früh über die Rolle des Demetrius im Sambor klar geworden. Ich setze die Belege hierher: S. 205, Z. 23 "Er ist im Haus des Wolwoden von Sendomir und wird geliebt von der Marina"; S. 237, Z. 4 "Demetrius ist (in selnem 21 Jahr) zu Sambor in Gallizien im Hause des Wolwoden von Sendomir, als ein Flüchtling und Exmönch aus Moskau—Wie kam er dahin? Was stellt er da vor?" S. 209, Z. 30 "Demetrius im Haus des Wolwoden von Sendomir, sich selbst und den andern fremd"; S. 211, Z. 14 "Im Haus des Wolwoden will er von niemand abhängen als von dem Herrn, und auch von diesem nicht sklavisch, sondern aus Liebe. Er fragt den Wolwoden, was er denn sey in selnem Hause"; S.



sich habe"; S. 178, Z. 2 "Seht ihn recht an. Betrachtet diese Bilder der Yorks an den Wänden! Vergleicht die Züge! Es ist als ob diese Gestalten herunter gestiegen wären und hier wandelten!" Z. 12 "Er ists! Das sind König Edwards Züge, / Das ist das edle Antlitz meines Herrn, / Auch seiner Stimme Klang erkenn ich wieder!" Z. 28 "Ergötzt sich an allen Äußerungen Warbecks, in allen findet er eine Ähnlichkeit mit Eduard." Während aber diese Ähnlichkeit Warbecks durch seine ihm unbekannte Abstammung von König Eduard IV. ihre natürliche Erklärung findet, ist die Ähnlichkeit des De-

222, Z. 28 "Wie kam er nach Sambor und was stellt er hier vor im Haus des Wolwoden?" S. 233, Z. 28 "Der Wolwod behandelt ihn wie ein Kind des Hauses aber er hat auch nichts als die Gunst des Wolwoden und die Wohlmeinung der Frauen. / Wie ist er ins Haus gekommen? Wie lang ist er drinn? / Er floh aus einem russischen Kloster nach Litthauen. . . ." S. 240, Z. 30 "Was stellt Demetrius im Haus des Wolwoden vor und wie kam er dahin?" (Unter den zehn Fragen, die Schiller sich hier stellt und nachträglich—in sehr gedrängter Schrift—beantwortet, ist dies eine der dreien, worauf er keine Antwort findet); S. 85, Z. 24 "Demetrius was er vorstellt im Haus des Wolwoden. Waise. Russe. Mönch"; S. 89, Z. 15 "Der russische Jüngling unter dem Hofgesind des Wolwoden"; S. 90, Z. 5 "Er betrügt sich mit einer gewissen Grandezza gegen die Mitbedienten"; Z. 9 "Man erfährt nicht wie er ins Haus des Wolwoden gekommen als bloss von fern dasz er aus einem Kloster S. Basillus nach Litthauen geflohen . . ."; S. 91, Z. 6 "Demetrius steht gefährlich im Haus des Wolwoden, als Ausländer und namenloser Fremdling, der keine Stütze hat, als die Gunst seines Beschützers"; S. 104, Z. 6 "dasz er nur von der Gnade des Wolwoden lebe"; Randbemerkung hierzu: "Was ist Grischka im Hausz des Wolwoden und wie kam er, der russische Mönch, dahin?" S. 105, Z. 3 "Es wird mit Verachtung und Mitleid von dem Russen gesprochen, der im Hause ist und auf den alle Diener des Hauses . . . hoch herabsehen"; S. 92, Z. 36 "Seine Qualität als ein schutz- und namenloser im Hause des Wolwoden, . . . unter stolzen auf ihre Vorrechte eifersüchtigen polnischen Edeln, weiche auf ihn herabsehen"; S. 108, Z. 16 "Grischkas Lage und Qualität zu Sambor im Haus des Wolwoden . . . als ein Hilfsbedürftiger verlassen ohne Heerd und Heimat. / Wie er dahin kam . . . ? Was er im Hause eigentlich vorstellt . . . ?" S. 121, Z. 30 "Seine zwitterartige Qualität als Exmönch und als Krieger, als abhängiger Diener und als eine gebluterische, kühne, um sich greifende Natur . . ."; S. 122, Z. 15 "Er dient dem Wolwoden, doch nicht in unwürdigen Geschäften"; S. 175, Z. 22 "Hier vollendete ich meine ritterliche Erziehung, und lebte als Edelknahe des Fürsten"; S. 66, V. 115 "Ein edler Jüngling eurer Nation / Den ich als Flüchtling pflegt und lieb gewann"; S. 71, V. 204 "Bist du derselbe der du ehemals warst? / Der des Gebieters Stimme kaum vernahm, / Der nur zu Knechten, selbst ein Knecht noch, sprach? . . . (V. 214) Ihr alle die den Flüchtling einst gepflegt, / Ihm Schutz verleiht, und ihm das Joch erleichtert / Des harten Dienstes, Euch gehöret Dank"; S. 72, V. 232 "Soll ich von dir / Des Tages künftge Arbeit noch vernehmen? Ja da wir einst Gefährten gleicher Müß, / Mit heiterm Muth uns selbst der Knechtschaft Fesseln / Erleichterten"; S. 9, V. 141 "Mich gastlich aufnahm in sein Fürstenhaus, / Und zu der Waffen edelm Dienst erzog"; V. 154 "Im Hausz des Palatins / Und unter seiner Dienerschaar verloren"; S. 10, V. 172 "Im Hause meines gastlichen Beschützers." Es gehen also noch in der endgültigen Ausarbeitung des Dramas, nachdem sich Schiller zeitweise der Rolle des Demetrius völlig klar gewesen zu sein scheint, zwei Darstellungen neben einander her, nach deren einer Grischka-Demetrius ein gewöhnlicher Diener des Wolwoden, nach deren anderer er dessen Gastfreund und Schützling gewesen wäre; eine Vermittlung der beiden Auffassungen böten die Stellen auf S. 122, Z. 15 und Seite 175, Z. 22.—Im Lichte der eben angeführten ständig wiederkehrenden Fragen jedoch, zu denen sich auch solche in andern Partien des Werkes nachweisen lassen, verliert Goethes bekannter Ausspruch über Schillers "unglaubliche Sorglosigkeit im Motivieren" sehr viel an Kraft. Oder müssen wir aus allen derartigen Stellen das laut mahnende Wort des älteren Freundes heraushören, mit dem der Dichter seinen Plan bis in alle Einzelheiten wieder und wieder besprochen hat?



metrius mit Zar Iwan ein reines Spiel des Zufalls: S. 205, Z. 27 "Seine Aehnlichkeit mit dem Zar Iwan wird mit Verwunderung bemerkt"; S. 235, Z. 25 "Seine grosze Aehnlichkeit mit dem Czar Iwan"; S. 214, Z. 22 "erzählt er, wie seine Aehnlichkeit mit dem Czar Iwan aufgefallen"; S. 215, Z. 18 "den ersten Gedanken giebt der Zufall, und es ist Demetrius selbst, der durch seine grosze Aehnlichkeit mit dem Czar Iwan die Idee seines Sohnes erweckt"; S. 217, Z. 15 "dieser, . . . von der Aehnlichkeit desselben mit dem Iwan oder dem jungen Iwanowitz ergriffen"; S. 47, V. 1031 "durch eine flüchtige Aehnlichkeit mit Iwan",—es liegt natürlich im Interesse Hiobs, diesen Punkt der vermeintlichen Mutter des Prätendenten gegenüber möglichst abzuschwächen<sup>1</sup>.

Die Vorgeschichte Warbecks und Demetrius' weist trotz dem einschneidenden Unterschiede, da Warbeck ohne Kenntnis seiner wahren Abstammung sich wissentlich und willentlich von der rachsüchtigen Margareta als Werkzeug gegen Heinrich VII. gebrauchen lässt, Demetrius aber bis zur Enthüllung in Akt III in gutem Glauben an seine Echtheit und sein Recht handelt, mannigfache Übereinstimmungen auf. Die Vorschrift, die sich der Dichter W. S. 128, Z. 30 gibt "Die Verwirrung zwischen der Wahren und der vorgeblichen Geschichte Warbecks musz auf alle mögliche Weise vermieden werden—in der letzten ist aber doch so viel als sich thun lässt von der ersten beizubehalten", führt er für den Demetrius sorgfältig aus, indem er S. 231 f. in zwei Spalten die "Wahre" und die "Fingierte Geschichte" einander gegenüberstellt. Auch das Alter stimmt. Warbeck war zur Zeit des Mordanschlags, dem er entronnen ist, fünf bis sechs Jahre alt, (S. 138, Z. 6 "Damals war der Prinz sechs Jahr alt, und er erinnert sich dieser Zeit kaum"; Z. 35 späterer Zusatz: "ihm blieb nichts von diesen Zeiten als das Graun vor einem Dolch"; S. 190, V. 227 "Der Prinz war damals in dem

<sup>1</sup> Im Gegensatz zu Warbeck, bei dem es dem Dichter darauf ankommen musste, seine wirkliche königliche Abstammung trotz den widrigsten äusseren Umständen zur Geltung gelangen zu lassen, verleiht er dem Demetrius noch weitere Kennzeichen, die ihn zunächst als echten Zarewitsch erweisen sollen, wie den kürzeren rechten Arm, das Taufkreuz, den Psalter, Jugenderinnerungen; vgl. S. 200, Z. 4; S. 205, Z. 28; S. 237 u.; S. 214, Z. 17; S. 241, Sp. 2, Z. 24ff.; S. 87, Z. 1 und 21; S. 126, Z. 3 und 12; S. 127, Z. 3; S. 177, Z. 3 und 29; S. 178 Anm.; S. 179 Anm.; S. 180, Z. 15; S. 66, V. 111; S. 69, V. 176; S. 10, V. 182-222.

sechsten Jahr, / Und nichts ist ihm von jener dunkeln Zeit / Geblieben als das Graun vor einem Dolch, / Das nicht die Jahre überwinden konnten"); Demetrius war trotz den früheren Ansätzen noch etwas jünger, wenn die erste hier angezogene Stelle mit der häufigen Erwähnung des sechzehnjährigen Zwischenraumes stimmen soll (S. 202, Z. 8 "Die Czaarin Marfa wird nur 40 Jahr alt angenommen, ihr Sohn Demetrius wäre jetzt 20"; S. 235, Z. 30 "Demetrius war 6 Jahr alt da er von seiner Mutter getrennt war.—Im Stück wird er 20 jährig supponiert. Es sind also seit Boris Regierung etwa 15 oder 16 Jahre verstrichen"; S. 237, Z. 4 in seinem 21 Jahr"; S. 216, Z. 11 "Der Prinz war damals in seinem sechsten Jahr", S. 217, Z. 13 "Dmitri ist damals sechs Jahr alt"; S. 90, Z. 7 "Sein Alter ist 21 Jahr", S. 175, Randbemerkung zu Z. 4 "dasz dieser Prinz Demetrius nicht wirklich umgekommen, da man doch 12 Jahre davon überzeugt war"; S. 190, Z. 22 "seit jener Zeit sind 16 Jahr verflossen"; S. 191, Z. 3 "Bewein ich meinen Sohn nicht 16 Jahre"; S. 192, Z. 29 "den du vor sechzehn Jahren durch den Tod verloren"; S. 195, Z. 18 "Ich hab ihn 16 Jahre für todt beweint"; S. 8, V. 127 "nach sechzehnjähriger Stille"; S. 40, V. 877 f. "sechzehnmal seit jenem Schreckenstage / Hat sich das Angesicht der Welt verjüngt"; S. 42, V. 924 "den wir als todt beweinen sechzehn Jahr"; desgl. V. 958 und 1147)<sup>1</sup>. Auch ihm sind ausser einigen Reminiszenzen aus der Mordnacht keine Erinnerungen an seine Kindheit geblieben (S. 217, Anm. 1 "Erinnerung aus diesem Zeitpunkt. Die Feuersbrunst"; S. 12, V. 231-244 "Erinnrungen belebten sich auf einmal / Im fernsten Hintergrund vergangner Zeit; / ... Ich sah mich fliehn in einer dunkeln Nacht, / Und eine lohe Flamme sah ich steigen / In schwarzem Nachtgraun, als ich rückwärts sah. / Ein uralt frühes Denken muszt' es seyn, / Denn was vorhergieng, was darauf gefolgt, / War ausgelöscht in langer Zeitenferne; / Nur abgerissen, einsam leuchtend, stand / Diesz Schreckensbild mir im Gedächtnisz da").

<sup>1</sup> Ein Zwischenraum von sechzehn Jahren wird auch in den "Kindern des Hauses" (vgl. unten Kap. II) angenommen; desgl. Semele, V. 174ff. "so muss Beröe / Nach sechzehn schwer durchlebten Trennungsjahren / Die Tochter Kadmus' wiedersehn!"

Auch die Ähnlichkeit ihrer Schicksale vom Augenblicke ihrer Rettung an bis zur öffentlichen Anerkennung im Auslande ist bedeutsam: W S. 138, Z. 5 "...der jüngere York blieb leben und der Wärter, der die Leichname zu begraben hatte, verbarg ihn....Die Furcht vor dem Wütherich Richard nöthigte den mitleidigen Wärter, das gerettete Kind durch das strengste Incognito den Nachstellungen zu entziehen. Der Prinz wurde einem armen Bürger übergeben und als sein Sohn erzogen, ohne seinen Ursprung zu wissen. Auch der ihn erzog wusste nicht, dass es der Prinz von York war. Der Wärter schwieg während Richards blutiger Regierung, aber da dieser in der Schlacht bei Bosworth umkam, erinnerte er sich an das gerettete Kind und suchte es bei dem Manne auf, dem er es übergeben hatte. Dieser aber war indessen weggezogen, und der Prinz von York, sich selbst nicht kennend, seinem Pflegevater gefolgt, der ihn zum Kaufmann bestimmte. Früh aber regte sich sein Muth, seine Fähigkeiten entwickelten sich. Sein Naturell durchbrach die engen Verhältnisse, in denen er aufwuchs. Er liebte nur ritterliche Uebungen, und brachte es bald in allen zur Vollkommenheit. Er gieng auf ein Schiff, diente als Soldat und stritt gegen die Korsaren"; S. 142, Z. 4 "Richard von York aus Mörderhand entkommen, wunderbar und geheimnisvoll erhalten, wiedergefunden, von seiner Verwandtin und Partei anerkannt, von dem Usurpator verläugnet, der Gegenstand der allgemeinen Freude und des Mitleids durch seine Schicksale und durch seine persönliche Eigenschaften"; ferner S. 160, Z. 15; S. 180, Z. 10 "Er verrichtet niedere Dienste am Hofe des englischen Königs, wo er hätte herrschen sollen, er war unter den Jagdbedienten des Königs, fern von dem Gedanken, dass er im Hause seiner Väter sei. Aber ein Widerwille gegen die Person des Königs und die Lancastrische Parthei, den er sich nicht erklären konnte, trieb ihn bald hinweg. Er sah einen Yorkischen Anhänger von den Lancastriſchen miszhandelt, er schlug sich auf die Seite des Unterdrückten, die Natur wirkte, er tödete den Gegner und entfloh, nicht ahndend dass er aus seinem eigenen Reiche



floh(.). Jetzt erduldet er im Auslande alles, was die Heimatlosigkeit, der Zustand der Waise etc. bitteres hat"; S. 190, V. 206ff. (250ff.) "Doch das Yorksche Heldenblut / Das in den Adern dunkel mächtig flosz, / Durchbrach die engen Schranken seines Glücks, / Es trieb ihn aus des Pflegevaters Hausz / Das Schwert nur fand er seines Strebens werth, / Und zu den Waffen griff der junge Held." Wieviel an dieser Geschichte reine Erfindung ist, erhellt nicht aus Schillers Plänen; interessant ist es nun zu sehen, wieviel davon zu den Jugenderlebnissen des Demetrius in den Quellen des Dichters stimmte, und wieviel er ausserdem noch in das neue Drama herübergenommen hat. Demetrius S. 199, Z. 24 "zeigt als Mönch höhere und ritterliche Anlagen, welche zeigen, dasz er nicht für diesen Stand gebohren"; S. 200, Z. 6 "Wie lernt Demetrius die ritterlichen Uebungen?" S. 211, Z. 13 "Alles was nach Knechtschaft schmeckt ist ihm ganz unerträglich"; S. 214, Z. 23 "Ferner kommt vor, wie sorgfältig man ihn vor dem Czar Boris zu verbergen gesucht—wie man sich seiner angenommen—wie er seinen Pflegern endlich entsprungen, weil er den Klosterzwang nicht habe ertragen können—"; S. 217, Z. 32 "Er lässt demselben eine ritterliche Erziehung geben, und alles lernen, was ihm dazu dienen kann"; S. 233, Z. 32 "Er floh aus einem russischen Kloster nach Litthauen, weil er den Zwang der mönchischen Lebensart nicht ertragen konnte"; S. 241, Z. 1 "Auch kann er seine Dienstbarkeit im Haus des Woiwoden nicht ertragen"; Z. 26 "Die Reminiscenzen des Demetrius"; S. 93, Z. 7 ff., S. 127, Z. 5; S. 174, Z. 10 ff., besonders S. 175, Z. 8-24 "Es sind erst wenige Monate, dasz ich mich selbst gefunden habe; denn bis auf diese Zeit lebt ich mir selbst verborgen, meinen Ursprung gar nicht ahndend" u. s. w.; S. 179, Anm.; S. 67, V. 131 ff.; S. 8, V. 129 ff. "Kein Jahr ists noch dasz ich mich selbst gefunden, / Denn bis dahin lebt ich mir selbst verborgen / Nicht ahndend meine fürstliche Geburt. / Mönch unter Mönchen fand ich mich, als ich / Anfieng, zum Selbstbewusstseyn zu erwachen, / Und mich umgab der strenge Klosterzwang. / Der engen Pfaffenweise widerstand / Der mutge



Geist, und dunkelmächtig in den Adern / Empörte sich das ritterliche Blut. / Das Mönchsgewand warf ich entschlossen ab, / Und floh nach Pohlen, wo der edle Fürst / Von Sendomir, der holde Freund der Menschen, / Mich gastlich aufnahm in sein Fürstenhaus, / Und zu der Waffen edelm Dienst erzog". In der Erkennung des rechtmässigen Thronerben, der vorgeblichen Erkennung Warbecks durch Margareta und der vermeintlichen des Demetrius zu Sambor, gehen die beiden Dramen naturgemäss auseinander; in beiden Fällen hören wir in der schliesslichen Ausarbeitung nur den Bericht darüber; Margareta sollte wohl ziemlich schnell über diesen wunden Punkt hinweggehen, Demetrius erzählt die Umstände ausführlich, wie ja auch für den ursprünglichen ersten Akt die allmähliche Enthüllung der Einzelheiten genau geplant war.

Warbeck wie Demetrius kommt es trefflich zustatten, dass im eigenen Lande gegen den unrechtmässigen Inhaber des Thrones Unwille und Erbitterung herrscht (W S. 138, Z. 26 "Unterdeszen hatte die öffentliche Stimme das Geschlecht der York zurückgefordert, England sehnte sich nach seinem rechtmässigen Beherrscher", wörtlich wiederholt S. 180, Z. 24; S. 158, Z. 10 "Ein todtgeglaubter Prinz hat sich lebend gefunden, er soll in das Erbe seiner Väter hergestellt werden. Freude seiner Parthey, welche bisher unterdrückt gewesen"; S. 180, Z. 27 "Heinrichs verhaszte Regierung wird geschildert"; Z. 32 "allgemeine Sehnsucht nach der Yorkischen Herrschaft"; S. 183, V. 29 "England, wo des Throns / Ein Räuber, ein Tyrann sich angemaszt".—D S. 236, Anm., Z. 2 "Unzufriedenheit mit Boris und seine noch nicht bevestigte Herrschaft"; S. 238, Z. 5 "Nachrichten aus Moskau, welche einer Staatsveränderung günstig scheinen"; S. 210, Anm. 2 "... dasz Boris verhaszt sei"; S. 215, Z. 30 "ein lebhaftes Interesse, dem Boris Handel zu erwecken"; S. 241, Sp. 2, Z. 28 "Boris ist Usurpator und verfolgt die Romanows und Nagoi"; S. 109, Z. 23 "Vornehme Flüchtlinge aus Moskau... sind in der Absicht gekommen, dem Boris Feinde zu erwecken, hassen seine Regierung und sind nach einer Veränderung lüstern"; S. 117, Z. 2; S. 123, Z. 7; Anm. 3 "Die

Russen jammern als Malcontenten über ihr Vaterland das sie lieben und ungern verlieszen. Auch ist ihr einziges Streben, dahin zurückzukehren, was sie unter Boris Regierung nicht können"; Z. 14 "Boris sei sehr verhaszt, sei grausam, argwöhnisch, ein Unterdrücker vieler edeln Familien. Er wird als Thronräuber und Tyrann geschildert"; S. 144, Z. 15 "lauter Unglück unter Boris Regierung"; Z. 34 "Unzufriedenheit mit Boris"; S. 196, Z. 10 "Der Czar waffne sein Volk, er verlasse sich....auf die Liebe des Volks wenn er darf"; S. 63, Z. 54 "Jeder Rechtschaffne musz flüchtig werden, wo ein finstrer Tyrann waltet"; S. 64, Z. 57 "Kaum sind wir seiner Blutbegier entrunnen"; Z. 62 "Mit Mord musz herrschen, wer den Thron geraubt", S. 11, V. 198). Darum fällt das Gerücht, der rechtmässige Thronerbe sei noch am Leben, auf fruchtbaren Boden, abgesehen von der ohnehin mächtigen Wirkung des Wunderbaren und Geheimnisvollen (W S. 181, Z. 1 "Erstes Gerücht von dem noch lebenden Richard";—D S. 205, Z. 29 "Die ausgestreute Sage von der Erhaltung des leztern," S. 237, Anm. 3 "Die Nachricht dasz man im Moscovitischen den Demetrius noch am Leben glaube"; S. 238, Z. 11 "Der Glaube ist schon vorher in Ruszland verbreitet, dasz der Zaarowitz Demetrius nicht umgekommen"; S. 210, Anm. 2 "bringt die Nachricht mit, dasz Demetrius noch lebe"; S. 215, Z. 26 "Zweifel steigen auf über den wirklichen Tod des Zaarowitz, oder die wirkliche Person desselben....Volkstradition, dasz er doch noch lebe"; S. 218, Z. 6 "Zugleich wird unter der Hand in die Welt verbreitet, dasz der Demetrius auch wohl nicht umgekommen"; S. 225, Z. 3; S. 241, Sp. 2, Z. 19; S. 87, Z. 17 "Volkssage, nach welcher der Groszfürst Demetrius noch lebe"; S. 93, Z. 15; S. 96, Z. 11; S. 109, Z. 27; S. 123, Z. 12; S. 124, Z. 27 "Gerade so alt (sc. ein Jahr) ist die Sage von dem jungen Demetrius"; S. 175, Z. 25; S. 178, Anm.; S. 179, Anm., 6); S. 181, Z. 13; S. 65, V. 79 ff.; S. 67, V. 131 ff.; S. 9, V. 144 "Und doch erfüllte damals schon der Ruf / Die Welt, dasz Prinz Demetrius noch lebe?"). Mit Jubel wird ihr Erscheinen begrüsst: Warbeck (S. 134, Z. 19) "ist wie der wiedergefundene Sohn des Hauses,

der verloren war"; Demetrius, den schon der Woiwod "wie ein Kind des Hauses" behandelt hat (S. 233, Z. 28), "kommt wie das Kind des Hauses" (S. 100, Z. 17), betrachtet sich auch als "den zurückkehrenden Sohn des Landes" (S. 143, Z. 15).<sup>1</sup> Begeistert fliegt beiden der Glaube aller zu, Demetrius noch mehr als Warbeck (W S. 119; Z. 19 "Hereford repräsentiert die Parthey und die Macht des leidenschaftlichen Glaubens."—D S. 207, Z. 29 "Erste Successe und Volksmeinung"; S. 210, Z. 6 "Der Woiwod von Sendomir glaubt, dasz er wirklich der Czaarowitz sey" / S. 219, Z. 23 "Der Effect des Glaubens an sich selbst und des Glaubens anderer. Demetrius hält sich für den Czar und dadurch wird ers"; S. 239, Z. 21; S. 241, Sp. 2, Z. 39 "Von allen ist es gewisz, dasz sie an ihn glauben, auszer der Marina selbst"; S. 87, Z. 6 "er glaubt an sich selbst und überzeugt dadurch auch den Woiwoden"; S. 127, Z. 15; S. 146, Z. 35 "Erlogene Sagen die sich herumtragen, erwecken entweder Furcht vor dem Demetrius oder Glauben an ihn"; S. 168, Z. 15 "Weil er selbst an sich glaubt, so hat seine Sprache die volle Kraft der Wahrheit"; S. 179, Anm., unten); nur Marina betrachtet Demetrius' Glauben an sich selbst rein als Mittel zu ihren selbstischen Zwecken (S. 187, Z. 1; S. 28, V. 639 "Mag er / Der Götterstimme folgen, die ihn treibt, / Er glaub' an sich, so glaubt ihm auch die Welt").

Ganz besonders gelingt es ihnen, das Volk für sich einzunehmen: W S. 119, Z. 30 "Bürger von Brüssel repräsentieren die Volksnatur"; S. 121, Z. 4 "Das Volk ist von ihm bezaubert"; S. 136, Z. 21 "Zu schildern ist hier die Volksfreude und Volksgunst, die Facilität einer eiteln Menge, die leichte Bestechlichkeit, die Herrschaft der Weiber über die öffentliche Meinung".—D S. 200, Z. 21 "Wenn Demetrius in Ruszland eintritt, so ist das

<sup>1</sup> Der Ausdruck "Kind des Hauses", der nicht die einzige Brücke zwischen den beiden Präfidentendramen und den "Kindern des Hauses" schlägt, findet sich bei Schiller noch in Wallensteins Tod, III, 18, V. 2159 "Sie alle waren Fremdlinge, du warst / Das Kind des Hauses", und im Aufsatz "Über Anmut und Würde": "Womit aber hatten es die Kinder des Hauses verschuldet, dass er (Kant) nur für die Knechte sorgte?" (Säkular-Ausgabe, 11. Band, S. 219, Z. 24). In wesentlich anderm Sinne erscheint der Ausdruck in den Philosophischen Briefen (ebd. S. 113, Raphaels Lehre hat Julius aus einem guten Sohn des Hauses in einen Bürger des Universums verwandelt) und im Don Carlos, II, 1, V. 1017 "Er spricht für Spanien—Ich bin der Sohn des Hauses".



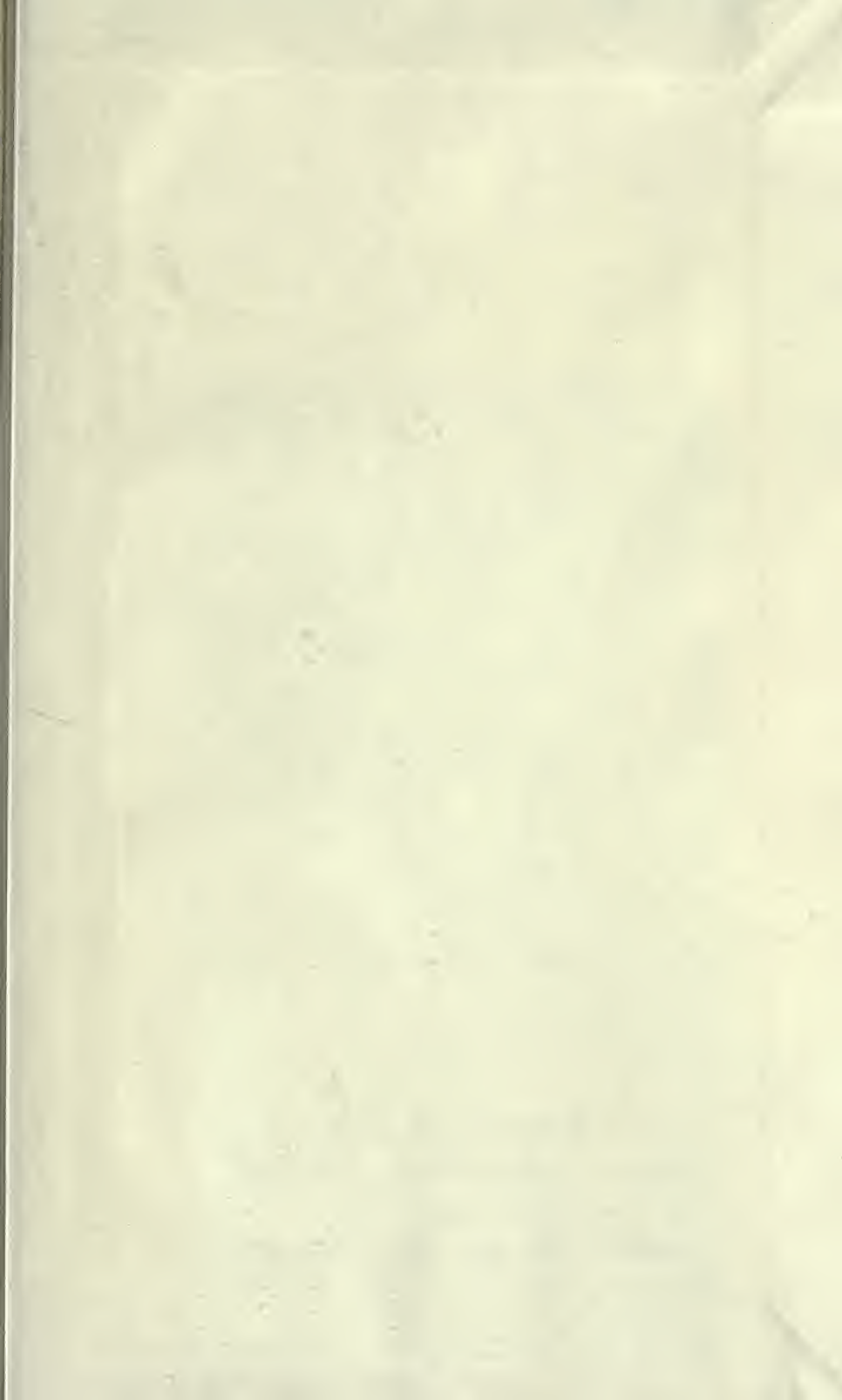
Volk gleich auf seiner Seite. Das Volk prüft nicht lange, es wird durch die Sinne und durch Ideen bewegt, selbst das abentheuerlichste findet bei ihm Glauben. Das Auszerordentliche in dem Schicksal des wieder aufgelebten Demetrius ist ein gar zu grosser Reiz für dasselbe; die Kühnheit des Betrugs selbst trägt dazu bei, dass er geglaubt wird, weil man es nicht für möglich hält, dass mit solcher Dreistigkeit könne gelogen werden — Auch gewinnt die Hoffnung der Menge einen Spielraum dabei. Die Weiber besonders werden gerührt und neigen sich auf die Seite des Wunderbaren"; S. 236, Anm., 4. "Rohheit des Volks und des Zeitmoments, die ein so grobes Spiel möglich macht"; S. 219, Anm. 2 "Art auf das Volk zu wirken"; S. 100, Z. 11; S. 143, Z. 29 "wie schnell das abentheuerliche bei dem gemeinen Volk Eingang findet und durch welche Wege es wirkt"; S. 144, Z. 7; Z. 23 "Es könnte ein heftiges Schisma entstehen, wobei die Frauen auf Seiten des Betrügers wären und die Männer zwingen, sich gleichfalls für ihn zu erklären. Warum das Märchen so vorzüglich auf die Frauen wirkt? Macht des fanatischen Partheigeistes auf rohe Menschen"; S. 48, V. 1058 "Der Völker Herz ist wankelmüthig, Fürstin. / Sie lieben die Veränderung, sie glauben / Durch eine neue Herrschaft zu gewinnen. / Der Lüge kecke Zuversicht reizt hin, / Das Wunderbare findet Gunst und Glauben"; vgl. auch die unvollendete dritte Szene des zweiten Aktes).

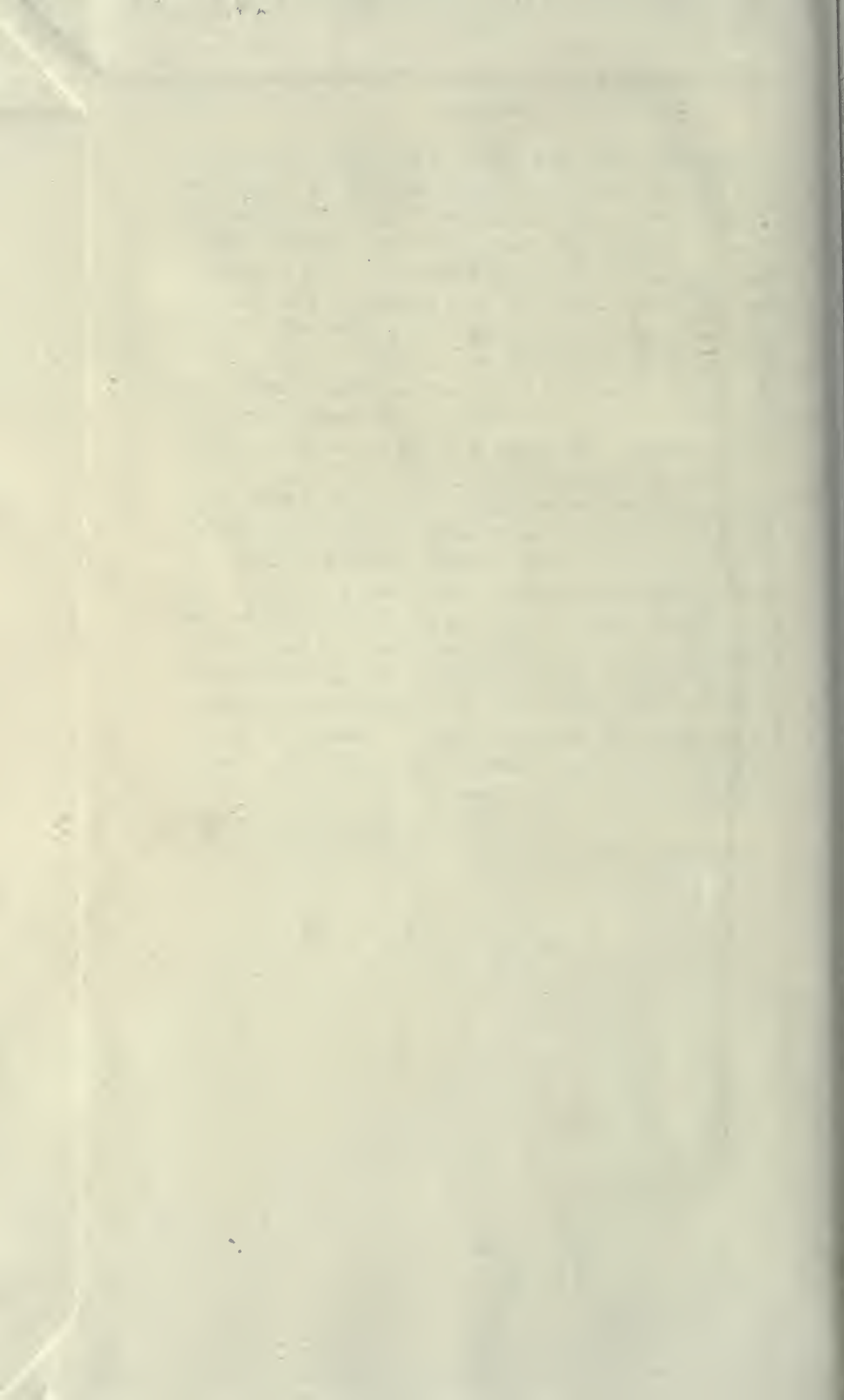
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E. C. ROEDDER.

(To be continued.)







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